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'THE people of England are by no means aware how fine a country they possess here,' said a gentleman of Upper Canada recently to an English tourist; and certainly the popular
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conception of this great British dependency was for a long time a very peculiar one. It was a current belief that this territory, which now presents one of the finest fields for colonization within the British dominions, was a vast unexplored region covered with forests of gloomy pine, and wrapped for more than half the year in a mantle of frozen snow. This period of profound ignorance and prejudice has long passed away; but the great advantages which Canada offers to the emigrant must still be but imperfectly known, or how is the fact to be accounted for that during the season of 1859 there arrived in Canada, as settlers, not more than 6000 persons speaking the English language, while in the same season the United States received more than 45,000 natives of the United Kingdom as an increase to their industrial population? The comparative neglect of Canada can only be attributed to an absence of correct information.

The recent visit of the heir of the British Crown to several of the noblest portions of his future empire, has not been without its influence in England. It has awakened interest, excited curiosity, and diffused information. The great ovation with which the representative of the British monarchy and the British nation has been greeted is an honourable acknowledgment of the obligations which the people of British North America owe to the land from which they derive their freedom, and to which they are indebted for much of their political importance and no inconsiderable amount of their prosperity.

The possession of Canada by Great Britain dates from the year 1759: the formal cession of the province by France was one of the stipulations of the treaty of Paris in 1763. The extent of territory which France once possessed in the North-American continent, and the lofty flight of her ambition in the New World, are now but faint traditions. How many are aware that the region lying at the back of the thirteen original United States, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, comprising the whole of Canada and the vast and fertile valley of the Ohio, was once possessed and partially colonized by France, and that she actually occupied the two outlets of this immense territory by means of the ports of Quebec and New Orleans? That portion of French territory which now forms the British colony of Canada, was, up to 1720, monopolized by a commercial company; but after the failure of the notorious Mississippi scheme, the action of the French government upon its North-American provinces became more direct. The first settlers in Canada left their country generally, not in any spirit of discontent, but under the pressure of want, and in blind obedience to the orders of their Government.

ment. They were established in such parts of the country as were considered best rather for the interests of France than for their own. In its political aspect the colony of Canada was a vast feudal organization formed on the shores of the St. Lawrence, charged with the duty of maintaining the honour and advancing the prosperity of France. Large tracts of the American continent were lavished upon the favourites of the French court. Canada then presented one vast unbounded forest, and land was granted in extensive tracts, called seigneuries, which stretched along either coast of the St. Lawrence for a distance of ninety miles below Quebec and thirty miles above Montreal. These seigneuries included from one hundred to five hundred square miles each, and they were parcelled out by the proprietors in small lots to the inhabitants; for as the persons to whom the large territorial grants were made consisted chiefly of officers of the army and poor courtiers, this was the only mode by which their property could be made practically valuable. In Canada the portion allotted to each inhabitant was generally three acres in breadth and from seventy to eighty in depth, commencing from the banks of the St. Lawrence and running back into the woods. The seigneurs or original grantees of the soil, possessed many of the privileges and much of the authority of the old feudal lords in Europe. They exercised a magisterial jurisdiction; they held courts for the trial of all offences committed within their territories, treason and murder excepted; villenage existed in a modified form; and most of the oppressive feudal rights were imported without mitigation into Canada. The Church was largely endowed. The fines on alienation constituted the most burthen-some charge upon the feudal proprietors, and necessarily operated as a restraint on the transfer of land, and as a serious impediment to agricultural improvement. Under these feudal institutions the Canadian *noblesse* became so impoverished, that Louis XIV. was induced to permit them to engage in trade without social degradation.

In the year 1759 the population of Canada amounted to only 60,000 souls, and it was found to have decreased during the preceding twenty years of war and privation. The people led a life of simple rural industry on their farms, which were confined to the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries below Quebec. The cultivation was generally very rude; but the fertility of the soil supplied in profusion all their wants, and left a surplus for which there was neither outlet nor demand. Commercial monopolies depressed the energy and industry of the *habitans*, and the insecurity of their property deprived them of the strongest motive for production. They were exposed to two

enemies, of whom it would be difficult to say which they had most cause to dread—the licentious soldiery of old France, or the ferocious Indian tribes. But there was another foe of whom they then took little account; the British settlers.

France has never possessed the art of colonization. Her conquests have not been durable, and she has never yet succeeded in establishing a firm and friendly footing on any considerable territory that has submitted to her arms. Her ablest politicians and economists have frequently deplored this political destiny; but they have not succeeded in reversing it. Chateaubriand, in his '*Travels in America*,' thus pours out his regrets on the limited influence of his country in the extension of civilization:—

'We possessed here vast territories, which might have offered a home to the excess of our population, an important market to our commerce, a nursery to our navy. Now we are forced to confine in our prisons culprits condemned by the tribunals, for want of a spot of ground whereon to place these wretched creatures. We are excluded from the New World, where the human race is recommencing. The English and Spanish languages serve to express the thoughts of many millions of men in Africa, in Asia, in the South Sea Islands, on the continent of the two Americas; and we, disinherited of the conquests of our courage and our genius, hear the language of Racine, of Colbert, and of Louis XIV., spoken merely in a few hamlets of Louisiana and Canada, under a foreign sway. There it remains, as it were, for an evidence of the reverses of our fortune and the errors of our policy. Thus, then, has France disappeared from North America, like those Indian tribes with which she sympathized, and some of the wrecks of which I have myself beheld.'

England and France started in their career of colonization in the New World upon fair and equal terms, and the contest for ultimate supremacy was for a time maintained without the sensible predominance of either; but the different policy of the two countries soon manifested itself by its results. New France was colonized by a government—New England by a people. France founded a state in Canada based upon feudality and supported by the church; to England the American colonies owed scarcely anything, and they received very little of her attention. They taxed themselves, enacted their own laws, and were in all essential points independent of the Imperial administration. But in one respect the mother country was rigidly exacting. The colonial trade was fettered by commercial jealousy; and when, in addition to this grievance, the British legislature attempted to tax the colonists without their consent, neither the ties of blood nor all the power of Eng-

* Chateaubriand's '*Travels in America*,' vol. ii.

land were able to bind them any longer to their allegiance. In a remarkable letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm shortly before his death, he had foretold that the British dominion in America would not long survive a triumph over France, and that whenever the dread of the latter power should cease to be felt by the colonists, they would no longer submit to Imperial control.

The sovereignty of England, having succeeded to that of France in Canada, was maintained without exciting any political discontent. The French Canadians never joined the British American colonists in their revolt, but remained loyal to their new sovereign notwithstanding every temptation to rebel. A considerable number of the British colonists also declined to join the revolutionary movement, and fled to Canada. They there found a welcome and protection. A tract of country above Montreal and on the borders of the great lakes was appropriated to British officers and discharged soldiers, to whom grants were made under the name of military bounties. These two classes of settlers formed the nucleus of the present British Protestant population.

Canada, according to a report which emanated from the Colonial Government in 1857, contains 350,000 square miles, of which only 40,000 were then settled, that is to say, cleared; from which it follows that there were then belonging to the province 310,000 square miles, or 198,000,000 acres of uninhabited country; but it is to be observed that a considerable portion of this great area lies to the north of the river St. Lawrence, on the Labrador coast, where the land is less fertile and the climate very severe.* But in the west, where the climate is milder, and more especially in the districts lying between the great lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the land is taken up quite as fast as the Government is able to open it out for settlement. It is therefore probable that in a few years all the land in Western Canada will have been appropriated, and that colonization will then take a north-westerly course. In conformity with this impression, we find the Governor-General, in 1857, suggesting to the Imperial Government the propriety of taking certain measures in reference to the future.

‘His Excellency feels it particularly necessary that the importance of securing the North-West Territory against the sudden and unauthorised influx of immigration from the United States should be strongly pressed. He fears that the continued vacancy of this great tract, with

* Evidence of the Hon. Chief-Justice Draper before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, p. 228.

a boundary not marked on the soil itself, may lead to future loss and injury both to England and to Canada. He wishes you to urge the expediency of marking out the limits, and so protecting the frontier, of the lands above Lake Superior, about the Red River, and from thence to the Pacific, as effectually to secure them against violent seizure or irregular settlement, until the advancing tide of emigrants from Canada and the United Kingdom may fairly flow into them, and occupy them as subjects of the Queen, on behalf of the British Empire.*

We propose to take a brief review of the policy of the Government since its practical independence. It may be premised that, although by the union of the two provinces in 1840 political unity has been given to the country, the two races which inhabit it remain in a great degree socially distinct. The progressive element of Canada has been hitherto essentially British. The character of the French population has not materially changed since the country became a British dependency. The dress of the people is the same, and in the manners of the higher classes are to be found probably the only examples remaining of that mixture of courtesy, dignity, and grace, that characterised the *noblesse* of the ancient monarchy. The French Canadians are now understood generally to condemn the rebellion of 1837. There were, they say, grievances to be redressed, but not such as to justify taking up arms against the Government. The facility with which the outbreak was suppressed proved that it had no real support from the people, and that it originated rather in the weakness and vacillation of the Government than in any general Canadian disaffection. The Whig party then in office shrunk from allowing to Canada a right which the British Parliament had always esteemed one of the firmest bulwarks of liberty—namely, the power of stopping the supplies. It was reserved for a Conservative Government not only to give effect to this principle, but to take into favour and admit to some of the highest offices of state several influential members of the party which had taken a lead in the rebellion. The French Canadians are supposed not to entertain much sentimental attachment for the country of their origin. 'They do not like,' says the able German writer who has so well portrayed their character and manners in his interesting work,† 'to be called French, but they call themselves Canadians; and they are,' he adds, 'as simple and primitive a people as Virgil could have desired to inspire him with his

* Letter from the Assistant-Secretary of the Governor-General of Canada to the Hon. Chief-Justice Draper, C.B.

† Reisen in Canada.

Idylls.' The valley of the St. Lawrence presents the only considerable range of continuous cultivation in Canada, and exhibits the singular spectacle of a river flowing, as it were, between two village streets 350 miles long, backed by forests and mountains. On the banks of this magnificent stream reside the best fed, the best clad, the best housed, the best conducted, and the most contented peasantry, in the world. Practically, the people of Canada now enjoy as large a measure of political liberty as can be possessed by any country; and since the year 1849 steps have been taken for adapting the constitution to the feelings and opinions of the community, and carrying out important changes believed to be essential to its progress. These consist principally in a reform of the legislature, an extension of the franchise, a complete system of municipal self-government, the abolition of feudal tenures, the simplification and consolidation of the law, together with some excellent measures for encouraging immigration.

The legislature, by the Act conferring the constitution, was to consist, under the Governor-General, of a Council, or Upper House, nominated for life by the Crown, and a Lower House elected by the people. The representatives of the people are now 130 in number, and the franchise has been lowered to the qualification of 6*l.* sterling for freehold, proprietary, or tenantry, in towns, and 4*l.* in rural districts, the principal feature in the change being the admission of the tenant vote in counties and rural districts. The Legislative Council has been essentially modified by the introduction of the elective principle, the existing nominated members retaining their seats for life. The Province has been divided into forty-eight electoral divisions, each returning one member. Twelve are elected every two years, and they go out of office after eight years of service. The House is not subject to dissolution. Of the innovation thus made in the original Canadian constitution the Governor-General expresses himself with approbation:—

'Up to the present time,' he says, 'no difficulty has arisen from the twelve members chosen by the people in connexion with the remaining members originally nominated by the Crown, who retain their seats for life. On the contrary, many valuable members of the Council have been added by the choice of the people. Free discussion combined with decorum, and an independent bearing as one of the two Houses of Parliament, have marked their proceedings, and I see no reason to fear that an additional infusion of the elective element will disturb this state of things.'*

* Copy of a Despatch from the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Head to the Right Hon. Sir E. B. Lytton, Bart., M.P., August, 1858.

In no country has the municipal system of self-government been brought to such complete perfection as in Canada. It provides for all possible local legislation, and has been framed in imitation of similar institutions not only in England but in the United States, combining the special excellences of both, and the result has been to secure for each district the most perfect control of its own affairs. By means of this admirable administrative machinery the general legislature is freed from the necessity of considering any local question whatever. We cannot help remarking that it would be well if the Imperial Parliament could in like manner be relieved of an immense amount of business which is neither consistent with its dignity nor reconcilable with the character which it ought to bear.

Although the French Canadian proprietors had grown up under the complicated and oppressive feudal system, they have been of late years roused to inquiry and reflection by the wonderful changes they saw going on around them both in the United States and in Upper Canada. Stagnation was the normal condition of their province while all around them was progress. The good sense and enlightened self-interest of the feudal lords appear to have viewed the subject in much the same light as their tenantry, and accordingly, in the last session of the Colonial Parliament, feudal tenures were extinguished. Freehold tenure is now common to the whole province, and a compensation, made up of certain payments by the tenantry, and a grant of 650,000*l.* from the Provincial Government, has indemnified the proprietors for the loss of their seigniorial rights. 'If there is one point,' justly remarks Mr. Galt, 'in the whole working of constitutional government which should encourage its friends, it is the fact that the people of Canada have been themselves able to approach and deal with such a question as this without excitement, disturbance, or individual wrong.'

Canada has not thought proper to retain among her institutions a Protestant Church Establishment. However we may regret this departure from the example of the mother country, we have certainly no right to dictate her ecclesiastical polity. The large mass of property which had been set apart for the support of the Church, and known under the denomination of Clergy Reserves, has, as our readers probably know, been secularized by the Provincial Legislature, and distributed among the municipal bodies, or applied to civil uses. The numerous and conflicting sects which abound in Canada precluded the possibility of any common agreement for the appropriation of this property for the support of religion. Permanent provision has, however, been made for the support

port of common schools by large endowments of valuable land. Every child is considered as entitled to education, and every effort is made to bring the whole of the population under the influence of early training. In addition to a contribution of 90,000*l.* from the provincial exchequer, a rate is levied by every municipality for the support of schools. Each district is placed under the management of trustees, chosen by the people, who are again subject to inspection by officers appointed by the county councils, and periodical returns are made to the official Superintendent of Education. The Superintendent himself is assisted by a council of instruction, chosen from the leading men of the province, without regard to religion or politics. The order of tuition and the school-books are settled by the council and superintendent. The system of teaching in Upper Canada is that denominated non-sectarian, but provision is made for the establishment of separate schools for Roman Catholics. The result of the system is thus stated in the Report on Education in Upper Canada for 1858. There were in that year 3866 schools and 293,683 scholars in that province. In Lower Canada the result has been equally remarkable, for in a district which was conspicuous, until very recently, for an almost entire neglect of schools, the Report for 1858 gives the aggregate return of 2800 schools and 130,940 scholars.

That cannot take place in Canada which is daily practised in New York, where poor emigrants are systematically made the victims of fraud and deception. Government establishments are provided for their reception at Quebec, and an expenditure of 15,000*l.* per annum in the construction of roads, has made accessible many millions of acres of the finest land, and provided easy communication with towns and markets. A system of free grants of 100 acres has recently been introduced, which, it is believed, will prove highly attractive; and, to enable large proprietors or small communities to form united settlements, townships of 50,000 acres *en bloc* are now offered for sale at 2*s.* sterling per acre, subject to conditions of settlement. The Government, in its desire to prevent the purchase of large tracts by private companies or individuals on speculation, has coupled the sale of the public lands with such conditions as effectually prevent an improper advantage being taken of its liberality in offering them at a low price. Every purchaser must become an actual settler. This simple arrangement drives out of the field a host of adventurers who have hitherto enriched themselves at the expense of the state.

According to a work of authority published at New York in 1851,

1851,* the free population of the United States was, in 1800, 5,305,925, and in 1850 20,250,000: thus in 50 years its increase was not quite 400 per cent., while that of Upper Canada was upwards of 1100 per cent. in 40 years from 1811 to 1851. The astonishing increase of the population of Western Canada is further shown in the following table:—

‘The United States, Census of 1850, as diminished by allowance for the population of territorial accessions since the previous Census, was in—

1850	..	..	23,091,488
1840	..	..	17,067,453
Increase in 10 years	..	..	6,022,035 or 35·27 per cent.
Great Britain, Census of 1851	..	..	21,121,967
Do. do. 1841	..	..	18,658,372
Increase in 10 years	..	..	2,463,595 or 13·20 per cent.
Upper Canada, Census of 1851	..	..	952,004
Do. do. 1841	..	..	465,357
Increase in 10 years	..	..	486,647 or 104·58 per cent.’

Lower Canada has not increased with the same rapidity, Upper Canada having hitherto received the greater proportion of the emigration from Great Britain and from Europe; still her progress has been steady. In 1827 the total population of the province was 423,378; and in 1851, 890,026, having doubled in twenty-four years. Some of the counties in Canada are said to have increased in population 571 per cent. in ten years.

The growth of the towns and cities of Canada West has been most remarkable. The site of the city of Toronto was, in 1792, occupied by a single wigwam; in 1797 only 12 families resided there, and it was first denominated a town.

‘In 1801 the population of the city was	386
1830	2,860
1845	19,708
1851	30,775’

It is now nearly 40,000. The assessed rateable property in Toronto was, in 1851, 3,116,400*l*. Montreal, in Lower Canada, contained, in 1816, 16,000 inhabitants; in 1851, 57,715; and it is believed now to contain 70,000. Quebec, in 1816, contained 14,880 inhabitants; in 1851 it contained 42,052.

* ‘The World’s Progress.’

Bytown, in Upper Canada (now the City of Ottawa), in 1830 contained 150 houses; it now numbers 12,000 inhabitants. Numerous flourishing towns in Western Canada are rapidly increasing in wealth and population. It is little more than thirty years since the first tree was felled on the spot where the Canadian House of Parliament will, we trust, shortly stand. There is good reason to think that the considerations which led to the selection of this site for the capital of the country were sound. Her Majesty and her advisers, to whom the question was referred by the Canadian Legislature, doubtless looked to the future, and anticipated the day when Canada would be proud of her capital and the noble and picturesque as well as accessible and convenient site which it will occupy.

In the production of wheat Canada is now unsurpassed by any country in the world. The progressive increase in cereal produce far exceeds that of the United States. In the Union, the growth of wheat had increased, in the ten years ending in 1855, 48 per cent.; while in the same period, in Upper Canada, it increased 400 per cent. The increase of the growth of Indian corn in the United States, for the ten years between 1840 and 1850, was 56 per cent.; while in Canada, in nine years, the increase was 163 per cent. The increase in the growth of oats in the United States, in the same period, was 17 per cent.; while in Upper Canada it was 133 per cent., and in Lower Canada 41 per cent., or in both together 70 per cent.

The field which Canada affords for profitable farming is unequalled by any other British colony, and is now generally thought superior to any that the United States can offer.

'It is most striking,' says a gentleman who bestowed much attention on the agriculture of Canada, 'to one who has never before witnessed such prodigality of nature, to see whole districts of many square miles in extent composed of alluvial deposits from thirty to eighty feet deep, of soil in some places so rich as to bear good crops of wheat for several successive years without manure; and others of nearly equal value, resting on red sandstone, trap, serpentine limestones, and other strata, most valuable for agriculture; evidences of the strength of the soil being manifest over all that remains in the state of the aboriginal forest, in the noble trees that occupy the ground in every stage of vigour and decay. There are also many miles in succession (as along the Grand River) too rich for wheat; others of a good sandy loam, suitable to such crops, but requiring the usual English rotations; other tracts of rich black mould, but requiring drainage, too rich at first for wheat, but which have been cropped for wheat for thirty or forty years, without manuring.'*

* 'Notes on Public Subjects made during a Tour in the United States and Canada.'

The abundance of rich land in Canada is, it must be admitted, the cause of much slovenly farming.* Only the best land, in remote settlements, is taken into cultivation, and as soon as it ceases to bear large crops it is abandoned, and suffered to run to waste; whereas a farmer in England must take repeated crops out of the same land, and keep it always in cultivation. Fifty bushels of wheat to the acre have been produced even where the stumps of trees still occupy a considerable portion of the ground. Near Toronto 100 bushels of wheat have been grown upon a single acre, and in some districts the land has yielded rich crops for twenty successive years without being manured. The average produce of wheat in Western Canada is stated by a competent authority as 16½ per acre, and in Eastern Canada 7½.† The former province thus appears to be best adapted to its cultivation, and produces it most largely; but Eastern Canada grows no inconsiderable quantity, and produces also large quantities of peas, oats, and the coarser grains. Hemp and flax also grow there with the greatest luxuriance. The average yield of wheat in some townships exceeds 22 bushels to the acre, and where an approach to good farming prevails the yield rises to 30 and often 40 bushels to the acre. In 1859 the yield of wheat considerably exceeded 25,000,000 bushels, and so good is the quality of Canadian wheat, that American millers are known to buy it in order to improve the quality of their flour, and in some instances to render it fit for exportation. The general average of the wheat crop in Great Britain is 28 bushels to the acre; and there seems no reason why Upper Canada should not equal that of Great Britain, with attention to drainage and high cultivation.

It is calculated that there is a greater proportion of wheat soil in Canada than in England. The climate would seem to preclude any rivalry in this respect between the countries. A region which for several months lies buried in snow might well be supposed unfriendly to vegetation. But a long continuance of snow on the earth is in fact highly favourable to agriculture in Canada. The intense frost would otherwise penetrate the soil to such a depth that it could not attain a proper degree of heat, even under a Canadian sun, before the autumnal frosts again checked the

* This state of things, however, is improving, and will necessarily be superseded in due time by a more careful cultivation. 'Over large tracts of some of the best land of the province,' says Mr. Tremenhoe, 'is now to be seen as good farming as one could desire to meet with. Gentlemen of independent property have set the example in many of the most eligible situations for settlers; substantial farmers from England and Scotland have followed, and have introduced with success all the best practices of "the old country."'

† 'Canada and her Resources,' by Alexander Morris.

energies of nature. Snow thus becomes a protecting garment until the April sun warms the air. The latent heat of the earth then begins to be developed, and water, gradually permeating the ground through every pore, renders friable the most impracticable soils. For a month before the apparent termination of a Canadian winter, vegetation is active on the surface of the earth, under a considerable depth of snow. In Western Canada the earth is seldom frozen more than twelve or eighteen inches deep. The summer temperature is frequently 90°, and occasionally rises to 105°; the harvest is brought rapidly to maturity; and it is impossible not to be impressed by this beneficent arrangement of Providence in giving a summer of great and almost tropical heat, as a necessary compensation for a rigorous winter.

American lands, in some portions of the 'far west,' may perhaps be richer than those of Canada; but over the boasted prairies of Illinois, Indiana, and Kansas, there stalks a destroyer, more terrible than the Indian in his most savage mood, and far more certain of his prey. Fever seizes annually its thousands of English, Irish, Scotch, and German labourers, and they are hurried in multitudes to the grave. Canada is no elysium of pleasure, no Utopia of wealth, but a country in which an industrious emigrant may form for himself a happy home, and enjoy the greatest of human blessings—*independence and health*; and to these advantages are added political freedom for himself, free education for his children, a pure administration of justice, and a fair prospect of affluence as the reward of industry and economy.*

There is one great source of future prosperity to Canada which is just beginning to be appreciated—we refer to the western trade. The world is familiarised with the magic growth of some American cities, the sites of which were but yesterday swamps or primeval forests. The growth of Chicago, at the foot of Lake Michigan, has been probably more rapid than that of any other city in the Union. In 1831 Chicago was only an Indian trading port; in 1841 it was a small wooden prairie

* 'A Comparative View of the Climate of Western Canada considered in relation to its Influence upon Agriculture,' by Mr. Henry Youle Hind, Lecturer on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy.

Mr. Hind, in a table, shows the much greater equability of temperature of Toronto than of the Western States. The summer mean temperature of the following places is thus given as the average of ten years:—

Toronto	64·51
Fort Crawford, Wisconsin	72·38
Council Bluffs, Missouri	75·81
Muscatine, Iowa	69·
Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin	67·97
Detroit	67·33

town

town consisting of 5000 inhabitants. It is now an immense city, with rows of stately streets and noble public buildings, the emporium of an immense trade, and with a population of 150,000 souls. And yet this amazing progress represents but feebly the rapid commercial growth of some of the North-Western States. The problem of vital interest to Canada is the line of transit which this trade shall take. 'A short time since,' says the Governor-General of Canada, 'a very intelligent Norwegian gentleman, who had settled at Green Bay, high up on Lake Michigan, called on me. He assured me that the deep conviction of himself and the persons settled about him was, that their own trade and that of the North-Western regions beyond them must ultimately look to Montreal as its port, and the St. Lawrence as its highway to the ocean.' 'And I believe,' adds Sir Edmund Head, 'that no man can at present estimate the volume of the tide of commerce which twenty years hence will pour down this channel.'* Indeed the American cities on the great lakes are already opening a direct trade through the Canadian waters with Europe; more than twenty vessels having in the year 1860 passed through the Canadian canals, as soon as the navigation was open, for English ports.

To secure this valuable trade the Canadian Government has recently taken the bold and judicious step of abolishing the tolls on the St. Lawrence and on the Canadian canals, and has established free ports at the two extreme ends of the province; and a select committee of the Legislature has made the somewhat startling proposition for establishing a *daily* line of screw-steamers of not less than 2000 tons burthen, and with a speed of from ten to twelve miles per hour, between Liverpool and Quebec, to be connected with another line of steamers of 1000 tons burthen, of the same speed, to the Welland canal and railway, Toronto, or Hamilton; the communication to be carried on by a line of similar steamers in Lakes Erie or Huron to Chicago. By this route it is said that first-class passengers could reach Chicago from Liverpool, over the Grand Trunk Railway by Quebec, in twelve days; emigrants and light freights, by rail and water combined, in fifteen days, and, by steamer throughout, in fifteen or twenty days; thus shortening the passage from sixty-two days to, if needed, twelve; and reducing the cost of travelling and transport 25 and 50 per cent. How far the capital might be forthcoming for this grand scheme of communication we are unable to say, but the proposers calculate, perhaps with some reason, upon a postal subsidy being given to the ocean steamers running

* Despatch, August 30, 1858.

between Liverpool and Quebec, such as is now paid to the line of steamers between Liverpool and New York, upon the understanding that a daily line shall be established between Quebec and Liverpool in summer, and a weekly or a semi-weekly line, as might be required, between Portland and Liverpool in the winter.*

All the public works of Canada seem to indicate a consciousness of the great future which awaits the country; for they seem to be planned on so colossal a scale as to be out of all proportion to the wants of the existing generation. It is a remarkable proof of colonial energy and resources, that a country numbering less than three millions of people should possess not only the most magnificent and perfect inland navigation in the world, but in connection with it a system of railways unequalled on the American continent. During the last ten years the following lines of railway have been completed and opened in Canada:—

The Grand Trunk	1,112 miles.
The Great Western	357 "
The Northern	95 "
The Buffalo and Lake Huron . .	159 "
Other lines of a more local character, amounting in all to	370 "
	<hr/> 2,093 miles.

The charge which the province has taken upon itself in aiding the construction of these great works represents a capital of 4,161,150*l.*, or 249,669*l.* per annum. The unparalleled bridge across the St. Lawrence, of which its great engineer lived just long enough to hear that the last tube had been fixed (and of which an admirable account is given in the magnificent work which stands last in the heading of this article), would alone place Canada high among advanced and enterprising states. The complete financial collapse of this gigantic undertaking is a public misfortune, but the line is so essential to the progress of the country, that every effort ought to be made to relieve it from its difficulties, and present disappointment, we trust, will be amply compensated by future prosperity. But the most interesting, and, looking to the future, perhaps the most important,

* 'Those not familiar with the subject,' adds the Report, 'are startled at the idea of a daily line, but when reduced to figures it will not be found formidable: 2000 tons per day for 200 days, the length of the season, makes only 400,000 tons. We find the Erie Canal, before its enlargement, with locks of only 90 × 15 × 4 in 1853, conveyed 4,247,832 tons, valued at 207,199,570 dollars, in which tolls amounting to 3,204,718 dollars were received. To show that the principal portion of this trade is carried on in the summer season, we find that out of 3,129,118 barrels of flour conveyed from Buffalo to New York in 1856, only 482,000 barrels were conveyed by railway during the five months the Erie Canal was closed.'

railway in Canada, is that which passes through the valley of the Ottawa, and which will eventually be extended to Lake Huron and the Sault Ste. Marie. The day may not be distant when this route will be adopted for a railway communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The importance of such a line, as a means of shortening the communication between Europe and China, and of laying open the resources of an immense and at present little known territory, cannot be exaggerated. But to this subject we shall hereafter advert.

We have only touched upon a few of the material resources of Canada.* Upper, or, as it is now termed, Western Canada,

* The productions and commerce of Canada are represented in the following Tables:—

	1858.	1859.
	£.	£.
Agricultural products	1,976,100	1,834,949
Produce of the Forest	2,361,932	2,415,990
Animals and their products	615,691	947,376
Manufactures	81,344	121,808
Produce of the Sea	179,574	204,356
Produce of the Mine	78,706	117,128
Other articles	28,134	27,683
Total	5,225,781	5,670,203

Value of Exports.

	1858.	1859.
	£.	£.
Great Britain	2,224,653	1,994,189
North American Colonies	240,107	210,119
British West Indies .. .. .	..	1,756
United States of America	2,982,523	3,483,579
Other Foreign Countries	60,108	88,952
Total	5,507,391	5,778,095

Value of Imports.

	1858.	1859.
	£.	£.
Great Britain	3,073,872	3,696,521
North American Colonies	103,844	95,439
British West Indies .. .. .	..	133
United States of America	3,908,895	4,398,229
Other Foreign Countries	183,021	198,468
Total	7,267,632	8,388,790

is more especially the seat of British enterprise and industry, and is undoubtedly the most important portion of the Canadian territory. The plain of Western Canada contains an area of about 20,000 square miles. It is a tract of alluvial soil of great fertility, and covered with enormous forests of maple, beech, oak, basswood, ash, elm, hickory, walnut, chestnut, cherry, birch, cedar, and pine. On the borders of the lakes, and on the banks of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, as well as on those of the Thames and the Severn, the soil is abundantly rich; but the largest and finest tracts of land are in Western Canada. Towards the gulf of the great river the country is more mountainous and rocky; but the scenery of that portion of Canada possesses features of striking grandeur. The capes and headlands increase in boldness and altitude until they are interrupted by an enormous fissure in the granitic range through which the Saguenay flows: the waters of this great tributary run beneath a perpendicular bank, the river being in some places 1000 feet deep. 'The startling and picturesque features of the Saguenay,' says a recent writer, 'cannot be beheld without awakening in the heart sensations of wonder, fear, and reverence.'*

The St. Lawrence, of which the great lakes may be considered as expansions, has its true source in the Lake of the Woods to the north-west of Lake Superior, and in its course to the sea it traverses a distance of 2000 miles. Considered in all its features it is perhaps the most magnificent river in the world. Its *embouchure* is 120 miles in width; even its tributaries would be considered streams of the first magnitude in Europe, and several of those which fall into the Ottawa are more considerable than the British Thames. Without them the forests that cover the greater portion of the Canadian territory could possess little commercial value, whereas, by the facilities which Canada thus possesses for transporting their produce to the sea, these forests become an almost inexhaustible source of wealth. In 1852 the timber exported was valued at 1,351,713*l.*, and in 1859 at 2,415,990*l.*, and a million cwts. of pearl and pot ashes are annually

* A letter recently published in the 'Canadian News' gives the following report of the salmon-fishing in Canadian streams:—'On the north shore the fishing is capital. His Excellency Sir Edmund Head returned the other day from a short excursion with 200 salmon.' A clever book on Canadian sport, published anonymously by Longman, and edited by Sir James Alexander, places the salmon-fishing of the Lower St. Lawrence among the best, if not the best in the world. There are some thirty fine streams, tributaries of the St. Lawrence, on the north side between Quebec and the Gulf, all teeming with salmon, and not more than six of these have been fished at all. The Saguenay is the only one to which a steamer plies, and, consequently, it has received more than its fair share of attention, but its yield has continued as great as ever.

manufactured in the Canadian woods.* The lumberer is the advanced pioneer of civilization. He leaves the *clearance* of the forest to the settler; but wherever he has penetrated, the emigrant is certain eventually to follow. Only the finest and tallest trees in a Canadian forest will suit the purpose of the lumberer; these he selects; but as not one in a thousand is adapted to his trade, all the good trees have long since disappeared from the banks of rivers, and he has to penetrate further and further into the woody wilderness in order to obtain the timber of which he is in search. A Canadian lumberer, or timber-merchant, rents a portion of the forest, perhaps ten miles square, and employs a large number of labourers in his business, which is carried on in the woods during the winter months. He builds 'shanties' for such rough accommodation as he and his men require. The business of a lumberer is a speculative one, depending on the demand for timber, and it requires a considerable capital to carry it on; as many as 500 horses being employed by large operators. An experienced hewer can earn 6*l.* per month. The timber is brought to mills to be cut up by circular saws, and to be ready for transport to the St. Lawrence at the first opening of the navigation. The nearest streams are often rivers broken by foaming rapids, or interrupted by impassable falls; shoots are then constructed to carry the rafts into tranquil water; and the mouths of the tributaries are generally boomed to prevent the escape of the wood.†

Not fewer than 30,000 lumbermen are said to be employed on the Ottawa alone and its tributaries; but it is in the spring, when the rivers are swollen with melted snow, that the real hardships of the occupation are felt; when the men are employed in floating the timber which has been felled during the winter, down the streams. The water is then at a very low temperature, and the raftsmen are obliged to stand in it, often up to their middle, day after day, until the cargo is delivered to the merchant. The lumberman is consequently but short-lived, and is subject to severe rheumatism and other acute disorders. The occupation is one that, in consequence of the perils of the navigation, is calculated to develop many high qualities. The French Canadians almost monopolise this branch of industry; but the Scotch and Irish, who occasionally adopt it, not only become, under the tuition of the Canadians, very skilful raftsmen, but soon excel them in hardihood and daring, and have been

* Potash is very remunerative to the farmer, and requires but little skill in the manufacture. The ashes of 2½ acres of ordinary hard-wood land are considered sufficient to make a barrel of potash worth, if only of the second quality, 7*l.* 10*s.*, after deducting all expenses.

† The timber rafts that come down from the Ottawa are often so large as to be worth 5000*l.*, and it is considered a small one that is not worth 1000*l.*

known

known to rescue, by their presence of mind, a whole raft and its crew from destruction when their Canadian captain had completely lost his self-possession.*

There is a great variety of trees in the Canadian forests, and, contrary to the general supposition, the deciduous are the most numerous; but of the 114 species of known pines, 21 are natives of Canada or the Hudson's Bay territory. The freshness of their evergreen foliage enlivens the winter landscape; for, as remarked by Humboldt with his characteristic sentiment, 'they proclaim to the inhabitants of the northern regions, that, although snow and ice cover the earth, the internal life of the plants, like the fire of Prometheus, is never extinguished.' † The *Pinus balsamea*, or Balm of Gilead fir, grows to the height of fifty feet, and resembles the silver fir of Europe. The hemlock-spruce is another beautiful and very large tree, bearing some resemblance in its foliage to the common yew. The *Pinus nigra*, or black or double spruce, is common both to Canada and Nova Scotia. The *Pinus alba*, or white spruce, is one of the most beautiful of the Canadian trees, and grows to the height of 140 feet, with branches feathering down to the ground, and leaves of a peculiar sea-green hue; but the *Pinus strobus*, or Weymouth pine, is the largest in the Canadian woods, and grows freely in most of the districts eastward of the Rocky Mountains. It frequently attains the height of 200 feet; but in the Canadian forests it often resembles an immense stick with a brush at its head, 'in about the same proportion as the hair on the tail of an elephant.' ‡ It is of this tree that the pine-forests of North America are in general composed. Lord Weymouth, afterwards Marquis of Bath, bestowed considerable attention on the cultivation of this valuable tree in England, and the care he bestowed on its cultivation has justly entitled it to his name. It is known in commerce as the white or American pine. The timber is very valuable for masts. The age which the tree is capable of attaining is not known, but as many as 1500 annular divisions have been counted in its stem. This beautiful pine is likely to supersede the larch in some of our northern counties, particularly in the mountainous districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

'War with the woods!' is the Canadian settler's cry, and the axe and the torch are ever busy in the work of destruction. The extermination of trees in the Canadian forests is unintermitting; but it is a question whether the clearance of the country may not be carried too far, and entail at some distant day

* Kohl's 'Reisen in Canada,' p. 194.

† 'Cosmos, vol. ii. p. 90.

‡ Murray's 'British America.'

considerable inconvenience on its population. Canada possesses no coal; the country is certainly superabundantly wooded, but the timber cannot be said to be inexhaustible. The consumption of fuel during a Canadian winter must be immense; it must increase from year to year; and vast quantities of wood are annually used up in the construction of log huts, fences, and plank-roads. In a country where coal can never be cheap (although Nova Scotia possesses it in abundance), the chief dependence of the people for fuel must be upon the woods. In Norway and Sweden a considerable portion of land is purposely kept in a state of forest to supply the inhabitants with fuel; and it is calculated that 10 acres of wood ought to be set apart for the supply of a family consisting of five persons. Meanwhile, in the deep recesses of the wilderness, the giants of the forest, half-stifled by the rank vegetation and struggling for light and air, appear to entwine their mighty arms together and wrestle for each other's destruction. Some attain a green old age, vigorous to the last, but are prostrated suddenly by the storm that has swept harmlessly over younger heads. Others that have 'outlived the eagle,' sheltered from their earliest youth in some sequestered glade, but now tottering to their fall, stand bald, spectral, and desolate, waiting only for—

'Some casual shout that breaks the silent air,
Or the unimaginable touch of Time,'

to bow their aged heads to the earth. Then geraniums, honeysuckles, wood-lilies, foxgloves, and fire-flowers shoot up around them, and cover for a short time the prostrate trunks with a gorgeous pall, while they collapse and crumble into dust. The tints of the autumnal woods have always excited the astonishment and enthusiasm of travellers. Even in cloudy days the hue of the foliage is at times of so intense a yellow that the light thrown from the trees creates the impression of bright sunshine. Each leaf presents a point of sparkling gold. But the colours of the leafy landscape change and intermingle from day to day, until pink, lilac, vermilion, purple, deep indigo, and brown present a combination of beauty that must be seen to be realised, for no artist has yet been able to represent, nor can the imagination picture to itself, the gorgeous spectacle.

In Canada are seen all the indications of a country rapidly emerging from a state of nature into one fitted for the abode of a great people. Deep forests are traversed by the electric wire; dismal cedar-swamps are crossed by huge railway-embankments; the whistle of the locomotive is heard amidst the remotest wilds; and blackened stumps and gaily-painted cottages stand in close juxtaposition in spots which a year or two before
were

were known only to the wandering Indian. This combination of advancing civilization with primitive nature gives to Canada a very singular aspect. The moral characteristics of the country are to a great extent those of England, but its physical features are unlike. No hedgerows yet diversify the face of the cleared country. Many of the simple flowers whose names are 'household words' in England will not live in Canada. Neither the daisy nor the primrose are there. It has been often attempted to cultivate them, but they will not bear the dry air and bright sun. Many other plants are wanting—

‘That on the green turf suck the honey’d showers,
And purple all the ground with vernal flowers,’

in the dewy fields of England, but which are never forgotten by a British settler, and are associated with the remembrance of his first home, his childhood, and his country. Some poor Scotch peasants, about to emigrate, took away with them a few roots of heather, in the hope of making the beloved plant the cheerer of their exile. The heather, however, refused to grow in the rich Canadian soil. When the simple incident was related to Sir Walter Scott, it is said that his sympathy with the disappointed family betrayed itself even by tears. This tenacity of old associations is one of the strongest links which bind the colony to the parent state. A peasant, who at Christmas makes up for the absence of holly, with its bright berries, by tying bits of scarlet cloth on the stalks of a native shrub, and suspending it from the ceiling of his hut, is not likely to forget the land of his birth, or to fail in transmitting to his children’s children those simple tastes and national customs of their forefathers that are all-powerful in binding the two countries together and perpetuating an affection for England. This sentiment is nevertheless quite compatible with a rational preference by a settler for the land of his adoption. The feeling was well expressed by a ‘retired’ sailor, who had purchased and cleared a small patch of the forest, and was eating the bread of honest industry made from the produce of his own field. He would like, he said, much to go back to the ‘old country,’ if he could be his *own landlord* there; but in Canada the grass grew, the streams flowed, and the sun shone for *him*.

Canada possessing, as it does, a population of only 2,500,000, and having an area seven times the extent of England, the territory beyond it could not, it might be supposed, possess much present interest in an economical sense, or in reference to its capability for colonization. The rate, however, at which
population

population increases in Canada is, as we have shown, very great. The third of a century is generally reckoned a generation, but during that period the population has more than twice doubled itself. If that rate should be continued, Canada will have, at the beginning of the next century, 20,000,000 of inhabitants. A question indeed has already been mooted in reference to the rights of a great and ancient corporation, which possesses, by virtue of its charter, an enormous territory contiguous to Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian people have recently assumed a certain attitude of antagonism which has led to a Parliamentary inquiry by the Imperial Government. When a tourist arrives at one of the most western towns of Canada, perhaps fifteen hundred miles from the spot where he first set his foot on British territory in America, it may be difficult for him to realise the fact that there still stretches before him a space of two thousand miles of British land extending to the shores of the Pacific. And yet that vast intervening space between Niagara and the Pacific is but an inconsiderable portion of British North America, which, including the shores of the Polar Sea and the recently-established colony of British Columbia, comprises an area of little less than 4,000,000 square miles, or nearly a ninth part of the whole terrestrial surface of the globe. The larger portion of this great territory is sparsely peopled by hunting tribes, constituting numerous nations, nominally subject to the British Crown, but living in a state of practical independence. Little was known of it until comparatively recent times; but the several Arctic land expeditions under Dease, Simpson, Anderson, Stewart, Howse, and Sir John Richardson, have thrown much light upon the geology, mineralogy, natural history, botany, and general resources of the more northern regions of America; and have proved that, although a very large proportion of them are hopelessly barren and unfit for the habitation of civilized man, there are many parts endowed with great natural fertility, and which, although at present difficult of access, will doubtless, as population increases in the Canadian territory and its best soils are taken up, be carefully explored with reference to their capabilities for settlement.

The agricultural value of much of the immense region which extends from the Canadian frontier to the Arctic Sea appears to have been unduly depreciated. In no Arctic district to which man has yet penetrated is there a permanent covering of snow over any wide extent of low country. Even at Spitzbergen, only nine degrees from the Pole, there is a summer in which vegetation is active, and well-fed herds of reindeer show that the soil produces

produces an abundance of grass on which they thrive and fatten. In latitude 65° N., snow remains on the ground from the middle of October until the beginning of May; but there is a phenomenon which possesses a great significance with reference to the vegetation of the North American continent, namely, the regular advance northward of the isothermal lines in proceeding from east to west. Thus, from Lake Superior to the Mackenzie there is a continuous rise of the line which indicates the mean temperatures of the three summer months. The mean annual heat of Europe is from 8° to 15° Fahr. greater than that of America at the same distance from the equator. The inferior mean heat of America is due to the intense winter cold; but, as the summer heat regulates the culture of the *cerealia* and the growth of deciduous trees, the severe winters of America do not cause a scanty production. The northern shore of Lake Huron has the mean summer heat of Bordeaux, viz. 70° Fahr., while Cumberland House, in lat. 54° , long. 102° , on the Saskatchewan, exceeds in this respect Brussels and Paris. The culture of maize, a plant which thrives best in damp and hot tropical countries, extends into the temperate regions of America, and a profitable return can be obtained for it in Rupert's Land, between the 49th and 55th parallels.* Wheat is said to be raised with profit at Fort Liard, within the Hudson Bay territory, in latitude $60^{\circ} 5' N.$, longitude $122^{\circ} 31' W.$, and having an altitude of between 400 and 500 feet above the sea. It grows freely on the banks of the Saskatchewan, except in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, where the summer temperature is too low. At Fort Edmonton, in Rupert's Land, in latitude 53° , 'they manage,' says Mr. Kane, 'with very indifferent farming, to get from 20 to 25 bushels of wheat to the acre.' As wheat requires for its growth only the mean annual heat of 39° , combined with a summer heat of 56° , it has been found that a much inferior mean heat is sufficient for its profitable culture in the extreme climate of sub-Arctic America, provided the summer heat for 100 or 120 days be sufficiently great. At Cumberland House, in the same latitude as the northern shore of Lake Winnipeg, Sir John Richardson found that the temperature in the shade, in the last week of May, varied from 78° to 93° ; that wheat germinated and was above ground nine days after it was sown, and barley in seven; and that reaping could be commenced on the 1st of August. Barley ripens well at Fort Norman, on the 65th parallel; and at Fort Simpson, in 63° latitude, it is sown from

* Geographical Distribution of Plants. Appendix to Sir John Richardson's 'Arctic Searching Expedition,' p. 267.

the 20th to the 25th of May, and is generally ripe on the 30th of August. The 65th parallel of latitude must, however, be considered the northern limit of the *cereal*ia in this meridian. Barley has been seen in full ear at Fort Simpson, having been sown only seventy-two days. Potatoes yield abundantly at Fort Liard, and grow well at Fort Simpson and Fort Norman. They have not succeeded at Fort Good Hope, near the 67th parallel, although at the latter place turnips, in favourable seasons, attained a weight of from 2 to 3 lbs. Further north, trials in the growth of culinary vegetables have met with no success. Nothing would grow except cresses; and the effect of intense and long-continued cold in stunting the development of trees in these high latitudes is strikingly shown by the fact that on the borders of the Great Bear Lake four hundred years are required to bring the stem of the white spruce to the thickness of a man's wrist.*

The territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, including that held under a Crown licence and that held under a lease from the Canadian Government, comprises an enormous area, reaching from the Canadian frontier to the shores of the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans; but its operations also extend over territories that owe allegiance to the Governments of Russia and the United States. The whole country subject to its influence exceeds 4,500,000 square miles, and is divided into four departments, thirty-three districts, and one hundred and fifty-two posts; and the Company commands the services of three thousand agents, traders, voyageurs, and servants, and gives employment, more or less constant, to more than one hundred thousand savage Indian hunters. This great territory is sprinkled over with groups and chains of lakes, the heads of which so nearly approach that it would be easy to unite them, and thus divide that portion of the North-American continent into a multitude of islands. Although this is the general geographical characteristic of the Hudson's Bay territory, it includes many habitable districts and much fertile land. In some places the Company has already receded before the advance of civilization, and between the St. Lawrence and James's Bay there is a territory where the land is peculiarly adapted for cultivation, and which will, in all probability, ultimately form part of the great Canadian state or an independent settlement. The posts of the Company are dotted all over Northern America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The most northern station is situated on the Mackenzie River, within the Arctic Circle, where the cold is so great that the trees are frozen to the heart, and instruments peculiarly tempered are required for chopping wood for fuel, the

* 'Arctic Searching Expedition.' By Sir John Richardson. Vol. ii. p. 274.
common

common European hatchet breaking like glass whenever it is attempted to be used for that purpose. Such is the authority which the Company and their servants have acquired, that they exercise over the Indian population an almost absolute despotism. If a stranger should venture to travel far into the interior of the Hudson's Bay territory without a pass, no native would receive him, and it might fare so ill with him that his position would probably resemble that of the criminal of old, whose terrible punishment consisted of being interdicted from water and fire. The rank of a chief is not fully established even among his own people until it has been recognised at the fort to which he resorts for trade, and the officers of the Company annually distribute a number of red coats ornamented with gold lace, which are worn as badges of office on all important occasions.

The North American fur-trade once commanded such enormous profits that capitalists naturally desired to participate in so remunerative a business. A North-West Company was for some time established in Canada in rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company, and their quarrels not only greatly demoralised the natives, but led to a contest for the fur that was disgraceful to civilization. The present Company was formed by an amalgamation of the two bodies. The trade is sufficiently lucrative to tempt the investment of capital, provided the monopoly could be broken down, and the trade thrown open. There is a party in Canada supposed to be anxious to bring about such a change, but the desire we have heard expressed for an extension of the boundary in the direction of the north-west indicates simply a wish for, we believe, participation in the fur-trade. But that this trade can ever be made an open one without inflicting enormous evils upon North-Western America, and leading not only to the speedy extinction of the fur-bearing animals, but to that of the Indians themselves, there can be no difficulty, we think, in demonstrating. If the fur-trading monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company cannot be justified by common sense and humanity, it cannot be justified at all. But this does not preclude the right of requiring the surrender from the Company, for an equitable compensation, of such parts of its territory as from time to time shall be found adapted to, and required for, settlement; and in such an arrangement the Company, we believe, would always be found ready to acquiesce.

The system of trade carried on with the Indians is entirely one of barter. Money is not known in the country, and business is transacted on the basis of a tariff of very old standing. The standard of value in the territory of the Company

is the skin of the beaver, by which the price of all other furs is fixed. It forms the unit of computation. Thus, four or five beavers are equivalent to a silver fox; two martens to a beaver; twenty musk-rats to a marten; and if an Indian wishes to purchase, for example, a gun, he must give for it twenty beavers, or four silver foxes, or two hundred musk-rats, or the furs of other animals, all of which have their recognized place in the tariff. But the price of furs is not fixed with reference to their intrinsic value, and for a very sufficient reason; for if the Company paid according to the real value of the skins, the finer kinds of animals would all be speedily hunted up, and the Indians would not trouble themselves to catch the inferior until all the higher descriptions had been destroyed. The Indian may thus have to give five silver fox skins, the value of which is at least 50*l.* in England, for a gun which may have cost only 22*s.*; but, on the other hand, he may procure the same gun for two hundred rat-skins, the value of which is only 5*l.** The system of trade is one of credit, by which the Indian is enabled to select from the Company's store the articles of which he is in want, and to pay for them at the conclusion of the hunting season. The Company annually exports, by the admission of their late governor, Sir George Simpson, commodities to the value of only about 60,000*l.*,† by which it acquires furs of a value sufficient to pay a dividend of 12½ per cent. per annum on its capital.

The fur-trade of British North America is not one in which unrestricted competition can be allowed to produce its legitimate effects. It is absolutely necessary that the Indians, for their own sakes, should be placed under certain restraints which can only be made effectual through the organization of a powerful company, equally interested with themselves in the perpetuity of the animals of the chase. An open trade would not only lead to the immediate introduction of ardent spirits as a medium of barter, but rival traders would bid against each other for the acquisition of the valuable furs, until in a very few years none would be left. The Hudson's Bay Company has converted nearly half a continent into one vast preserve, and employs the whole Indian population as its keepers. It discourages the pursuit of the fur-

* Many of the silver-fox skins are worth from twenty to forty guineas a-piece. They are purchased for the Russian market, being highly prized in that country.

† 'The money-value of the property annually distributed among the Indians is on an average less than 1*l.* per head.' Evidence of Sir George Simpson, Committee on Hudson's Bay Company, Question 1457. Apart from the question of equivalents the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company and their officers towards the Indians is marked by great humanity and consideration, each station being in fact an Indian hospital.

bearing animals during the season when the females are breeding or rearing their young, and withdraws the trading posts from such districts as have been impoverished by an over-pursuit. The wild animals are thus found to increase under careful management; and as their existence and that of the Indians are inseparable, the trading monopoly may be said to be essential for the preservation of both. Indians must be hunters, or they will perish from off the face of the earth. It is not in their nature to settle and cultivate the soil, nor is their country in its more northern latitudes adapted for such a life. These people will not amalgamate with the European race; and an attempt to convert them into tillers of the earth and to fix them to a definite spot would be as futile as to try to domesticate wild ducks in the homestead, or to bring up an eagle with barn-door fowls. No influence or encouragement will make them agriculturists; and if the progress of European settlement should encroach on their present hunting-grounds, there will be an ample space left on the great continent over which they can wander at will, and where they can perpetuate their race and their pursuits.

The fur-bearing animals of British North America are numerous and valuable. The value of the furs imported into England since the commencement of the trade has been estimated at 20,000,000*l*. According to an interesting report of the jurors of the Great Exhibition in 1851, 120,000 sable skins were annually brought into England from the Hudson's Bay territories, as well as great numbers of those of the fisher, mink, skunk (which from the fetor that it emits has received the sobriquet of *enfant du diable*), musk-rat, beaver, otter, fox, bear, rabbit, racoon, badger, and many others. Some of these are exported in large quantities to the continent. Of the skunk none of the skins are retained in England—they are in somewhat bad odour in this country—but they are freely taken by our German customers, less fastidious in some respects than ourselves. Of the musk-rat, a million of skins are imported. The beaver is less in demand than it was, and its value has considerably fallen since the introduction of silk hats. The black and silver fox skins are the most valuable. The skins of the black, grey, and white polar-bear are always in request, and the supply is not equal to the demand.* The Hudson's Bay rabbit forms a soft lining for our ladies' cloaks, while the German *belles* are content with the coarser and cheaper fur of the racoon. The badger

* The Guards still retain their stately bear-skins, but our noble Fusilier regiments have long been deprived of them; and the Pioneers of our infantry of the line have lost half their grim attractions.

supplies that portion of the community which still adheres to the use of the razor with shaving-brushes, and the lynx, white, silky, and spotted, is imported largely by the United States. The demand for furs has of late years greatly increased in England.

There are two subjects of great interest in relation to the future of Canada, to which we shall briefly refer: namely, the Red River settlement, and the recent expeditions by the authority of the British and Canadian Governments for the purpose of ascertaining whether a practicable pass exists within British territory over the Rocky Mountains, with the ultimate view to an overland route from the coast of the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The small settlement on the Red River has been almost entirely insulated by natural causes from the other British possessions in North America. It is separated from the most advanced point of civilization by 400 miles of uninhabited country. The length of the ordinary route from the head of Lake Superior to Fort Garry, the principal station of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Red River, is 635 miles; and the intermediate district consists of a chain of lakes and rivers, presenting frequent obstructions to a boat-navigation, in falls and rapids, which are only overcome by a system of portages incompatible with the transport of heavy merchandise, unless at a great cost. This is the ordinary canoe-route between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg. Although the country is in parts well adapted for cultivation, it is as yet quite unsettled. The lakes and rivers abound in fish; and the scenery is in many places highly interesting and romantic. The Lake of the Woods, the Lake of the Thousand Isles, Rainy Lake, Sturgeon Lake, and Pine Lake, all possess features that have excited the admiration of travellers. The beauty of Sturgeon Lake is of a high order. 'No lake,' says the commander of a recent exploring expedition, 'yet seen in the route can bear a comparison for picturesque scenery with Sturgeon Lake.' Sir John Richardson, in his Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land, was greatly impressed with the beauty of the Lake of the Thousand Isles, and predicted that its shores would ere long be studded with the summer-retreats of wealthy citizens of the adjacent states, and that the incongruities of taste would soon mar the fair face of nature. On Pine Lake high precipitous rocks are clothed with dense groves of pine rising above a mass of light green aspen foliage. The vegetation on the borders of these secluded lakes is described as most luxuriant. The wild oat attains an extraordinary size; and the convolvulus and honeysuckle twine in wild profusion round every possible support. On the banks of Rainy River and Rainy Lake wheat and potatoes were seen 'growing to perfection;' and of one day's journey of forty miles
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the Government surveyor remarks 'that he had seldom seen such an extent of rich land without a break, or a country so well adapted for settlement.'* The distance from Rainy Lake to the Lake of the Woods, following the windings of the stream, is described as about eighty miles; and throughout the whole of this extent the land fronting the river is pronounced fit for colonization; and an opinion is expressed that, with the process of clearing, much that is now included in the area occupied by swamps might be reclaimed without difficulty or great expense. In other places the country is represented as covered with the richest profusion of rose-bushes, woodbine, convolvulus, helianthus, and vetches of the largest dimensions; and the camping-place of the expedition often resembled 'a rich, overgrown, and long-neglected garden.' Further north, on the Winnipeg river, the soil in many places was found very fertile, and all kinds of farm and garden produce succeeded well. Wheat is there sown on the 20th of May, and reaped about the 29th of August. Potatoes are never attacked by spring or fall frosts. Indian corn ripens well. Spring commences generally about the 10th of May, and winter sets in generally about the 1st of November. The wild rice grounds present the appearance, in a favourable season, of a vast expanse of grain ready for the sickle. Here the game of the country congregates; and revelling in the abundant supply of food, immense flocks of aquatic birds common to these regions are to be found. The scenery among the islands of the Lake of the Woods is singularly picturesque, consisting of 'every variety of bare precipitous rock, abrupt timbered hills, gently wooded slopes, and open grassy plains.' The most favoured spots have been selected as the sites of Indian lodges. On Garden Island, in the Lake of the Woods, Indian corn grows luxuriantly: the Indians have cultivated the land from time immemorial, and have never known an instance of their crops being injured by frost. It is singular that a country, the general conception of which is that of a wilderness of marsh and swamp, should be not only replete with pictorial interest, but be found to possess in many places great agricultural capabilities. But nature is not uniformly attractive in these lonely regions, as may be inferred from the description by a guide, of his attempts to vary the monotony of his life when stationed at Roseau Lake. He said that when he wished to see anything beyond the four walls of his log-shanty and the rushes with which it was surrounded, he was in the habit of mounting to the roof, and from the top of the mud-chimney enjoying the view; which consisted of reeds to the north, reeds to the south, reeds to the east, and to the

* Mr. Dawson's Report, p. 44.

west, as far as the eye could reach, the lake, fifteen miles in length, bounded by reeds; and the only sounds he ever heard were the sighing of the wind through the reeds, and the flapping of the wings of countless flocks of ducks and geese, as they daily rose from the reeds to take their morning flight.

The only population on the borders of this extensive chain of lakes and rivers consists of a few wandering Indian tribes, friendly if well treated, but jealous of their rights, suspicious of strangers, and sensitively apprehensive of the consequences of a closer approach of civilization. They are represented as a tall, well-formed, muscular race, with a very independent bearing, quite unlike the subdued deportment of the Indians in the settled portions of Canada.

'What are these men,' said a chief to the officer commanding the exploring expedition, 'that I see around me? Are they ministers or *surveyors*, or what are they? Did they see nothing near the fort on Rainy River? Did they not see a grave—a single grave? That was a CHIEF's grave. My people here are descendants of that chief, and they do not know for what purpose you have been sent here, and pass through our country. We have heard that you have been gathering flowers. The white man looks upon our flowers and trees—and takes away the Indians' land. We are poor, but we have hearts, and do not wish to part with our country. We do not wish to die. White men would bring death to us, and our people would pass away. We wish to live and hold the land which God has given us, and our fathers won.'*

A wide-spread fear of the consequences of increased European intercourse seems to prevail amongst the Indian tribes. 'All around me,' said a chief in the Saskatchewan country, 'I see the smoke of the white man to rise. The long knives (the Americans) are trading with our neighbours for their lands, and they are cheating them and deceiving them. Now we will not sell or part with our lands.' A war of great ferocity is being carried on between the United States and some contiguous Indian tribes, and the native communities are generally in a state of hostility with one another; but it is not a little surprising to find an enthusiastic apostle of peace exerting his influence over his countrymen to put an end to their barbarous contests. 'Among the Indians,' says Captain Palliser, 'that came to trade was a man Mr. M'Kay was well acquainted with. This man was a remarkable exception to the generality of his tribe; they call him "the Peacemaker," and twice within the last two years he pushed his way alone into the Blackfoot country, and walked into the enemy's

* Papers relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement.

camp unarmed, with the peace-pipe in his hand, exhorting them to peace, *and offering them the alternative of killing him.* The result, on each occasion, was a treaty of peace to the Crees, and a present of horses to the Peacemaker.'

With a view to the formation of an agricultural settlement within its territories, the Hudson's Bay Company granted to the Earl of Selkirk, in the year 1811, a tract of country on the banks of the Red and Assiniboin Rivers, where the soil appeared favourable to cultivation, and it was intended that this settlement should be peopled by emigrants from Great Britain and by Indians conjointly, in the hope that the gradual civilization of the latter might be effected by an intermixture of the two races. Lord Selkirk, at a great expense, conveyed several hundred families to this settlement, but the evils attendant on the competition in the fur-trade broke up the community on two occasions, and an arrangement was eventually entered into with the representative of the first grantee for the surrender of the territory to the Company, under whose government it has since remained.

The Red River rises in Ottetail Lake, in the Minnesota territory, belonging to the United States. The general course of the river is south-west, until it makes a bend to the north, when it meanders through a prairie destitute of timber, and which declines in elevation until it forms a vast level plain. The river is from 200 to 350 feet broad, with a moderately rapid current, which has, in the course of ages, excavated a winding channel to the depth of from thirty to forty feet, in a tenacious clay, through a nearly level country for a distance of 100 miles. The banks are precipitous, and in some places clothed with timber of large growth. The farms occur at intervals for a distance of twenty-three miles, and some well-built stone houses and churches give a favourable impression of the settlement. This remarkable district has been termed a 'paradise of fertility.'

The Red River Settlement has had many difficulties to contend with. The soil is undoubtedly of almost unsurpassed fertility, and crops of all descriptions ripen well: 56 bushels of wheat to the acre is not an unusual produce. The potato crops are described as most abundant, and the capacities of the country for fattening stock, as inexhaustible. 'Look at that prairie,' said a Scotch settler; '10,000 head of cattle might feed and fatten there for nothing. If I found it worth my while I could enclose 50, 100, or 500 acres, and from every acre get 36 to 40 bushels of wheat year after year. I could grow Indian corn, barley, oats, flax, hemp, hops, turnips, tobacco—anything you wish, and to any amount, but what would be the use? There

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are no markets. If we had only a market, you might travel long before you would see the like of these prairies.' The cold of winter is often 45° below zero; mercury freezes, and remains congealed for days. No coal has yet been discovered that is suitable for fuel, and, being a prairie country, it is not abundantly supplied with wood.* It possesses no outlet for its surplus produce, and is subject to occasional inundations caused by the rise of the river. The cost of transport for a ton of goods from Lake Superior is 45*l.*; consequently the difficulty of procuring stock and implements, except from the United States, is insurmountable. The natural access to and outlet from the country is, in fact, through the United States. It is extremely improbable that emigrants will yet proceed from Canada to the Red River Settlement merely for the purpose of obtaining land; but of the adaptation of the valley of the Red River for agriculture, notwithstanding the extreme severity of its winter, there can be no doubt. The mean summer temperature is higher than that of Canada, being 67·76; while that of Quebec is 62·91; Toronto, 63·98; and Montreal, 66·62.

There are, however, political considerations connected with this isolated settlement which cannot be prudently overlooked. The communication, which is rapidly increasing, between the United States and the Red River population will, in the opinion of the able individual who has so well described its features, 'if some steps are not taken for opening a practicable route with Canada, monopolise the whole traffic of the interior, and thus drawing those strong ties of commerce and mutual interests tighter and tighter, may yet cost England a province, and offer an impassable barrier to the contemplated connexion of her Atlantic and Pacific colonies.' The stations of the United States approach within two miles of those of the Hudson's Bay Company in this district, and a small American fort is about to be converted into a town with a railway-station, although surrounded at present only by a wild waste. This 'town' Captain Palliser found possessed a post-office, but on expressing some excusable anxiety as to the safety of his letters if committed to it, he was informed by an intelligent half-breed that the post there was generally considered 'a very lucky one.'

One of the most remarkable facts that recent geographical researches have brought to light is the total unfitness of a

* 'Firewood, of which large quantities are required during the severe and lengthened winter, has now to be "hailed" a considerable distance, or rafted down the rivers.' Report by Captain Blakiston, R.A. Sir George Simpson states 'that the present population of Red River have great difficulty in providing wood for their immediate wants.'

large portion of the United States' territory, on the eastern flank of the Rocky Mountains and south of the great bend of the Missouri, for settlement. This region of the Rocky Mountains, and the sterile belt to the east of them, constitute an area equal to one-third of the whole surface of the United States. Owing to the absence of rain, several great rivers are in summer converted into long shallow reaches or ponds, and a large portion of the country consists only of sandy plains. The popular impression, that immense areas of land available for agriculture lie between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, has been completely disproved by recent American surveys for a projected Pacific railroad; and the confirmed sterility of the soil has given to this district the title of 'The Great American Desert.' A very important consequence results from this discovery, namely, that the only direction in which the population of the United States can obtain an extension of their agricultural settlements is northwards, that is to say, partially along the banks of the Missouri, towards the head of the Mississippi, and in the direction of the valley of the Red River. The contrast which this portion of British North America presents to the contiguous territory belonging to the United States is now attracting considerable attention. The fact of the presence of herds of wild cattle on plains at so high a latitude affords ample proof of their natural fertility. Of these plains and their woodland borders the improveable surface measures fully 500,000 square miles. In every element constituting the basis of natural wealth, the country lying westward and north-westward of Lake Superior is admitted by American agriculturists to be far more valuable than the interior of their own country in those districts of which Salt Lake and Upper New Mexico are well-known examples.

These facts, which have been brought prominently forward in official reports by the United States Government, have a most important bearing on the future of the British territory in the north-west of America, and more especially on the Red River Settlement and the whole valley of the Saskatchewan. The northern slope of the American continent thus becomes invested with a high interest and importance, and the propriety of speedily establishing a route which shall combine this vast territory in an unbroken chain of communication can no longer be questioned. It is remarked by Captain Blakiston, in his very able and interesting report, that the 'great circle' (or shortest line on the globe) passing through Montreal, and New Westminster, the capital and seaport of British Columbia, follows the valley of the Ottawa, thence to the north shore of Lake Superior, through

the Red River Settlement, touching the South Saskatchewan, and so across the Rocky Mountains, and that this is the only direct continuous line for a land-route through the more northern part of the continent, clearing both Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, and that it will be this route that the continuous line of railway through the British provinces, whenever one shall be made, must follow. Respecting the fitness of much of this tract of country for settlement there appears to be some difference of opinion. The great river, Captain Blakiston informs us, does not drain the plains, but traverses the country, as a canal fed from the Rocky Mountains. It may therefore be said to have no basin; and there is, he says, a remarkable absence of tributaries; 'consequently the fertile valley of the great Saskatchewan, containing an unlimited extent of arable land, does not exist.' Captain Palliser, on the other hand, affirms that the extent of surface drained by the Saskatchewan and other tributaries to Lake Winnipeg amounts in round numbers to 150,000 square miles; that 65,000 miles of this territory consist of a partially wooded country abounding in lakes and rich natural pasturage, in some parts rivalling the finest park-scenery of England; and that one-third of the latter area may be considered as at once available for the purposes of the agriculturist. Mr. Hind is even more decided in his opinion of the fertility of a very large portion of the valley of the Saskatchewan, and asserts that there is a broad strip of fertile country rich in water, woods, and pasturage, drained by the North Saskatchewan and some of its affluents; and he concludes his remarks by the following important statement:—'It is,' he says, 'a physical reality of the highest importance to the interests of British North America, that this continuous belt can be settled and cultivated from a few miles west of the Lake of the Woods to the Passes of the Rocky Mountains; and any line of communication, whether by waggon-road or railroad, passing through it, will eventually enjoy the great advantage of being fed by an agricultural population from one extremity to the other.' Other explorers and travellers have also been struck with the fertility of the Saskatchewan district, and regard it as a land of great promise. 'The country here' (Fort Pitt, on the northern branch of the Saskatchewan), says Mr. Kane, 'abounds in buffalo; and grain and other produce might be raised plentifully if cultivated. During the whole of the three days that it took us to reach Edmonton House we saw nothing else but these animals covering the plains as far as the eye could reach; and so numerous were they that at times they impeded our progress, filling the air with dust almost to suffocation.' The country in many places, he adds, presents the appearance of a park, the
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gently undulating plains being dotted here and there with clumps of small trees; and he further describes it as 'a most delightful country, covered with luxuriant herbage—the plains enamelled with flowers of various kinds, presenting more the aspect of a garden than of uncultivated land.'* Mr. Dawson also states as the result of his observations, that the extensive territory drained by the Saskatchewan and its tributaries is perfectly fit for settlement, which he considers fully proved by the success which attends the farming operations which are carried on, although on a small scale, at the various trading posts throughout the country, and by the fact that the cattle and horses at these establishments are generally left to forage for themselves during the winter; and from what is yet known of the country, he affirms that there is not perhaps on the globe so great an extent of territory so little broken by barren tracts, or one which presents a finer field for colonization. Further explorations can alone bring to light the true character of this territory, and settle the question of its agricultural value. Of the existence of coal there appears to be no doubt: it has already been discovered on the Red-Deer River, and in beds so close, that out of 20 feet of strata 12 were of coal; on the banks of the Saskatchewan beds of hard coal are constantly seen cropping out; and there is every reason to suppose that an extensive coal-field exists, reaching probably to the base of the Rocky Mountains.

Connected with this subject is the recent important geographical discovery by Captain Palliser, of a practicable line of communication throughout the whole distance from the Red River Settlement across the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of Frazer River, entirely within British territory; and the connexion of the Saskatchewan plains with a known route to British Columbia may be considered as the last and most important result of the recent exploring expeditions. The Kananaski Pass, to which Captain Palliser gives the preference over several others both on account of its direct course and easier ascent, is through a wide gently-sloping valley, and its summit-level, he thinks, might be reduced by a short tunnel to a height of 4600 feet above the sea. The descent to the west, he describes as being comparatively easy. Captain Blakiston, on the other hand, gives the preference to another pass, called the Kootanie Pass, for a railway across the mountains within the British possessions, without, however, committing himself to the opinion that it is absolutely the best to be found, and he gives the

* 'Wanderings of an Artist,' p. 127.

following statement of distances to be traversed by a railroad to the Pacific within British territory :—

	Geographical Miles.
'Lake Superior to Red River Settlement	320
Red River Settlement <i>via</i> Elbow of South Branch of Saskatchewan to Rocky Mountains ..	700
Kootanie Pass	40
West end of Kootanie Pass to Mouth of Frazer's River, Gulf of Georgia	300
Total, Lake Superior to Pacific	1,360
Probable length of railroad, 2,303 miles English.*	

A pack-road already exists leading from British Columbia to the Red River Settlement through the Rocky Mountains, following the valley of the Saskatchewan, chiefly over an open prairie country of great beauty, and replete with interest to the tourist and the sportsman; and Governor Douglas states that the whole distance from the Frazer to the Red River, with the exception of the Kootanie Pass, which is thickly wooded, may be safely travelled with carts, and that if the Canadian Government would undertake to open a road from the Red River to the borders of Lake Superior, which presents no very formidable difficulties, the connexion between British Columbia and Canada would be complete, and the whole distance might be travelled on British soil.* A road of some description from the Canadian territory to the Pacific is an undertaking essential to the future progress and the security of these important portions of the British empire; which will be best maintained, and their resources developed, by being brought into connexion with a powerful naval and commercial establishment on the North Pacific.

On the expediency of undertaking the construction of a work of such magnitude as a railway, in the present state of the provinces through which it must pass, opinions may differ; its practicability may be considered as established; and it may be added that railways are the indispensable pioneers of progress, that they invariably contribute to people the districts through which they pass, and must in due time become remunerative. In the United States and in Canada the effect of railways in peopling the wilderness is wonderful. Population springs up, said a settler, whose district has just been penetrated by the iron road, as rapidly as weeds do from the soil, or it flows like water into a channel which has been excavated for the course of a canal.

The Red River is navigable for small steamers from Lake

* Papers relating to British Columbia. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1860. Part 3, p. 68.

Winnipeg to a considerable distance within the territory of the United States, and a steam-boat belonging to the Americans is said to have arrived at the Red River Settlement, on its first trip, in June 1859. The adaptation of the great river Saskatchewan for steam-navigation is not yet satisfactorily established. American authorities insist that the Saskatchewan, in both its branches, is as navigable as the Mississippi, quite to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Captain Blakiston, on the other hand, states that, taking either branch of the river, it is ill adapted for steam-navigation, and he travelled on it for 1000 miles, at the time of the year when the water is lowest; but he admits that although it may possess considerable difficulties for boats, which are restricted to a certain distance from the banks, it would not necessarily be impassable for steamers which can keep the mid-channel.

We have wandered far from Canada; but the subjects which we have discussed have an important relation to the future of that great dependency. If these great Northern possessions are ever to be brought within the domain of civilization, it is from Canada that they will receive the rudiments of their civil policy and the first impulse of their material progress. From Canada, too, they will, in all human probability, derive the population that is to convert districts, now only the hunting-grounds of wandering Indians, into fertile fields waving with golden harvests, and rich pastures ministering to the sustenance of many millions of the human race. The sentiment embodied in the Speech from the Throne announcing the erection of British Columbia into a separate colony pledges the nation to a policy as grand and comprehensive in its design as it will be glorious and beneficent in its results. 'I hope,' Her Majesty was instructed by her Ministers to say, 'that this new colony in the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress by which my dominions in North America may be ultimately peopled, in an unbroken chain, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by a loyal and industrious population.' The time must eventually come when the primeval forests, the prairies, and the banks of the lakes and streams of this all but unpeopled territory, will be the home of millions of British subjects, who will build stately cities amidst groves of pine, and cover the navigable rivers and inland seas with ships. To the greatness of its material future we trust Canada will add the far grander spectacle of a people free, not only from all teasing restrictions and interference, but from the dominion of those passions and prejudices which, wherever they are permitted to obtain an ascendancy, constitute in themselves the heaviest, the most servile, and the most degrading of yokes.

ART. II.—*The Sleeping Bard; or Visions of the World, Death, and Hell.* By Elis Wyn, Translated from the Cambrian British by George Borrow. London, 1860.

THE Welsh style themselves Cymry or Cumry, a word which, in their language, means a number of people associated together.* They were the second mass of population which moved from Asia into Europe. They followed and pushed forward the Gael or Gauls; were themselves impelled onward by the Teutons, who were followed by the Slowaks or Slavonians, who were themselves hunted, goaded, and pestered by a wild waspish race of people, whom, for want of a better name, we will call Tatars or Tartars. The Cymry have left their name behind them in various regions far eastward of the one where they now sojourn. The most easterly countries which still bear their name, or modifications thereof, are Cambia, 'which is two dayes journey from the head of the great river Bruapo,' and the Cryme or Crimea. In those parts, and 'where Constantinople now is,' they tarried a considerable time, and increased and multiplied marvellously: and it was whilst tarrying in those regions, which they called collectively Gwlad yr Haf, or the summer country, that an extraordinary man was born amongst them, who was called by Greeks and Romans, hundreds of years after his death, Hesus, but whom the Cymry called, and still do call, Hu or Hec, with the surname of Cadarn, or the Mighty. This Hu or Hesus taught his countrymen the use of the plough, and to a certain extent civilized them. Finding eventually that the summer country was becoming overpopulated, he placed himself at the head of a vast multitude and set off towards the west. Hu and his people fought or negotiated their way through various countries possessed by the Gael, till they came to the shore of the sea which separates the great isle of the west from the continent. Hearing that it was only thinly peopled they determined to pass over to it; and put their determination into execution, crossing 'the hazy sea,' at present termed the German Ocean, in boats made of wicker work and skins, similar to but larger than the coracles which the Cymry always carried with them in their long expeditions.

This great island was called Alban, Albyn, or Albion. Alban is a Gaelic or Gaulic word, signifying properly a hill-region. It is to be found under various modifications in different parts of the world, but only where the Gaulic race have at some time

* It is but right to state that the learned are divided with respect to the meaning of 'Cumro,' and that many believe it to denote an original inhabitant.

sojourned.

sojourned. The word Afghan is merely a modification of Alban, or Alpan; so is Armenia; so is Alp; so is of course Albania. The term was given to the island simply because the cliffs which fronted the continent, where the sea between the two lands was narrowest, were very high and towering. The island at the time of the arrival of the Cymry had, as has already been intimated, a scanty population. This population consisted of Gael or Gauls, a people of cognate race to the Cymry, and speaking a language much the same as theirs, differing from it, however, in some respects. Hu and his people took possession of the best parts of the island, either driving the few Gael to other districts or admitting them to their confederacy. As the country was in a very wild state, much overgrown with forests in which bears and wolves wandered, and abounding with deep stagnant pools, which were the haunts of the avane or crocodile, Hu forthwith set about clearing it of some of its horrors, and making it more fit to be the abiding place of civilized beings. He made his people cut down woods and forests, and destroy, as far as was possible, wild beasts and crocodiles. He himself went to a gloomy pool, the haunt of the king of the efync, baited a huge hook attached to a cable, flung it into the pool, and when the monster had gorged the snare drew him out by means of certain gigantic oxen,* which he had tamed to the plough, and burnt his horrid, wet, scaly carcass on a fire. He then caused enclosures to be made, fields to be ploughed and sown, pleasant wooden houses to be built, bees to be sheltered and encouraged, and schools to be erected where song and music were taught. O a truly great man was Hu Gadarn! though a warrior, he preferred the sickle and pruning-hook to the sword, and the sound of the song and lute to the hoarse blast of the buffalo's horn:—

The mighty Hu with mead would pay
The bard for his melodious lay;
The Emperor of land and sea
And of all living things was he. †

For

* Ychen banog: humped or hunched oxen, probably buffaloes. Banog is derived from ban,—a prominence, protuberance, or peak.

† Above we have given what we believe to be a plain and fair history of Hu Gadarn; but it is necessary to state, that after his death he was deified, and was confounded with the Creator, the vivifying power and the sun, and mixed up with all kinds of myths and legends. Many of the professedly Christian Welsh bards when speaking of the Deity have called Him Hu, and ascribed to the Creator the actions of the creature. Their doing so, however, can cause us but little surprise when we reflect that the bards down to a very late period cherished a great many druidical and heathen notions, and frequently comported themselves in a manner more becoming heathens than Christian men. Of the confounding
of

For many years after the death of Hu the Cymry retrograded instead of advancing in civilization; they ceased to be a united people; plunder and devastation were of daily occurrence among them; every one did as he pleased, as far as in his power lay: there was no law, but the law of the strongest; and no justice, save that which was obtained from clemency and courtesy. At length one Prydain arose, who, either from ambition or a nobler motive, determined to introduce a system of government amongst them. By strength of arm and character he induced the Cymry of the lower country to acknowledge him for their head, and to obey certain laws which he enacted for the regulation of conduct. But neither his sovereignty nor his laws were regarded by the Cymry of the hilly regions. Prydain was the first king amongst the Cymry; and from his time the island was called Britain, which is a modification of his name, and the inhabitants Britons. The independent Cymry, however, disdained to call themselves or their districts after him, but still styled themselves Cymry, and their districts Cumrie-land and Cumber-land; whilst the Gael of the North, who never submitted to his sway, and who knew little about him, still called themselves Gael, and their country Caledon and Alban.

Various kings succeeded Prydain, during whose reigns the Britons continued in much the same state as that in which he

of what is heavenly with what is earthly we have a remarkable instance in the ode of Iolo Goch to the ploughman, four lines of which, slightly modified, we have given above. In that ode the ploughman is confounded with the Eternal, and the plough with the rainbow:—

‘The Mighty Hu who reigns for ever,
Of mead and song to men the giver,
The emperor of land and sea
And of all things which living be,
Did hold a plough with his good hand,
Soon as the deluge left the land,
To show to men, both strong and weak,
The haughty hearted and the meek,
There is no trade the heaven below
So noble as to guide the plough.’

To the Deity under the name of Hu there are some fine lines by one Rhys, a Welsh bard of the time of Queen Elizabeth, though they are perhaps more applicable to the Universal Pan or Nature than to the God of the Christians:—

‘If with small things we Hu compare,
No smaller thing than Hu is there,
Yet greatest of the great is He,
Our Lord, our God of Mystery;
How swift he moves! a lucid ray,
A sunbeam wafts him on his way:
He’s great on land, and great on ocean,
Of one more great I have no notion;
I dread lest I should underrate
This being, infinitely great.’

had

had left them; on the coming of one Dyfnwal Moelmud, however, to the throne, a mighty improvement was effected in their condition. This prince was the great lawgiver of the Britons, and the greatest benefactor which the race had known since the days of Hu Gadarn. Tradition differs as to his exact origin, but there is ground for believing that he was the chief of a Cornish tribe, and that he was elected to the throne on account of his wisdom and virtue. He gave a regular system of laws and a constitution to the kingdom, and appointed magistrates in every place, whose duty it was to administer justice without respect of persons in all disputes, and whenever the law had been violated. This great and good man is believed to have lived about 400 years before the Christian era.

After the Cymric or British race had been established in the island about 1300 years, they were invaded by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar. The king, who at that time ruled in Britain, was called Caswallon; he was a great warrior and much beloved by his subjects. In him and his Britons the Romans found their match and more, for after a month's hard fighting and skirmishing, they were compelled to betake themselves to Gaul, the country from which they had come.

Mighty was the triumph in Britain, says an old chronicler, on the retreat of the redoubted foe; and Caswallon gave a grand festival at *Caer Lud*, or London, which was reckoned in after times one of the three grand festivals of Britain. A grand festival indeed it must have been, if, as an ancient bard says,

‘Full twenty thousand beeves and deer
Were slain to find the guests with cheer.’

Britain was not subdued by the Romans till the time of Claudius Cæsar. When conquered it was still permitted to possess a king of its own, on condition that he should acknowledge the authority of Rome, and pay tribute to her. The first king in the world to confess the faith of Christ was a British king, tributary to Rome. This king, whose name was *Lles ap Coel*, made his confession as early as the year 160. The Christian faith is supposed by some to have been first preached in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea; by others, by St. Paul himself. After remaining several centuries under the sway of Rome, the Britons again became independent, the Roman legions being withdrawn from the island for the defence of their own country, threatened by barbarian hordes. They did not, however, enjoy their independence long; a ferocious race, of mysterious origin, whom they called *Gwyddelian Fichti*, invaded them, and filled their country with horror and devastation. Unable to offer any effectual
opposition

opposition to these invaders, they called to their assistance, from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Elbe, the Saxons or *men of the knives*, a bold and adventurous, but treacherous and bloody people, who at first fought stoutly for them, but soon turned against them, and eventually all but extirpated them from Southern Britain :—

‘ A serpent that coils,
And with fury boils,
From Germany coming with arm’d wings spread,
Shall subdue and shall enthrall
The broad Britain all
From the Lochlin ocean to Severn’s bed ;
And British men
Shall be captives then
To strangers from Saxonia’s strand ;
They shall praise their God, and hold
Their language, as of old,
But except wild Wales they shall lose their land.’ *

Taliesin.

Yes ; the Cymric or British race were dispossessed of Britain with the exception of that part which they still emphatically call *Cumrie*, but which by other people is called *Wales*. There they remained independent for a long time, governed by their own princes ; and there, though now under the sway of England, they still preserve their venerable language, the oldest in the world, with perhaps the exception of the Gaulic or Irish, with which it is closely connected. *Wales* is not a Cymric but a Saxon or Teutonic word, bestowed on the land of the Cymry by the seed of Hengist. Like the Gaelic word *Alban*, it means a hilly or mountainous region, and is connected with wall, wold, and wood. The Germans, from very early times, have called the Cymry *Welsh* or *Waldenses*, and the country where they happened to be, *Welschland*. They still apply to Italy the name of *Welschland*, a name bestowed upon it by their ancestors, because it was originally principally peopled by the Cymry, whom the Germans called *Welsh* from the circumstance of their inhabiting some mountainous or forest country in the far East, when they first came in contact with them.

We now proceed to give some account of the literature of the Cymry. We commence with their poetry, and from a very early period, quoting from a Cymric Triad :—‘ These are the three artificers of poetry and record amongst the nation of the

* The poetical translations in this notice are taken from Borrow’s ‘ *Songs of Europe*. ’

Cymry :

Cymry; Gwyddon Ganhebon, who first in the world invented vocal song; and Hu the Mighty, who first invented the means of recording and preserving vocal song; and Tydan, the father of the muse, who first gave rules to vocal song and a system to recording. From what these three men effected Bards and Bardism were derived; the dignities and customs pertaining to which were arranged systematically by the three original bards, Plenydd, Alon, and Gwbon.' Three ranks or orders constituted what was called barddas, or bardism; that of bard or poet, that of ovydd or philosopher, and that of druid or instructor. The motto of this institution was—'Y Gwir yn erbyn y byd,' or The Truth against the world; from which it would appear that bardism was instituted for the purpose of propagating truth. Bardism, or as it is generally though improperly styled, druidism, was the fount of instruction, moral and religious, in Britain and in Gaul. The vehicle by which instruction, or, as it was probably termed, truth, was propagated, was poetry. The bard wrought the philosophy of the ovydd into song, and the druid or instructor, who was also minister of such religion as the Celts and Cymry possessed, whatever that was, communicated to his pupils the result of the labours of the bard and ovydd. The Druidical verses then probably constituted the most ancient poetry of Britain. These verses were communicated orally, and were never written down whilst bardism or druidism lasted, though the bards and druids at a very early period were acquainted with the use of letters. Whether any genuine bardic poetry has been preserved, it is impossible to say; it is the opinion, however, of Cymric scholars of reputation, that certain ancient strains which the Welsh possess, which are composed in a measure called Englyn milwr, are either druidical strains or imitations of such. Each of these compositions is in three lines; the entire pith however of the triplet, generally consisting of a moral adage or a piece of wholesome advice, lies in the third line, the two first being composed of trivial and unconnected expressions. Many of these stanzas are called the stanzas of 'The Mountain Snow,' from the circumstance of their commencing with 'Eiry Mynydd,' which has that signification. The three lines rhyme together at their terminations; and a species of alliteration is observable throughout. A word or two here on Cymric rhyme and measures.

In Welsh poetry rhyme is found in a two-fold shape: there is alliteration, that is rhyme produced by the same letters following each other at certain distances in the body of the line, then there is the common rhyme, produced by two or more lines terminating with the same letters. In the older Welsh poetry, by
which

which we mean that composed before the termination of the first millennium, both rhyme and alliteration are employed, but in a less remarkable manner than in the bardic effusions of comparatively modern times. The extent to which the bards of the middle ages, and those of one or two subsequent centuries, carried rhyme and alliteration seems marvellous to the English versifier. We English think we have accomplished a great feat in rhyme when we have made three lines consonant in their terminations; but Dafydd Benfras, or David of the Thick Head, would make fifty lines rhyme together, and not think that he had accomplished anything remarkable in rhyming either. Our English alliterative triumph is the following line, composed by a young lady in the year 1800, on the occasion of a gentleman of the name of Lee planting a lane with lilacs:—

‘Let lovely lilacs line Lee’s lonely lane!’

in which not only every word, but every syllable commences with the same letter—*l*.

But what is this English alliterative triumph of the young lady compared with the Welsh alliterative triumph of Dafydd Nanmawr, who wrote a poem of twelve lines, every syllable of which commences with the letter *g*, with the exception of the last, which begins with *n*?

The earliest Cymric or British metre seems to have been a triban or triplet, in each line of which there were in general six syllables. The bards of the sixth, seventh, and several succeeding centuries used this metre, and likewise others, invented by themselves, in which the lines are of various length. There was no regular system of prosody till the year 1120, when one was established under the auspices of Gruffydd ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd. This Ap Cynan, who, though of Welsh origin, was born in Dublin, and educated at the Danish Irish court, was passionately fond of poetry, and was not only well acquainted with that of the British bards, but with the strains of the Icelandic skalds and Irish fileas. Shortly after his accession to the throne of Gwynedd, of which he was the rightful heir, he proclaimed an eisteddfod, or poetical sessions. At this eisteddfod, which was numerously attended by poets of various nations, a system of prosody was drawn up by competent persons, at his instigation, for the use of the Welsh, and established by his authority. This system, in which Cymric, Icelandic, and Irish forms of verse are blended and amalgamated, has with a few unimportant variations maintained its ground to the present time. It contains three primary measures, termed respectively, englyn, cywydd, and awdl. Of the englyn, there are five kinds;
of

of the cywydd, four; and of the awdl, fifteen. Each particular species of englyn, cywydd, and awdl has its appropriate name, which it is needless to give here. These three primary metres, with their modifications, make together twenty-four measures, which embrace the whole system of Welsh versification, in which, as somebody has observed, each line, word, and letter, are so harmonized by consonancy, chained so accurately, woven so closely and correctly, that it is impossible to extract one word or even letter without causing a hideous gap. Whoever has ventured to compose out of these measures, since the time of their establishment, has been considered by the Welsh scholar as unworthy of the name of poet.

The earliest recorded poet of the Cymry, after the days of Gwyddon Ganhebon and the other personages mentioned with him in the triad, is Merddin, Beirdd Emrys Wledig, or Merddin, Bard of Prince Emrys. He flourished about the middle of the fifth century, the period when the Saxons arrived in Britain, under the command of Hengist and Horsa. Besides poetry he was skilled in mathematics, and is said by the Welsh to have been the architect of Stonehenge. He has been surnamed Ambrosius, which is the Latin modification of the name of his patron Emrys. He is the Merddin, or Merlin, who has had to father so many of the prophecies which since his death have been produced. None of his poems are extant.

During the period which elapsed between the first coming of the Saxons, and the expulsion of the British from the Southern and eastern parts of the island, lived Aneurin, Taliesin, Llewarch Hen, and Merddin, surnamed Wyllt or the Wild, all celebrated poets, the latter of whom has generally been confounded with Merddin Ambrosius. Aneurin was a chief of the Ottadinian Britons, and his principal poem is the one styled Gododin, a word which probably means that which relates to the Ottadini. It is descriptive of the battle of Cattraeth, fought between the Britons and the Saxons, in which the former were so completely worsted that only three, amongst whom was Aneurin himself, escaped with their lives. The poem is composed in lines remarkably short, consisting in general of only six syllables. Aneurin was the Gildas of ecclesiastical history, and the name of Gildas is merely a Saxon translation of Aneurin, which signifies golden grove. Taliesin Ben Beirdd, or Taliesin Prince of Bards, was a North Welshman, but was educated at Llanreithin, in Glamorgan, under Catwg, celebrated for his aphorisms, who kept a school of philosophy there. He was called Prince of Bards because he excelled all his contemporaries in the poetic art. Many of his pieces are extant; amongst them is an awdl

awdl or ode, containing an abridgment of the history of the world, in which there is a stanza with regard to the destiny of the ancient Britons as sublime as it is true:—

‘Their Lord they shall praise,
Their language they shall keep,
Their land they shall lose
Except wild Wales.’

Llewarch Hen, or Llewarch the aged, was a prince of Cumberland. Driven from his domain by the Saxons, he sought a refuge at the place which is now called Shrewsbury, and subsequently on the shore of the lake of Bala, a beautiful sheet of water in Merionethshire, overlooked on the south by the great mountain Arran. There he died at the age of one hundred and fifty years. His poems consist chiefly of elegies on his sons, twenty-four in number, all of whom perished in battle, and on his slaughtered friends. They are composed in triplets, and abound with simplicity and pathos. Myrddin Wyllt, or Myrddin the Wild, was a Briton of the Scottish border. Having killed the son of his sister, he was so stung with remorse that he determined to renounce the society of men, and accordingly retired to a forest in Scotland, called Celydon, where he was frequently seized with howling madness. Owing to his sylvan life and his attacks of lunacy, he was called Merddyn Wyllt, or the Wild. He composed poetry in his lucid intervals. Six of his pieces have been preserved: they are chiefly on historical subjects. The most remarkable of them is an address to his pig, in which he tells the woes and disasters which are to happen to Britain: it consists of twenty-five stanzas or sections. In all of them a kind of alliteration is observable, and in each, with one or two exceptions, the first line rhymes with all the rest. Each commences with ‘Oian a phorchellan’—listen, little porker! The commencement of one of these stanzas might be used in these lowering days by many a grey-headed yeoman to his best friend:—

‘Oian a phorchellan : mawr eryssi
A fydd ym Mhrydan, ac nim dorbi.
Listen, little porker ! mighty wonders
Shall occur in Britain, which shall not concern me.’

Many and great poets flourished in the times of the Welsh princes: the three greatest were Meilyr, Gwalchmai, and Dafydd Benfras. Meilyr was bard of Gruffudd ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd or North Wales, who died in 1137. He sang the praises of his master, who was a celebrated warrior and a bountiful patron of the muse, in whose time and under whose sanction those forms of composition, generally called the twenty-four measures,

measures, were invented and promulgated. Gwalchmai lived in the time of Owain, prince of Gwynedd, about whom he sang a piece which is to a certain extent known to the English public by a paraphrase made by Gray, which bears the title of 'The Triumphs of Owain.' Dafydd Benfras was domestic bard of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, also prince of Gwynedd and titular king of Wales, who flourished during the first half of the thirteenth century. In one of his odes addressed to his patron, there is an animated description of a battle won by Llywelyn over King John :—

'Llywelyn of the potent hand oft wrought
Trouble upon the kings and consternation ;
When he with the Lloegrian monarch fought,
Whose cry was " Devastation ! "
Forward impetuously his squadrons ran ;
Great was the tumult ere the shout began ;
Proud was the hero of his reeking glaive,
Proud of their numbers were his followers brave.*
O then were heard resounding o'er the fields
The clash of faulchions and the crash of shields !
Many the wounds in yonder fight receiv'd !
Many the warriors of their lives bereaved !
The battle rages till our foes recoil
Behind the Dike which Offa built with toil,
Bloody their foreheads, gash'd with many a blow,
Blood streaming down their quaking knees below.
Llywelyn we as our high chief obey,
To fair Porth Ysgewin extends his sway ;
For regal virtues and for princely line
He towers above imperial Constantine.'

Dafydd ab Gwilym was born at Bro Gynan, in Cardiganshire, in 1293, about forty years after the whole of Wales had been subjected to the sway of England. He was the Ovid of Wales, the poet of love and nature. In his early years he was very dissipated, but towards the latter part of his life became religious. He died at the age of sixty-three, and was buried within the

* Oedd balch gwalch golchiad ei lain,
Oedd beilch gweilch gweled ei werin.'

In this couplet there is threefold rhyme. We have the alliteration of *lch* in the first line :—

'balch gwalch golchiad ;'

and of the *w* in the second :—

'gweilch gweled werin ;'

secondly, we have the rhymes of *balch* and *gwalch* ; and thirdly, the rhyming at the lines' ends,

precincts

precincts of the great monastery of Strata Florida.* Such was the power of his genius, that the generality of the poets who succeeded him for the next four hundred years were more or less his imitators. Iolo Goch, or Red Julius, whose real name was Llwyd, was the bard of Owen Glendower, and, amongst other pieces, composed a graphic ode on his patron's mansion at Sycharth, and the manner of life there :—

'Its likeness now I'll limn you out :
'Tis water-girdled wide about ;
It shows a wide and stately door,
Reach'd by a bridge the water o'er ;
'Tis formed of buildings coupled fair—
Coupled is every couple there ;
Within a quadrate structure tall
Muste'r the merry pleasures all ;

* Of this celebrated place we are permitted to extract the following account from Mr. Borrow's unpublished work, 'Celtic Bards, Chiefs, and Kings':—

'After wandering for many miles towards the south, over a bleak moory country, you come to a place called Ffair Rhos, or something similar, a miserable village consisting of a few half-ruined cottages, situated on the top of a hill. From the hill you look down on a wide valley of a russet colour, along which a river runs towards the south. The whole scene is cheerless; sullen hills are all around. Descending the hill you enter a large village divided into two by the river, which here runs from east to west, but presently takes a turn. There is much mire in the street; immense swine lie in the mire, who turn up their snouts at you as you pass. Women in Welsh hats stand in the mire, along with men without any hats at all, but with short pipes in their mouths. They are talking together; as you pass, however, they hold their tongues, the women leering contemptuously at you, the men glaring sullenly at you, and causing tobacco-smoke to curl in your face. On your taking off your hat, however, and inquiring the way to the Monachlog, everybody is civil enough, and twenty voices tell you the way to the monastery. You ask the name of the river: "The Teivi, Sir, the Teivi." The name of the bridge: "Pont y Rhyd Fendigaid—the Bridge of the Blessed Ford, Sir!" You cross the bridge of the Blessed Ford, and presently leaving the main road you turn to the east, by a dunghill, up a narrow lane parallel with the river. After proceeding a mile up the lane amidst trees and copses, and crossing a little brook which runs into the Teivi, out of which you drink, you see before you in the midst of a field, in which are tombstones and broken ruins, a rustic-looking church; a farmhouse is near it, in the garden of which stands the framework of a large gateway. You cross over into the churchyard, stand on a green mound and look about you. You are now in the very midst of the Monachlog Ystrad Flur, the celebrated monastery of Strata Florida, to which in old times popish pilgrims from all parts of the world repaired. The scene is solemn and impressive. On the north side of the river a large bulky hill, called Bunk Pen Bannedd, looks down upon the ruins and the church; and on the south side, some way behind the farmhouse, is another hill which does the same. Rugged mountains form the background of the valley to the east, down from which comes murmuring the fleet but shallow Teivi. Such is the scenery which surrounds what remains of Strata Florida; those scanty broken ruins compose all which remains of that celebrated monastery in which kings, saints, and mitred abbots were buried, and in which, or in whose precincts, was buried Dafydd ab Gwilym, the greatest genius of the Cimbric race, and one of the first poets of the world.'

Conjointly

Conjointly are the angles bound,
No flaw in all the place is found.
Structures in contact meet the eye
Upon the hillock's top on high;
Into each other fasten'd they
The form of a hard knot display.
There dwells the chief we all extol
In timber house on lightsome knoll;
Upon four wooden columns proud
Mounteth his mansion to the cloud.
Each column's thick and firmly bas'd,
And upon each a loft is plac'd;
In these four lofts, which coupled stand,
Repose at night the minstrel band.
Four lofts they were in pristine state,
But now partition'd form they eight.
Tiled is the roof. On each house-top
Rise smoke-ejecting chimneys up.
All of one form there are nine halls,
Each with nine wardrobes in its walls,
With linen white as well supplied
As fairest shops of fam'd Cheapside.

* * *

What luxury doth his hall adorn,
Showing of cost a sovereign scorn!
His ale from Shrewsbury town he brings;
His usquebaugh is drink for kings.
Bragget he keeps, bread white of look,
And, bless the mark, a bustling cook.
His mansion is the minstrels' home,
You'll find them there whene'er you come.
Of all her sex his wife's the best,
The household through her care is blest;
She's scion of a knightly tree,
She's dignified, she's kind and free.
His bairns approach me, pair by pair,
O what a nest of chieftains fair!
Here difficult it is to catch
A sight of either bolt or latch;
The porter's place here none will fill;
Here largess shall be lavish'd still,
And ne'er shall thirst or hunger rude
In Sycharth venture to intrude.

Iolo composed this ode two years before the great Welsh insurrection, when he was more than a hundred years old. To his own great grief he survived his patron, and all hopes of Welsh independence. An englyn, which he composed a few days before

his death, commemorates the year of the rising of Glendower, and also the year to which the chieftain lived:—

‘One thousand four hundred, no less and no more,
Was the date of the rising of Owen Glendower;
Till fifteen were added with courage ne’er cold
Liv’d Owen, though latterly Owen was old.’

Glendower died at the age of sixty-seven: Iolo, when he called him old, was one hundred and eighteen.

Gwilym ap Ieuan Hen flourished about 1450. He was bard to Griffith ap Nicholas, chieftain of Dinefor, in whose praise he wrote an ode, commencing with lines to the following effect:—

‘Griffith ap Nicholas! who like thee
For wealth and power and majesty?
Which most abound—I cannot say—
On either side of Towey gay,
From hence to where it meets the brine,
Trees or stately towers of thine?’

Griffith ap Nicholas was a powerful chieftain of South Wales, something of a poet and a great patron of bards. Seeing with regret that there was much dissension amongst the bardic order, and that the rules of bardism were nearly forgotten, he held a bardic congress at Carmarthen, with the view of reviving bardic enthusiasm and re-establishing bardic discipline. The result of this meeting—the only one of the kind which had been held in Wales since the days of the Welsh princes—to a certain extent corresponded with his wish. In the wars of the Roses he sided with York, chiefly out of hatred to Jasper Earl of Pembroke, half-brother of Henry VI. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Mortimer’s Cross, which was gained for Edward IV. by a desperate charge made by Griffith and his Welshmen at Pembroke’s Banner, when the rest of the Yorkists were wavering. His last words were: ‘Welcome death! since honour and victorie makes for us!’

Dafydd ab Edmund was born at Pwll Gwepŷ, in the parish of Hanmer, in Flintshire. He was the most skilful versifier of his time. He attended the Eisteddfod, or congress, at Carmarthen, held under the auspices of Griffith ap Nicholas, and not only carried off the prize, but induced the congress to sanction certain alterations in the poetical canons of Gruffudd ab Cynan, which he had very much at heart. There is a tradition that Griffith ap Nicholas commenced the business of the congress by the following question: ‘What is the cause, nature, and end of an Eisteddfod?’ No one appearing ready with an answer, Griffith said: ‘Let the little man in the grey coat answer;’ whereupon Dafydd made

made the following reply: 'To remember what has been—to think of what is—and to judge about what shall be.'

Lewis Glyn Cothi lived during the wars of the Roses. He was bard to Jasper Earl of Pembroke, son of Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, and brother uterine of Henry VI. He followed his patron to the fatal battle of Mortimer's Cross as a captain of foot. His pieces are mostly on the events of his time, and are full of curious historical information.

Ieuan Deulwyn was bard and friend of Ryce ap Thomas, to whom he addressed a remarkable ode in stanzas of four lines on the principle of counter-change, by which any line in the quatrain may begin it. His friend and patron Ryce ap Thomas was the grandson of that Griffith ap Nicholas who perished at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, fighting against Lancaster. Ryce, however, when Richmond, the last hope of Lancaster, landed at Milford Haven, joined him at the head of 'all the Ryces,' and was the main cause of his eventually winning the crown. He was loaded with riches and honours by Henry VII., and was an especial favourite with Henry VIII., who used to call him Father Preece, my trusty Welshman. He was a great warrior, a consummate courtier, and a very wise man; for whatever harm he might do to people, he never spoke ill of anybody. His tomb, bearing the sculptured figures of himself and wife, may be seen in the church of St. Peter, at Carmarthen.

Sion Tudor was born about the middle of the sixteenth century. He had much wit and humour, but was very satirical. He wrote a bitter epigram on London, in which city, by the bye, he had been most unmercifully fleeced. William Middleton was one of the sea captains of Queen Elizabeth: he translated the Psalms into several of the four-and-twenty measures whilst commanding a ship of war in the West Indian seas. Twm Sion Cati lived in the days of James I.: he was a sweet poet, but—start not, gentle reader! a ferocious robber. His cave amidst the wild hills between Tregaron and Brecknock is still pointed out by the neighbouring rustics. In the middle of the seventeenth century was produced a singular little piece, author unknown: it is an englyn or epigram of four lines on a spider, all in vowels:—

'O'i wiw ŵy i weu e â,—o'i au,
O'i ŵyau y weua;
E wywa ei we' aua',
A'i weuai yw ieanu ia.'

A proest, or kind of counterchange, was eventually added to it by one Gronwy Owen, so that the Welsh can now say, what perhaps no other nation can, that they have a poem of eight lines

in their language, in which there is not a single consonant. It is however necessary to state, that in the Welsh language there are seven vowels, both *w* and *y* being considered and sounded as such. The two parts may be thus rendered into English :—

‘From out its womb it weaves with care
 Its web beneath the roof;
 Its wintry web it spreadeth there—
 Wires of ice its woof.
 And doth it weave against the wall
 Thin ropes of ice on high?
 And must its little liver all
 The wondrous stuff supply?’

Huw Morris was born in the year 1622, and died in 1709, having lived in six reigns. The place of his birth was Pont y Meibion, in the valley of Ceiriog, in Denbighshire. He was a writer of songs, carols, and elegies, and was generally termed Eos Ceiriog, or the Nightingale of Ceiriog, a title which he occasionally well deserved, for some of his pieces, especially his elegies, are of great beauty and sweetness. Not unfrequently, however, the title of Dylluan Ceiriog, or the Owl of Ceiriog, would be far more applicable, for whenever he thought fit he could screech and hoot most fearfully. He was a loyalist, and some of his strains against the Roundheads are fraught with the bitterest satire. His dirge on Oliver and his men, composed shortly after Monk had declared for Charles II., is a piece quite unique in its way. He lies buried in the graveyard of the beautiful church of Llan Silien, in Denbighshire. The stone which covers his remains is yet to be seen just outside the southern wall, near the porch. The last great poet of Wales was a little swarthy curate ;—but this child of immortality, for such he is, must not be disposed of in half a dozen lines. The following account of him is extracted from an unpublished work, called ‘Wild Wales,’ by the author of ‘The Bible in Spain’ :—

‘Goronwy, or Gronwy, Owen was born in the year 1722, at a place called Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, in Anglesea. He was the eldest of three children. His parents were peasants, and so exceedingly poor that they were unable to send him to school. Even, however, when an unlettered child he gave indications that he was visited by the awen or muse. At length the celebrated Lewis Morris chancing to be at Llanfair, became acquainted with the boy, and, struck with his natural talents, determined that he should have all the benefit which education could bestow. He accordingly, at his own expense, sent him to school at Beaumaris, where he displayed a remarkable aptitude for the acquisition of learning. He subsequently sent him to Jesus College, Oxford, and supported him there whilst studying for the Church. At

Jesus

Jesus, Gronwy distinguished himself as a Greek and Latin scholar, and gave proofs of such poetical talent in his native language that he was looked upon by his countrymen of that Welsh college as the rising bard of the age. After completing his collegiate course, he returned to Wales, where he was ordained a minister of the Church in the year 1745. The next seven years of his life were a series of cruel disappointments and pecuniary embarrassments. The grand wish of his heart was to obtain a curacy, and to settle down in Wales. Certainly a very reasonable wish, for, to say nothing of his being a great genius, he was eloquent, highly learned, modest, meek, and of irreproachable morals; yet Gronwy Owen could obtain no Welsh curacy, nor could his friend Lewis Morris, though he exerted himself to the utmost, procure one for him. It was true that he was told that he might go to Llanfair, his native place, and officiate there at a time when the curacy happened to be vacant, and thither he went, glad at heart to get back amongst his old friends, who enthusiastically welcomed him; yet scarcely had he been there three weeks when he received notice from the chaplain of the Bishop of Bangor that he must vacate Llanfair in order to make room for a Mr. John Ellis, a young clergyman of large independent fortune, who was wishing for a curacy under the Bishop of Bangor, Doctor Hutton. So poor Gronwy, the eloquent, the learned, the meek, was obliged to vacate the pulpit of his native place to make room for the rich young clergyman, who wished to be within dining distance of the palace of Bangor. Truly in this world the full shall be crammed, and those who have little shall have the little which they have taken away from them. Unable to obtain employment in Wales, Gronwy sought for it in England, and after some time procured the curacy of Oswestry, in Shropshire, where he married a respectable young woman, who eventually brought him two sons and a daughter. From Oswestry he went to Donnington, near Shrewsbury, where, under a certain Scotchman named Douglas, who was an absentee, and who died Bishop of Salisbury, he officiated as curate and master of a grammar school for a stipend—always grudgingly and contumeliously paid—of three-and-twenty pounds a year. From Donnington he removed to Walton in Cheshire, where he lost his daughter, who was carried off by a fever. His next removal was to Northolt, a pleasant village in the neighbourhood of London. He held none of his curacies long, either losing them from the caprice of his principals, or being compelled to resign them from the parsimony which they practised towards him. In the year 1756 he was living in a garret in London, vainly soliciting employment in his sacred calling, and undergoing with his family the greatest privations. At length his friend Lewis Morris, who had always assisted him to the utmost of his ability, procured him the mastership of a Government school at New Brunswick, in North America, with a salary of three hundred pounds a year. Thither he went with his wife and family, and there he died some time about the year 1780.

‘He was the last of the great poets of Cambria, and with the exception of Ab Gwilym, the greatest which she has produced. His poems, which

which for a long time had circulated through Wales in manuscript, were first printed in the year 1819. They are composed in the ancient bardic measures, and were, with one exception, namely, an elegy on the death of his benefactor, Lewis Morris, which was transmitted from the New World, written before he had attained the age of thirty-five. All his pieces are excellent, but his master-work is decidedly the *Cywydd y Farn*, or Day of Judgment. This poem, which is generally considered by the Welsh as the brightest ornament of their ancient language, was composed at Donnington, a small hamlet in Shropshire, on the north-west spur of the Wrekin, at which place, as has been already said, Gronwy toiled as schoolmaster and curate under Douglas the Scot, for a stipend of three-and-twenty pounds a year.*

The prose literature of Wales is by no means so extensive as the poetical; it, however, comprises much that is valuable and curious on historical, biographical, romantic and moral subjects. The most ancient Welsh prose may probably be found in certain brief compositions, called *Triads*, which are said to be of Druidic origin. The *Triad* was used for the commemoration of historical facts or the inculcation of moral duties. It has its name because in it three events are commemorated, or three persons mentioned, if it be historical; three things or three actions recommended or denounced, if it be moral. To give the reader at once a tolerable conception of what the *Triad* is, we subjoin two or three specimens of this kind of composition. We commence with the historical *Triad* :—

‘These are the three pillars of the race of the isle of Britain : First, Hu the Mighty, who conducted the nation of the Cumry from the summer country to the island of Britain (bringing them from the continent) across the hazy sea (German Ocean). Second, Prydain, son of Aedd Mawr, the founder of government and rule in the isle of Britain, before whose time there was no such thing as justice except what was obtained by courtesy, nor any law save that of the strongest. Third, Dyfnwal Moelmud, who first reduced to a system the laws, customs, and privileges of his country and nation.

‘The three intruding tribes into the island of Britain are the following : First, the Corranians, who came from the country of Pwyl. Second, the Gwyddelian (silvan, Irish) Fiehti (Picts), who came to Alban across the sea of Lochlin (Northern Ocean), and who still exist in Alban by the shore of the sea of Lochlin (from Inverness to Thursoe). Third, the Saxons.’

So much for the historical *Triad* : now for the moral. The

* It must be mentioned, however, in justice to Douglas, that in the autobiography of Dr. Carlyle, lately published, we find that ‘John Douglas, who has for some time been Bishop of Salisbury, and who is one of the most able and learned men on that bench, had at this time (1758, some years after Gronwy had left him) but small preferment.’

following

following are selected from a curious collection of admonitory sayings, called the 'Triads of the Cumro, or Welshman :—

'Three things should a Cumro always bear in mind lest he dishonour them : his father, his country, and his name of Cumro.

'There are three things for which a Cumro should be willing to die : his country, his good name, and the truth wherever it be.

'Three things are highly disgraceful to a Cumro : to look with one eye, to listen with one ear, and to defend with one hand.

'Three things it especially behoves a Cumro to choose from his own country : his king, his wife, and his friend.'

After the Triads, the following are the principal prose works of the Welsh :—

1. 'The Chronicle of the Kings of the Isle of Britain,' supposed to have been written by Tysilio, in the seventh century. This work, or rather a Latin paraphrase of it by Geoffrey of Monmouth, has supplied our early English historians with materials for those parts of their works which are devoted to the subject of ancient Britain. It brings down British history to the year 660.

2. A continuation of the same to the year 1152, by Caradawg of Llancarvan. It begins thus : 'In the year of Christ 660, died Cadwallawn ab Cadfan, King of the Britons, and Cadwaladr his son became king in his place ; and, after ten years of peace, the great sickness, which is called the Yellow Plague, came over the whole isle of Britain.'

3. The 'Code of Howel Da ;' a book consisting of laws, partly framed, partly compiled, by Howel Da, or the Good, who began to reign in the year 940. It is divided into three parts, and contains laws relating to the government of the palace and the family of the prince, laws concerning private property, and laws which relate to private rights and privileges. It is a code which displays much acuteness, good sense, and not a little oddity. Many of Howel's laws prevailed in Wales as far down as the time of Henry VII.

4. 'The Life or Biography of Gruffydd ap Cynan.' This Gruffydd, of whom we have had more than once occasion to speak already, was born in Dublin about the year 1075. He was the son of Cynan, an expatriated prince of Gwynedd, by Raguel, daughter of Anlaf or Olaf, Dano-Irish king of Dublin and the fifth part of Ireland. After a series of the strangest adventures he succeeded in regaining his father's throne, on which he died after a glorious reign of fifty years. He was the father of Owen Gwynedd, one of the most warlike of the Welsh princes, and was grandsire of that Madoc who, there is con-
siderable

siderable reason for supposing, was the first discoverer of the great land in the West. A truly remarkable book is the one above mentioned, which narrates his life. It does full justice to the subject, being written in a style not unworthy of Snorre Sturlesen, or the man who wrote the history of King Sverrer and the Birkebeiners, in the latter part of the *Heimskringla*. It is a composition of the fifteenth century, but the author is unknown.

5. The *Mabinogion*, or *Juvenile Diversions*, a collection of Cumric legends, in substance of unknown antiquity, but in the dress in which they have been handed down to us scarcely older than the fourteenth century. In interest they almost vie with the 'Arabian Nights,' with which, however, they have nothing else in common, notwithstanding that all other European tales—those of Russia not excepted—are evidently modifications of, or derived from the same source as the Arabian stories. Of these Cumric legends two translations exist: the first, which was never published, made towards the concluding part of the last century by William Owen, who eventually assumed the name of Owen Pugh, the writer of the immortal *Welsh and English Dictionary*, and the translator into Welsh of '*Paradise Lost*;' the second by the fair and talented Lady Charlotte Guest, which first made these strange, glorious stories known to England and all the world.

The sixth and last grand prose work of the Welsh is the '*Sleeping Bard*,' a moral allegory, written about the beginning of the last century by Elis Wyn, a High-Church Welsh clergyman, a translation of which, by George Borrow, is now before us:—

'The following translation of the *Sleeping Bard*,' says Mr. Borrow, in his preface, 'has long existed in manuscript. It was made by the writer of these lines in the year 1830, at the request of a little Welsh bookseller of his acquaintance, who resided in the rather unfashionable neighbourhood of Smithfield, and who entertained an opinion that a translation of the work of Elis Wyn would enjoy a great sale, both in England and Wales. On the eve of committing it to the press, however, the *Cambrian Briton* felt his small heart give way within him: "Were I to print it," said he, "I should be ruined. The terrible descriptions of vice and torment would frighten the genteel part of the English public out of its wits, and I should to a certainty be prosecuted by Sir James Scarlett. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have given yourself on my account—but myn Diawl! I had no idea, till I had read him in English, that Elis Wyn had been such a terrible fellow."

'Yet there is no harm in the book. It is true that the author is anything but mincing in his expressions and descriptions, but there is nothing in the *Sleeping Bard* which can give offence to any but the
over

over fastidious. There is a great deal of squeamish nonsense in the world; let us hope, however, that there is not so much as there was. Indeed, can we doubt that such folly is on the decline, when we find Albemarle Street in '60 willing to publish a harmless but plain-speaking book which Smithfield shrank from in '30?

The work is divided into three parts, devoted to three separate and distinct visions, which the Bard pretends to have seen at three different times in his sleep. In assuming the title of 'Sleeping Bard' Elis Wyn committed a kind of plagiarism, as it originated with a certain poet who flourished in the time of the Welsh princes, some nine hundred years before he himself was born, and to this plagiarism he humorously alludes in one of his visions. The visions are described in prose, but each is followed by a piece of poetry containing a short gloss or comment. The prose is graphic and vigorous, almost beyond conception; the poetry wild and singular, each piece composed in a particular measure. Of the measures, two are quite original, to be found nowhere else. The first vision is the Vision of the World. The object of the Bard is to describe the follies, vices, and crimes of the human race, more especially those of the natives of the British Isles. In his sleep he imagines that he is carried away by fairies, and is in danger of perishing owing to their malice, but is rescued by an angel, who informs him that he has been sent by the Almighty with orders to give him a distinct view of the world. The angel, after a little time, presents him with a telescope, through which he sees a city of a monstrous size, with thousands of cities and kingdoms within it; and the great ocean, like a moat, around it; and other seas, like rivers, intersecting it.

This city is, of course, the world. It is divided into three magnificent streets. These streets are called respectively the streets of Pride, Pleasure, and Lucre. In the distance is a cross street, little and mean in comparison with the others, but clean and neat, and on a higher foundation than the other streets, running upwards towards the east, whilst they all sink downwards towards the north. This street is the street of True Religion. The angel conducts him down the three principal streets, and procures him glances into the inside of various houses. The following scene in a cellar of what is called the street of Pleasure, goes far to show that the pen of Elis Wyn, at low description, was not inferior to the pencil of Hogarth:—

'From thence we went to a place where we heard a terrible noise, a medley of striking, jabbering, crying and laughing, shouting and singing. "Here's Bedlam, doubtless," said I. By the time we entered the

the den the brawling had ceased. Of the company, one was on the ground insensible; another was in a yet more deplorable condition; another was nodding over a hearthful of battered pots, pieces of pipes, and oozings of ale. And what was all this, upon enquiry, but a carousal of seven thirsty neighbours,—a goldsmith, a pilot, a smith, a miner, a chimney-sweeper, a poet, and a parson who had come to preach sobriety, and to exhibit in himself what a disgusting thing drunkenness is! The origin of the last squabble was a dispute which had arisen among them about which of the seven loved a pipe and flagon best. The poet had carried the day over all the rest, with the exception of the parson, who, out of respect for his cloth, had the most votes, being placed at the head of the jolly companions, the poet singing:—

‘O where are there seven beneath the sky
Who with these seven for thirst can vie?
But the best for good ale these seven among
Are the jolly divine and the son of song.’

After showing the Bard what is going on in the interior of the houses of the various streets, and in the streets themselves, the angel conducts him to the various churches of the City of Perdition: to the temple of Paganism, to the mosque of the Turk, and to the synagogue of the Jews; showing and explaining to him what is going on within them. He then takes him to the church of the Papists, which the angel calls, very properly, ‘the church which deceiveth the nations.’ Some frightful examples are given of the depravity and cruelty of monks and friars. The dialogue between the confessor and the portly female who had murdered her husband, who was a member of the Church of England, is horrible, but quite in keeping with the principles of Popery; also the discourse which the same confessor holds with the young girl who had killed her child, whose father was a member of the monastery to which the monk belonged. From the Church of Rome they go to the Church of England. It is lamentable to observe what an attached minister of the Church of England describes as going on within the walls of a Church of England temple a hundred and fifty years ago. Would that the description could be called wholly inapplicable at the present time!

‘Whereupon he carried me to the gallery of one of the churches in Wales, the people being in the midst of the service, and lo! some were whispering, talking, and laughing, some were looking upon the pretty women, others were examining the dress of their neighbours from top to toe; some were pushing themselves forward and snarling at one another about rank, some were dozing, others were busily engaged in their devotions, but many of these were playing a hypocritical part.’

The

The angel finally conducts the Bard to the small cross street, that of True Religion, where, of course, everything is widely different from what is found in any of the other streets. In that street there was no fear but of incensing the King, who was ever more ready to forgive than be angry with his subjects, and no sound but that of psalms of praise to the Almighty.

The second section is a Vision of Death in his palace below. The author's aim in this vision is less apparent than in the preceding one. Perhaps, however, he wished to impress upon people's minds the awfulness of dying in an unrepentant state, from the certainty, in that event, of the human soul being forthwith cast headlong down the precipice of destruction. The Bard is carried away by sleep to chambers where some people are crying, others screaming, some talking deliriously, some uttering blasphemies in a feeble tone, others lying in great agony with all the signs of dying men, and some yielding up the ghost after uttering 'a mighty shout.' He is then conducted to a kind of limbo or Hades, where he meets with his prototype the Sleeping Bard of old and two other Welsh poets, one of whom is Taliesin, who is represented as watching the caldron of the witch Cridwen, even as he watched it in his boyhood. From thence he is hurried to the palace of Death, where he sees the King of Terrors swallowing flesh and blood, who, after a time, places himself on a terrific throne, and proceeds to pass judgment on various prisoners newly arrived. They are dealt with in an awful but very summary manner. It is to be remarked that all the souls introduced in this vision are those of bad people, with the exception of those of the poets which the Bard meets in limbo. A dark intimation, however, is given that there is another court or palace, where Death presides under a far different form, and where he pronounces judgment over the souls of the good. There is much in this vision which it is very difficult to understand. The gloss, or commentary, called 'Death the Great,' abounds with very fine poetry.

The last Vision, that of Hell, is the longest of the three. The Bard is carried in his sleep by the same angel who in his first vision had shown him the madness and vanity of the world, to the regions of eternal horror and woe, where he beholds the lost undergoing tortures proportionate to the crimes which they had committed on earth. After wandering from nook to nook, the Bard and his guide at last come to the court before the palace of the hellish regions, where, amidst thousands of horrible objects, the Bard perceives two feet of enormous magnitude, reaching to the roof of the whole infernal firmament, and inquires of his companion what those horrible things may be, but is told to be quiet

quiet for the present, as on his return he will obtain a full view of the monster to whom they belong, and is then conducted into the palace of Lucifer, who is about to hold a grand council. The Arch-Fiend is described as seated on a burning throne in a vast hall, the roof of which is of glowing steel. Around him are his potentates on thrones of fire, and above his head is a huge fist, holding a very frightful thunderbolt, towards which he occasionally casts uneasy glances. In the midst of the palace is a gulf, of yet more horrible and frightful aspect than hell itself, which is continually opening and closing, and which, the angel says, is the mouth of 'Unknown' or extremest hell, to which the devils and the damned are to be hurled for ever on the last day. The council is held in order to devise measures for the farther extension of the kingdom of Lucifer. The Arch-Fiend, in a speech which he makes, boasts that three parts of the world have already been brought to acknowledge his sway, chiefly through the instrumentality of his three daughters—Pleasure, Pride, and Lucre; and he hopes that eventually the whole world will be brought to do the same. He is particularly desirous that Britain should be subject to him, and requests the advice of his counsellors as to the best means to be employed in order to accomplish his wish. Various infernal potentates then arise and give him their advice, each of whom is a personification of some crime, vice, or folly. The debate is frequently interrupted by the sound of war; for, as the angel observes, there is continual war in hell. There is at one time a terrible disturbance and outbreak, arising from a dispute between the Papists, the Mahometans, and the bloody-minded Roundheads, as to which has done most service to the cause of hell,—the Koran, the Creed of Rome, or the Solemn League and Covenant. Lucifer is only able to quell this disturbance—during which Mahomet and Pope Julius assault each other tooth and nail—by causing his old picked soldiers, the champions of hell, to tear the combatants from each other. Amidst interruptions like these the debate proceeds. Each of the personified crimes and vices in succession—amongst whom are Mammon, Pride, Inconsiderateness, Wantonness, and the Demon of *Tobacco*—offers to go to Britain and do his best to further the views of his master. Lucifer, however, after listening to them all and acknowledging the peculiar merit of each, says that none of them is of sufficient power to be relied upon in the present emergency, but that he has a darling friend, who, with their co-operation, is equal to the enterprise. This friend turns out to be Ease—pleasant Ease—on whose merits he expatiates with great eloquence, and with whom he requests them to co-operate. 'Go with her,' says he, 'and

'and keep everybody in his sleep and his rest, in prosperity and comfort, abundance and carelessness, and then you will see the poor honest man, as soon as he shall drink of the alluring cup of Ease, become a perverse, proud, untractable churl; the industrious labourer change into a careless waggish rattler; and every other person become just as you would desire him. . . . Follow her to Britain,' he says in conclusion, 'and be as obedient to her as to our own royal Majesty!'

Then comes the finale:—

'At this moment the huge bolt was shaken, and Lucifer and his chief counsellors were struck to the vortex of extremest hell, and oh! how horrible it was to see the throat of Unknown opening to receive them! "Well!" said the Angel, "we will now return; but you have not yet seen anything in comparison with the whole which is within the bounds of Destruction, and if you had seen the whole, it is nothing to the inexpressible misery which exists in Unknown, for it is not possible to form an idea of the world in extremest hell." And at that word the celestial messenger snatched me up to the firmament of the accursed kingdom of darkness by a way I had not seen, whence I obtained, from the palace along all the firmament of the black and hot *Destruction*, and the whole land of forgetfulness, even to the walls of the city of Destruction, a full view of the accursed monster of a giantess, whose feet I had seen before. I do not possess words to describe her figure. But I can tell you that she was a triple-faced giantess, having one very atrocious countenance turned towards the heavens, barking, snorting, and vomiting accursed abomination against the celestial King; another countenance, very fair, towards the earth, to entice men to tarry in her shadow; and another, the most frightful countenance of all, turned towards Hell to torment it to all eternity. She is larger than the entire earth, and is yet daily increasing, and a hundred times more frightful than the whole of hell. She caused hell to be made, and it is she who fills it with inhabitants. If she were removed from hell, hell would become paradise; and if she were removed from the earth, the little world would become heaven; and if she were to go to heaven, she would change the regions of bliss into utter hell. There is nothing in all the universe, except herself, that God did not create. She is the mother of the four female deceivers of the city of Destruction; she is the mother of Death; she is the mother of every evil and misery; and she has a fearful hold on every living man: her name is Sin. "*He who escapes from her hook, for ever blessed is he,*" said the angel. Thereupon he departed, and I could hear his voice saying, "*Write down what thou hast seen, and he who shall read it carefully, shall never have reason to repent.*"'

The above is an outline of the work of Elis Wyn—an extraordinary work it is. In it there is a singular mixture of the sublime and the coarse, of the terrible and ludicrous, of religion and levity, of the styles of Milton, of Bunyan, and of Quevedo,
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There is also much in it that is Welsh, and much that may be said emphatically to belong to Elis Wyn alone. The book is written in the purest Cambrian, and from the time of its publication has enjoyed extensive popularity in Wales. It is, however, said that the perusal of it has not unfrequently driven people mad, especially those of a serious and religious turn. The same thing is said in Spain of the 'Life of Ignatius Loyola.' Peter Williams, in 'Lavengro,' the Welsh preacher who was haunted with the idea that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, is frequently mentioning the work of Elis Wyn. Amongst other things, he says that he took particular delight in its descriptions of the torments of hell. We have no doubt that many an Englishman, of honest Welsh Peter's gloomy temperament, when he reads the work in its present dress will experience the same kind of fearful joy.

The translation is accompanied by notes explanatory of certain passages of the original beyond the comprehension of the common reader. These notes are good, as far as they go, but they are not sufficiently numerous, as many passages relating to ancient manners and customs—perfectly intelligible, no doubt, to the translator—must, for want of proper notes, remain dark and mysterious to his readers. In the Vision of Hell, a devil, who returns from the world to which he has been despatched, and who gives an account of his mission, says that he had visited two young maidens in Wales who were engaged in turning the shift. Not a few people—ladies, amongst the rest—will be disposed to ask what is meant by turning the shift. Mr. Borrow gives elsewhere the following explanation: 'It was the custom in Britain in ancient times for the young maiden who wished to see her future lover to sit up by herself at Hallowmass Eve, wash out her smock, shift, or chemise, call it which of the three you please, place it on a linen-horse before the fire, and watch it whilst drying, leaving the door of the room open, in the belief that exactly as the clock began to strike twelve the future bridegroom would look in at the door, and remain visible till the twelfth stroke had ceased to sound.'

Of the notes which Mr. Borrow has given, the most important is certainly that which relates to Taliesin, who, in the Vision of Death, is described as sitting in Hades, watching a caldron which is hanging over a fire, and is continually going bubble, bubble. We give it nearly entire:—

'Taliesin lived in the sixth century. He was a foundling, discovered in his infancy lying in a coracle on a salmon weir, in the domain of Elphin, a prince of North Wales, who became his patron. During his life he arrogated to himself a supernatural descent
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and understanding, and for at least a thousand years after his death he was regarded by the descendants of the ancient Britons as a prophet or something more. The poems which he produced procured for him the title of "Bardic King." They display much that is vigorous and original, but are disfigured by mysticism and extravagant metaphor. When Elis Wyn represents him as sitting by a cauldron in Hades, he alludes to a wild legend concerning him, to the effect that he imbibed awen or poetical genius whilst employed in watching "the seething pot" of the sorceress Cridwen, which legend has much in common with one of the Irish legends about Fin Macoul, which is itself nearly identical with one in the Edda describing the manner in which Sigurd Fafnisbane became possessed of supernatural wisdom.'

It is curious enough that the legend about deriving wisdom from *sucking the scalded finger* should be found in Wales, Ireland, and Scandinavia. But so it is, and Mr. Borrow is clearly entitled to the credit of having been the first to point out to the world this remarkable fact. In his work called the 'Romany Rye,' published some years ago, a story is related containing parts of the early history of the Irish mythic hero Fion Mac Comhail,* or Fin Mac Coul, in which there is an account of his burning his thumb whilst smoothing the skin of a fairy salmon which is broiling over a fire, and deriving supernatural knowledge from thrusting his thumb into his mouth and sucking it; and Mr. Borrow tells the relater of that legend, his amusing acquaintance Murtagh, that the same tale is told in the Edda of Sigurd, the Serpent-Killer, with the difference that Sigurd burns his finger, not whilst superintending the broiling of a salmon, but whilst roasting the heart of Fafnir, the man-serpent, whom he had slain. Here, in his note on Taliesin, he shows that the same thing in substance is said of the ancient Welsh bard. Of the three versions of the legend, the one of which Sigurd Fafnisbane is the hero is probably the most original, and is decidedly the most poetical.

* In a late number of the Transactions of the Dublin Ossianic Society—a most admirable institution—there is an account of the early life of Fin ma Coul, in which the burnt finger is mentioned; but that number did not appear till more than a year subsequent to the publication of the 'Romany Rye,' and contains not the slightest allusion either to Fafnisbane, i.e. the slayer of Fafnir, or Taliesin—to the Eddacal or the Cumric legend.

ART. III.—1. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A History.* By John Lothrop Motley. London, 1858.

2. *History of the United Netherlands.* By John Lothrop Motley. London, 1860.

MR. MOTLEY'S 'History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic' is already known and valued for the grasp of mind which it displays, for the earnest and manly spirit in which he has communicated the results of deep research and careful reflection. Again he appears before us, rich with the spoils of time, to tell the story of the United Netherlands from the death of William the Silent to the end of the eventful year of the Spanish Armada, and we still find him in every way worthy of this 'great argument.' Indeed it seems to us that he proceeds with an increased facility of style, and with a more complete and easy command over his materials. Those materials are indeed splendid, and of them most excellent use has been made. The English State-paper Office, the Spanish archives from Simancas, and the Dutch and Belgian repositories, have all yielded up their secrets; and Mr. Motley has enjoyed the advantage of dealing with a vast mass of unpublished documents, of which he has not failed to avail himself to an extent which places his work in the foremost rank as an authority for the period to which it relates. By means of his labour, and his art, we can sit at the council-board of Philip and Elizabeth, we can read their most private despatches. Guided by his demonstration, we are enabled to dissect out to their ultimate tissues the minutest ramifications of intrigue. We join in the amusement of the popular lampoon; we visit the prison-house; we stand by the scaffold; we are present at the battle and the siege. We can scan the inmost characters of men, and can view them in their habits as they lived.

The years commencing from the assumption of sovereignty in the Low Countries by Philip II. belong to an epoch the events of which concern all succeeding generations. They are marked by incidents, and illustrated by characters, which yield in interest to none that could be furnished by the annals of any country or time. In the Netherlands took place one of the greatest struggles for religious and political life which it has ever been the function of history to record. On one side was the obstinate will of Philip II. wielding the forces of one-half of the habitable globe; on the other, the determination of a people, few in number, contemptible as regards material resources. None can be indifferent to the history of such a contest; and the closer intercourse between England and the Low Countries which began

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in the time of Leicester's governorship—the common danger and common sympathy of the two peoples, when jointly threatened by, and together resisting the vast and long-prepared project of permanent Spanish conquest—will give to English readers a still higher interest in the pregnant pages which relate to the time when it seemed as if the liberties and religion of Europe hung upon the combined efforts of Dutch and English sagacity and courage to resist the great Roman-Spanish conspiracy against them. The issue was a glorious one; but through what hidden perils and doubts the cause of freedom passed towards its triumph can only be known by such an examination of contemporary papers as Mr. Motley has for the first time made, and by such conclusions from them as those which he has so ably and attractively placed before us.

On the abdication of Charles V. the destinies of three millions of people in the Netherlands were handed over to his son. Philip II. reigned in his stead. In no part of his vast dominions was the change of rulers so momentous. Yet for four or five years no considerable alteration took place in the fortunes of the country. The principles of the Reformation were gradually spreading, and taking deeper and deeper hold among a prosperous and well-educated people. Commerce flourished. The nobles hunted, hawked, feasted, and flaunted in rich clothes as before. Philip was engaged with England, and busy with his Italian and French wars. A change was soon to come. At the peace of Cateau Cambresis in 1559, the Kings of Spain and France bound themselves to maintain the Catholic religion, and to use all means to extirpate heresy in their dominions. Philip was now at leisure to strengthen his own authority in his Flemish dominions, and to fulfil the great object of his life, by applying to them the same policy of repression, and, if necessary, of extermination, which in fact did succeed in crushing the nascent Protestantism of Spain. He had a thorough and relentless purpose to support the old faith; and he was, no doubt, perfectly in earnest when repeating his favourite and well-known maxim, that it were better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics.

Under Margaret of Parma a form of government was arranged which would ostensibly include some of the leading nobles of the land, while it really left them nothing but the joint responsibility for measures over which they had little or no control. All authority was lodged in the hands of a committee of the State Council; but it was Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, who in fact governed the country. A body of fine cavalry formed the only legal standing army of the Low Countries. An additional force of foreign

soldiers still remained in the Provinces, for whose presence since the conclusion of peace there was no valid excuse. It was their continued maintenance in their different garrisons which gave the first occasion for suspicion and discontent.

The government of the Duchess of Parma was inaugurated by Philip in person with great pomp before the States-General, convoked at Ghent. The last Chapter that ever assembled of the renowned Order of the Fleece was held, and the occasion was celebrated, according to the way of the country, with splendid festivities. Philip descanted on the growing evil of various 'new, reprobate, and damnable sects,' and looked forward to the strict enforcement of all the existing edicts and decrees for the extirpation of heresy. Nothing was promised as to a withdrawal of the Spanish troops, nor of any reduction in the enormous taxation of the provinces. On the contrary, a request had been made for a fresh supply. The Estates were ready to furnish the money, but in return they stipulated for the removal of the foreign troops; and a formal remonstrance, signed by Orange, Egmont, and others, was presented to the King, in which the licence and oppression of the soldiery were set forth, and immediate relief from them was desired. Philip furiously broke up the assembly; but in a few days behaved in a manner more characteristic of himself and of his own prudent saying, 'Time and myself against any two.' He was not fond of speaking, or of sudden action; but he revelled in writing, and understood all the advantages of delay. A paper was soon afterwards communicated, giving plausible reasons for the retention of the Spanish infantry, promising that they should be kept in order, and saved from the temptation of plundering those whom it was their duty to protect, by the liquidation of their long arrears of pay; and that in three or four months at the latest they should be all marched elsewhere. The King left the Netherlands—never to return to them. He had been met with resistance, when he looked for absolute submission; and from that time it must have been clear to him that the removal of certain leading men must be accomplished before the country could be governed after his own heart. The tall flowers whose heads were to be lopped off, for an example to the others, must have been already marked out for destruction at the first opportunity. At the very moment of departure the King's displeasure was too strong for his discretion. Orange was loyally in attendance to pay his last respects. The King turned upon him with bitter language of personal reproach; and when Orange alleged, in self-defence, that all had been regularly done by the Estates, Philip seized him by the wrist, and said, 'Not the Estates, but *you—you—you!*' The silent possessor of the
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the secret and sweeping design of the two monarchs against Huguenots, carelessly blurted out to him by the French King in the hunting-field near Paris, had received another warning of danger, and imbibed a further lesson of circumspection.

A vast increase was now made in the public ecclesiastical establishment of the Low Countries. At Arras, Cambray, Tournay, and Utrecht alone were bishops seated. Philip created fifteen bishoprics and three archbishoprics. The nominations were to be in the hands of the King. Revenues were to be provided by confiscating the estates of the religious houses. The Pope's Bull erecting the new sees further provided for an extension of the courts of the Inquisition. The design involved some obvious points of unpopularity, independently of its direct religious bearing. The nobles were jealous of so large an influx of foreign-made prelates. Those interested in the abbey-lands were naturally averse to the proposed change. The community at large preferred to retain the monasteries, with their native and unambitious occupants, and resented the introduction of additional inquisitors.

The Netherlanders had their ancient charters, to which appeal might be made against the invasion of their rights in the matter of the new bishoprics, and the continued presence of the Spanish forces. Granvelle became alarmed at the expression of popular feeling, and he represented the necessity for the final departure of the troops. They went, and for the moment one source of discontent was over.

Meanwhile he added a seat in the Sacred College to his former dignities, and the new Cardinal's overbearing demeanour gave great offence to the Flemish lords. A quarrel with Egmont, on the refusal of his claim to certain pieces of patronage, led the Count to draw his dagger upon the insolent prelate in the very presence of the Regent. In Orange Granvelle had another and a far more prudent and powerful antagonist. The two had been intimate, and it was not politic for either to discontinue the external appearances of friendly intercourse. A comparatively slight matter brought on the crisis; an explosion took place; and the Cardinal was left in a state of open hostilities with him and the rest of the Flemish nobles.

At a dinner-party given at Antwerp at the close of 1563, the feeling against Granvelle took an amusing turn; and in a scene of riotous frolic, a merry device was adopted for showing contempt of the Prime Minister. His gorgeous equipages and liveries became the subject of conversation and of ridicule; and it was proposed, by way of opposition to him, to adopt the

plainest dresses that could be invented for the households of the assembled guests and their friends. The notion took; and a livery of coarse grey frieze, without lace, and with no ornament except a badge on the sleeve, resembling a monk's cowl or a fool's cap and bells, was immediately the rage in Brussels. Soon a sheaf of arrows—expressive of union—took the place of the cowl; and this latter cognizance was perpetuated in the bundle of seven shafts afterwards seen in the paw of the lion of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Philip was probably at length satisfied that nothing was to be gained by retaining the obnoxious minister in office, and in the following year he was removed from his post. The lords took their seats again at the council-board; but no real or permanent improvement could take place. The cruel persecution for religious opinion grew stronger and stronger. Remonstrances, in which even the Roman Catholics joined, were only met by proclamations enforcing increased severity.

The King was to reign in the Netherlands as he reigned elsewhere—as a despotic sovereign, and not as the constitutional chief of the provinces, with all their old privileges of self-government, which a concurrence of titles had united under his single rule. There was to be no compromise with heresy. President Viglius wrote, in a private letter to Granvelle in his retirement, 'Many seek to abolish the chastisement of heresy: if they gain this point, *actum est de religione Catholicâ*; for, as most of the people are ignorant fools, the heretics will soon be the great majority, if by fear of punishment they are not kept in the true path.' Orange, sitting at the council-table, whispered to his neighbour, 'that the performance of the most remarkable tragedy ever acted was now beginning:' and it was so. In spite of the terrors of the time, the Protestant congregations assembled. But all the material interests of the country suffered by the persecutions. Thousands of skilled artisans emigrated, chiefly to England, where they found a ready asylum.

The beginning of the next year was distinguished by the appearance of the patriotic but loyal document called the 'Compromise.' It received two thousand signatures in two months, and in effect represented a league among the nobles against foreign influence and the Inquisition in any shape. The 'Compromise' was followed up by the presentation of a petition, called the 'Request.' In April (1566) about three hundred gentlemen went up to the palace at Brussels. The petition was read; the Regent retired; and, in the discussion which subsequently occurred in the council-chamber, the remark was made by Berlaymont

mont which was soon to give its popular name to the patriotic party. 'What, Madam! is it possible that your Highness can entertain fears of these beggars (*gueux*)?'

As in modern England, so in Flanders three hundred years since, gentlemen in opposition were very great at dining; and Brederode, a lover of wine more than of water, a reckless and hilarious personage, who had taken a lead in the recent proceedings, a day or two afterwards presided at a splendid banquet at which the deputation of petitioners were entertained. A name was wanting to consolidate the party. The matter was under discussion after dinner, when Brederode got up, and, relating the observation of Berlaymont to the Regent in the council-chamber, he congratulated the company upon having so excellent a designation already provided for them. A mendicant's wallet and bowl were produced, and, accoutred with these, the jovial chairman filled the bowl with wine, and drained it to the toast of '*Vivent les gueux!*' The humour of the thing was immediately caught up, and the evening passed at the Calemburg mansion in roars of laughter, unrestrained revelry, and constant repetitions of the beggars' toast. At the height of the uproar, Orange, Egmont, and Horn called at the house, on their way to the council. They induced the riotous party to break up, and were thanked for this by the Duchess; but their momentary presence was in course of time made one of the most fatal charges against two of them. The house itself was afterwards razed by Alva to the ground.

Berghen and the hapless Montigny—both Roman Catholic nobles, and of unquestioned loyalty—were despatched to Madrid to take the King's pleasure upon the questions at issue. In the mean time there was a prospect of greater freedom of worship. Large open-air meetings were frequent, to hear sermons and sing hymns. Political gatherings also continued, and the patience and sagacity of Orange were taxed to the utmost by the roystering demonstrations of his 'beggar' friends. A still more serious misfortune to the cause of temperate liberty was soon to take place. The hatred of the populace to the Roman Catholic rites rose in a storm of image-breaking, during which nearly every church in the land was riotously stripped of its decorations. From the rich and beautiful cathedral of Antwerp to the smallest village church, the rude demolition extended rapidly through the provinces. The unchecked audacity of a few zealots—a mere handful of rabble—was enough to accomplish the work of destruction. The people looked on: the authorities could make no effectual interference to stop the tide of universal spoliation.

After the days of the iconoclasts there was a reaction favourable
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to the government of the R^égent. The confederacy of nobles had effected nothing. Brederode, agitating at Antwerp, created further difficulties. A premature attempt in the field was readily put down. An action took place close to the city. Forty thousand Calvinists in Antwerp might have seen from the walls the rout of their friends. They were furious for retaliation on the Roman Catholics within the place. The courage, the discretion, and personal authority of the Prince of Orange in his own city, alone saved it from intestine ruin. Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics were all in arms, and burning for mutual destruction. There is no finer figure in history than that of Orange at Antwerp—facing the maddened crowd, controlling the formidable military forces, negotiating with the municipal authorities, and finally dictating terms of peace.

Soon the brief hopes of the distracted Reformed party were dashed to the ground; and the shadow began to fall across the land, the full darkness of which was felt on the actual approach of Alva. The course now taken by the Spanish government was a virtual proscription of the patriotic leaders. Orange adopted the only right course for the cause he represented, and for himself. He threw up his offices, and left the Netherlands. Egmont and Horn did not comprehend the danger and the mistake of remaining where they were helpless for good, and could only be made the instruments or the victims of a tyranny against which immediate resistance was out of the question.

It is necessary to dwell on the earlier stages of the rise of the Republic in the Low Countries, in order to learn its full moral. It is only by a due consideration of its incipient phases that the true character of the movement can be understood in its assertion of temperate freedom and ancient rights. It was in no democratic or fanatical spirit that the mighty struggle was initiated. A loyal, religious, and well-conditioned people were driven to fight for their lives and souls, in the last resource; nor were the principles in which resistance was commenced forgotten during the long and weary years through which the contest was protracted.

Alva, with no feelings of remorse or principles of policy that were likely to interfere with the downright doing of his dreadful work, was chosen to supersede Margaret of Parma. His march from Genoa to his place of action was a marvel of strategy. Ten thousand veterans, each man more like an officer than a private, composed his force. They were withdrawn from the army of Italy, and carried the new musket—as great an improvement in its day upon the old arquebuss as was the Enfield rifle in our own upon Brown Bess. Alva lost no time: he reached Brussels

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on the 23rd August (1567), and by the 9th September the two Flemish nobles, who had stayed to meet him, were in his hands. The infamous Blood Council was erected, in the guise of a court, but in shocking mockery of the justice which it was its function to refuse. Its final decisions rested with Alva, who would not even trust his own evil creatures. He wrote to the King,—‘Men of the law only condemn for crimes which are proved; whereas your Majesty knows that affairs of state are governed by very different rules from the laws which they have here.’ Two of the council only had votes, the Spaniards Del Rio and Vargas. A rich confiscation to the wasted treasury of Spain had been promised from the goods of the wealthy heretics of the Netherlands; and every man was to be made to feel the utter insecurity of his life and property. The reign of terror was nearly as complete as it was in France in the worst days of her first Revolution; and the proceedings and sentences of the Court of Blood can only be matched by those of the Committee of Public Safety.

Orange was cited to appear before the Blood Council. His eldest son, then a student at Louvain, was kidnapped and carried off to be brought up as a Spaniard, at a distance from his father’s influence and counsels. It was upon the occasion of a remonstrance made by the authorities of the university against this violation of their statutes, that Vargas, in his bad Latin, gave the well-known answer, ‘Non curamus vestros privilegios.’

Orange, in Germany, raised funds and troops. At Heiliger-Lee his brother, Count Louis of Nassau, fought and beat the Spanish forces under Aremberg. But it was a barren success, and only served to hasten the end of those it was meant to save. Warned in vain, treacherously taken, illegally tried and executed, Egmont and Horn were made away with by the axe in the open square at Brussels. A secret, yet more nefarious death, removed Montigny in Spain. Sentence, by the Blood Council, was procured against him in his absence. It was not thought expedient to have another public execution of a noble in the Netherlands. An arrangement was cruelly and carefully devised, by which the envoy was to perish by the garotte in his prison, while it should be given out that he died of natural disease. The business was completed in the very castle of Simancas—the great repository of the records of the Spanish Government—from whose long-closed archives the authentic evidence of the crime has, after so many generations, been furnished to us.

At Jemmingen, Alva saw the almost incredible rout and destruction of Count Louis’ army; and the country endured every horror of war. Late in the year (1568) Orange in person was at the head of a large force. He made that wonderful passage

sage of the Meuse, fording it with the water up to his soldiers' necks; and marching into Brabant he courted an engagement with Alva's forces, then inferior in number to his own. Alva had more to gain than to lose by a general battle—the advantages of delay were on his side. A month of procrastinating tactics, and the approach of winter was enough to put an end to the campaign. The expedition was a failure; and Orange returned from whence he came.

The rich confiscation which glimmered from the Netherlands had not proved of such amount as was expected. Spoliation is a source of revenue soon exhausted. The good milch-cow which gave so large a yield when feeding quietly in the stall could not be reckoned upon to give more when baited at the stake. A scheme of arbitrary taxation was now devised. Among other imposts, the enormous amount of ten per cent. was to be levied on every sale of goods; a virtual prohibition of all trade.

In 1571 the summary collection of the obnoxious taxes was ordered. Nothing was paid into the exchequer. Resistance to the taxes was universal. Trade was at a stand-still. Alva was furious, and one night ordered eighteen of the principal tradesmen in Brussels to be hanged on the following morning. During the night came the news of the capture of the town of Brill by the 'Sea Beggars,' and the intended example of the non-trading shopkeepers was postponed.

Two years before, Elizabeth of England had extremely damaged Alva by that remarkable stoppage *in transitu* of the money on its way to him from Spain, which Mr. Motley has somewhat hastily designated an act of rapacity on her part. Chance had placed within her reach the means of very seriously embarrassing a great enemy of the Protestant religion and of herself, and the blow given was as fair as it was for the moment effective. Alva had retaliated by seizing the persons and property of all Englishmen within his reach—there were reprisals in England—and the negotiations which ensued were just coming to an amicable end. William de la Marck, the admiral of the 'Sea Beggar' fleet, was on the English coast with twenty-four vessels, when an order was obtained on the request of Alva to refuse them further supplies of provisions. Desperate and starving, they made a sudden descent on the town of Brill; they succeeded without difficulty in establishing themselves in it; and there was the beginning of the future Dutch republic. The Sea Beggars next took Flushing, which had been foolishly left unfortified. Soon throughout Holland and Zeeland the towns spontaneously declared for Orange as the lawful stadtholder for the King, against the government of Alva.

Alva. In other provinces also there was extensive adhesion to the constitutional cause. Orange, falling back upon his old royal commission as stadtholder, convened the States of Holland. Funds were raised and subscriptions were set on foot for carrying on war. The public exercise of worship was guaranteed to both Protestants and Roman Catholics: a provision which breathed the rare spirit of toleration that distinguished Orange. To tolerate even intolerance is the highest effort of Christian charity.

Orange, now the virtual sovereign of the Northern Provinces, crossed the Rhine from Germany, at the head of an army, and, within a fortnight of St. Bartholomew's, was still led to rely on support from Charles IX, of France in rescuing the Protestant Netherlands from oppression. In one of his letters written at this time he nobly vindicated himself from any want of sagacity in having been so deceived by the French Court. He said, 'I should rather be chargeable with malignity, had I been capable of so sinister a suspicion. It is not an ordinary thing to conceal such enormous deliberations under the plausible cover of a marriage festival.' In a night surprise of his camp, a small body of Spanish troops destroyed a number of his soldiers, and he was himself only saved by the vigilant barking of his favourite spaniel. His troops mutinied, and almost alone Orange presented himself again in Holland. Mons capitulated under terms which were shamefully violated by 'that cruel animal' Noircarmes, and the usual executions and cruelties commenced. Other towns which had declared for Orange submitted themselves again to the mastery of Alva. Mechlin was selected to be an example to the rest, and to gratify the licence of the troops, to whom large arrears of pay were owing, and who looked to such vails and perquisites as were afforded by the ransom of prisoners or the sack of towns. The place was thoroughly cleared of all it contained; and church property was as little respected by Alva's men as it would have been by a frantic and fanatic Protestant mob. No horror was spared to the miserable inhabitants.

In Zeeland the struggle continued, and was full of striking achievements and terrible cruelties. A small Spanish garrison in Goes, on the island of South Beverland, was relieved by the surprising march of 3000 men through the sea, during the six hours of lowest water, never below the breast, often reaching to the shoulder, and a distance of three leagues and a half was accomplished under these conditions. Only nine of the whole were drowned on their way. Zutphen, in Guelderland, was handed over for sudden and inhuman chastisement by Don Frederic,

Frederic, Alva's son, with orders not to leave a single man alive in the city, and to burn every house to the ground. Death and every outrage fell upon the devoted place.

In the Province of Holland, Amsterdam only remained to Alva. On the march towards it a frightful scene of military excess was acted at the town of Naarden, and no generalization of insane cruelty and brutality can represent the miseries in which its unfortunate people were destroyed. It was all-important to sunder the communication between North and South Holland by taking Harlem. Don Frederic regularly invested the city with a force of thirty thousand men. The garrison inside the weak and ancient walls never exceeded four thousand. Every one has heard of the astonishing resistance and cruel fate of Harlem, and how Leyden was saved by the desperate expedient of cutting the dykes, and Alkmaar by the threat alone of using that formidable weapon, peculiar to the site of these wars.

At the Conferences of Breda in 1575, a reconciliation was vainly attempted of the conflicting desires of the King and his subjects. In the mean time was commencing the 'rudimentary process' of an independent and permanent political union between the Provinces. Holland and Zeeland, now entirely Protestant, joined in articles, forsaking the King, and offering their government to William the Silent. He accepted it, but with no intention of ultimately deviating from the system of Europe established at the time, or of remaining as an independent sovereign. The new State was, if possible, to be admitted as a part of the German Empire, or else placed under the friendly protection of some foreign power. The other fifteen Provinces were at this time generally disposed to acquiesce in the government of the King, and may be considered as about equally divided between the Roman Catholic and Reformed religions.

A further step towards securing the rights of the Provinces, and their future independent consolidation, was taken in the instrument known as the 'Pacification of Ghent.' Four days before the publication of the Ghent treaty, Don John of Austria, the new Governor-General, travelling in the romantic disguise of a Moorish slave, had arrived on the borders of the Netherlands. He had everything in personal appearance and manners, and in the blaze of his Granada and Lepanto fame, to render him attractive to the multitude; but he had no means of enforcing his reception. Until he obtained surreptitious possession of Namur, he had no fortress in his hands, and he was compelled to treat with the States assembled at Brussels. With the demands of the Ghent Pacification he temporised; and in the mean time another development of patriotic sentiment was spreading,

spreading, but from a somewhat different centre. The 'Union of Brussels,' formed in 1577, pledged those who signed it to obtain the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish troops, but the Roman Catholic religion and the King's authority were to be maintained; and it received almost universal support. It was of a far more extensive character than had been possible under the circumstances and conditions of the arrangement of Ghent, in which two Provinces, differing from the rest in being exclusively Protestant, and with peculiar ties of association, had invited the others to join upon a common political basis.

By the 'Perpetual Edict,' reserving the rights of the King and the Catholic Church, it was promised that the soldiery should go and never return, except in case of foreign war. The privileges of the States were to be respected, and Don John was to be received as Governor-General.

There could, however, be no real intention to depart from the well-known policy of Philip—there could be no real security for the professors of the reformed faith, or for the exercise of any substantial political power by any of the inhabitants of the Provinces. The position still was—an absolute king and an intolerant church on one side; religious freedom and the ancient constitutions of the country on the other. All this was seen by the great leader, who had worked so long and so devotedly, with his sword, his pen, his tongue, with all his means and substance for the great cause, which, now apparently successful, was, in fact, to be again indefinitely thrown back. Orange, supported by his own States of Holland and Zeeland—the true nucleus of freedom in the Low Countries—refused to recognize or act upon the Edict, nor could he by any persuasions be induced to give in his adhesion to its terms. For others, the machinery of court patronage and popular ingratiation was set in motion. Don John distributed places and honours; he dined with the citizens, and shot at the popinjay. People might begin to think of former times, and recollect his father—the Fleming Emperor, Charles V., whose predilection for his subjects in the Netherlands had nearly cost him his Castilian crown. In April the Spanish soldiers went away, and the new Governor entered Brussels in state. Fêted, however, as he was, Don John obtained no hold on the country. He hated the Netherlands, and he was afraid of Orange, whom he could neither put down nor corrupt. He wrote to the King that he 'bewitched the people:' and it is in a letter to him from Spain, at this time, that the dark suggestion surges up, 'Let it never be absent from your mind, that a good occasion must be found for finishing Orange.'

The end of Orange was not yet come; his power and influence were

were spreading, while the representative of the crown of Spain was fast becoming of less and less importance. The Roman Catholic nobles invited the Archduke Matthias to Brussels. Orange, already supreme in Holland and Zeeland, was elected to the highest offices in Brabant and Flanders. After eleven years of proscription and absence from the capital, he again entered Brussels.

By the end of the year 1577 the States-General felt strong enough to declare against the government of Don John, and to denounce him as an enemy to the country. The seventeen Provinces were for a brief space again united in a new Union of Brussels. The nascent confederation, however, was soon to be shattered to pieces by the decisive battle of Gemblours; and seven of them only afterwards realised the condition for which all had contended.

Elizabeth of England now appears on the scene, giving substantial help to the States. She was to supply both money and men, and a sort of defensive and offensive alliance was established between them. Orange was put in a difficult position by the presence of the Archduke Matthias, but he took the only practical course, of nominally placing himself under his command, and he became lieutenant-general for the Archduke, now about to be installed as Governor, but with the shadow only of a power that would in fact be exercised by the States. It is illustrative of the age, and of the instinctive abhorrence of revolutionary change, that Matthias was to be accepted, still in the name of the sovereign King of Spain, to whom, as well as to the States-General, he was to take an oath of allegiance.

Upon the sudden and early death of Don John, he was succeeded by the best and ablest representative Philip II. ever had in his Flemish dominions. Wise in council, heroic in the field, equally fitted for strategic or diplomatic action, and wholly regardless of his word, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was a most formidable adversary to the freedom of the revolted Provinces. It was plain, however, at the period of his intervention in the affairs of the Netherlands, that a portion only of the Burgundian heritage could be saved for the Spanish crown. The combination of the States was still further promoted by the Union of Utrecht, signed in 1579; and this may be taken as the true and immediate foundation of the Dutch Commonwealth.

Seven months were now consumed in conferences at Cologne, for the purpose of adjusting the differences between the King and the States; but with no result. There was, in truth, no common ground for reconciliation. Nor were the magnificent offers made to William of Orange, with the view of detaching him

him from the popular interests, of any avail. He would afford no opportunity for commencing the process of separating himself from the States; and amid the treason and indifference of others he stood, as ever, the fast and immoveable champion of the freedom of the souls and bodies of the Netherlands' people. While he lived and led them, their cause would always have a chief of consummate ability devoted to it, by whom it would never be abandoned or betrayed. From Granvelle, with his ancient grudge, came the frequent question—Suppose he did not live? 'A sum of money would be well employed in this way;' and again, 'It would be well to offer a reward of thirty or forty thousand crowns to any one who will deliver the prince, dead or alive.*' Accordingly, in June 1580, was published the Ban against Orange, setting a price on his head, and promising, in addition, pardon for former crimes and a patent of nobility. It was to this murderous document that Orange replied by his famous Apology, and the two form a most remarkable pair of state-papers.

Holland and Zeeland were now at length, both in word and deed, absolutely independent of Spain, and had at last induced Orange to become their present head—in continuation of his old functions of Stadtholder—but not exercising them any more in the name of the King. Some of the Provinces were fast again in their old bonds; others, dissatisfied with the insignificance of Matthias, were calling in the Duke of Anjou, and proposing to bestow upon him a limited sovereignty. If Orange would have accepted this, as it had been repeatedly pressed on him, it would probably have been better for the country. A single powerful head would then have directed it, and all would have joined in acknowledging his supremacy. But he was resolute in confining his official authority to Holland and Zeeland.

Five attempts to kill the Prince of Orange were made before the last and successful one. At length a certain wretched clerk, who for years had been revolving the deed, was enabled, by a remarkable series of facilities, to gain access to his victim. This Balthazar Gérard—half fanatic and whole villain—while serving in the office of the secretary to Count Mansfeldt, Governor of Luxemburg, fabricated, for future uses, copies of Mansfeldt's seals. Consulting with divers Jesuits, he was advised to lay his scheme before Parma. The Governor encouraged the prosecution of the design, but would advance no money to his needy subordinate. Gérard assumed a false name, and by pretending

* 'Rise of the Dutch Republic,' vol. iii., p. 367.

to be a zealous Calvinist, and by suggesting the convenient use that might be made of the counterfeit seals in his possession, he gained a footing in the service of the States. He soon made for himself the opportunity he desired, and standing in a dark recess, he shot Orange as he went from the dinner-table to his own apartment. The wound was almost instantly followed by death; and thus foully was ended the important life of William the Silent.

The murderer was tortured and executed for his crime under all the circumstances of detestable cruelty with which, until comparatively recent times, such offenders used to be treated. The claim to the reward for the death of Orange, now completely earned, was duly liquidated in favour of the heirs of Gérard. His father and mother received large estates in commutation of the promised blood-money; and unfortunately this acknowledgment of the services of an assassin, by a posthumous payment to his legal representatives, is not without a parallel in more modern history.

Political assassination was one of the regular phenomena of the age. Whether systematically organized or left to the independent zealotry of individuals, it appeared in marked influence upon events. Of the persons with whom we are concerned, William the Silent, Henry of Guise, Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, all fell victims to the pistol or dagger. The life of Elizabeth of England was constantly menaced by it; nor did it escape the attention of those to whom the life of Mary Queen of Scots gave trouble. In the case of Gérard's crime, the loss to the nation of its great patriot leader was irreparable. A prince of one of the oldest houses of Europe, of large private means, brought up in all the secrets of Charles V.'s cabinet, a man of the world, a courtier and a soldier, he united advantages of position in which no one could succeed him. He had established a personal influence and attachment to himself, in which he could never have been rivalled. Philip's remark on hearing of the murder at Delft was—'Had it only been done two years earlier, much trouble might have been spared me; but 'tis better late than never.' Orange had lived to see part of his work finished; but his death postponed the completion of it for many a long year, for no one was left to head the fight as he had done. Yet universal as the grief was, there was 'no dismay, but rather a resolution of courage, and hatred to be revenged, and further to defend their liberties,' as Elizabeth's agent wrote to her. The second son of the lost chief—the young Maurice, who was afterwards so well to sustain the celebrity of his name—was for the moment

moment placed at the head of a Provisional Council of State by the States-General, in whom the sovereignty practically remained on the deaths of Orange and Anjou.

Parma affected to consider that with the fall of William the cause which he led was at an end. He offered ample terms of reconciliation with the Spanish crown—everything, in fact, but the religious freedom which underlay every other question. In Holland and Zeeland his terms were peremptorily refused. Elsewhere, management and Spanish ducats, so far as they were forthcoming, did their business. The general position of the contending parties, as shortly stated by Mr. Motley, now was, that Spain held the territory which is at present comprised in Belgium and French Flanders; while the territory held by the United Provinces was that of the modern kingdom of the Netherlands. The debateable country was East Flanders and South Brabant.

For the effective command of the country, it was necessary to obtain possession of the five important cities of Ghent, Dendermonde, Mechlin, Brussels, and Antwerp; and it was at the famous siege of the latter place that the genius of Parma, and all the engineering and military resources of the period, were so remarkably displayed. But while much depended on the actual issue of arms within the narrow limits of the actual scene of warfare, more depended upon the policy of the other states of Europe, which might bring or keep away fresh combatants, or might transfer the war to other regions. After all that had happened, it seems surprising that the Netherlands should have clung so pertinaciously to a French protectorate, and that they should have been supported by English opinion in so doing. But in truth they had no choice. England, France, and the Empire were the only powers to which resort could be had. The differences perpetuated under the names of Luther and Calvin seriously interfered with an appeal to the Protestant countries. The religious sympathies of the Calvinists of the Netherlands were with the Huguenots of France. The Germans could not be cordial with those who dissented from the Confession of Augsburg; and, even if disposed to help, the princes of the Empire were already sufficiently occupied with their bad neighbours the Turks, and their mercenary troops were ever at the service of the longest purse. Elizabeth, busy in strengthening her own power, and in consolidating the foundations of that national church, which, in its union with the state, remains as the greatest monument of her sagacity, was wise in her dislike to the discipline of Geneva. The next probable occupier of the English throne was a Roman Catholic, while in France the succession would be carried to the then Protestant King of Navarre;

Navarre ; nor was the existence of the combination suspected, which resulted afterwards in the wars of the League. France also had the advantage of contiguity, and was then by far the more powerful of the two countries. Elizabeth herself counselled either a combined action of England and France, or absolute annexation of the Low Countries to France, in order to fortify their resistance to the overwhelming power of Spain.

In describing the complex condition of French politics at this period, Mr. Motley has occasion to give excellent portraits of the three Henries—Henry of Valois, Henry of Guise, and Henry of Navarre—the king, utterly degraded, but in possession of the throne—the plotting leader of the Catholics, and the champion of the Huguenot cause. Here is Henry III., last King of France of the Valois line :—

‘He had not been born without natural gifts, such as Heaven rarely denies to prince or peasant ; but the courage which he once possessed had been exhausted on the field of Moncontour, his manhood had been left behind him at Venice, and such wit as Heaven had endowed him withal was now expended in darting viperous epigrams at court-ladies whom he was only capable of dishonouring by calumny, and whose charms he burned to outrival in the estimation of his minions. . . . With silken flounces, jewelled stomacher, and painted face, with pearls of great price adorning his bared neck and breast, and satin-slippered feet, of whose delicate shape and size he was justly vain, it was his delight to pass his days and nights in a ceaseless round of gorgeous festivals, tourneys, processions, masquerades, banquets, and balls, the cost of which glittering frivolities caused the popular burthen and the popular execration to grow, from day to day, more intolerable and more audible. Surrounded by a gang of “minions,” the most debauched and the most desperate of France, whose bedizened dresses exhaled perfumes throughout Paris, and whose sanguinary encounters dyed every street in blood, Henry lived a life of what he called pleasure, careless of what might come after, for he was the last of his race. The fortunes of his minions rose higher and higher, as their crimes rendered them more and more estimable in the eyes of a King who took a woman’s pride in the valour of such champions to his weakness, and more odious to a people whose miserable homes were made even more miserable, that the coffers of a few court-favourites might be filled. Now sauntering, full-dressed, in the public promenades, with ghastly little death’s-heads strung upon his sumptuous garments, and fragments of human bones dangling among his orders of knighthood—playing at cup and ball as he walked, and followed by a few select courtiers who gravely pursued the same exciting occupation—now presiding like a queen of beauty at a tournament to assign the prize of valour, and now, by the advice of his mother, going about the streets in robes of penitence, telling his beads as he went, that the populace might be edified by his piety, and solemnly offering
up

up prayers in the churches that the blessing of an heir might be vouchsafed to him,—Henry of Valois seemed straining every nerve in order to bring himself and his great office into contempt.

‘As orthodox as he was profligate, he hated the Huguenots, who sought his protection and who could have saved his throne, as cordially as he loved the Jesuits, who passed their lives in secret plottings against his authority and his person, or in fierce denunciations from the Paris pulpits against his manifold crimes. Next to an exquisite and sanguinary fop, he dearly loved a monk. The presence of a friar, he said, exerted as agreeable an effect upon his mind as the most delicate and gentle tickling could produce upon his body; and he was destined to have a fuller dose of that charming presence than he coveted.’

In July, 1584, the sovereignty of the Netherlands was actually offered to, and declined by, Henry III.; but it was hinted that if Holland and Zeeland would unite with the other Provinces in the offer, their general cause should be most earnestly undertaken. By October their adhesion was procured, and it was resolved to renew the proposal.

There was, however, a strong feeling in favour of a direct appeal to the great English Queen rather than to the effeminate master of the Louvre, and this was encouraged by the many English subjects already in the Low Countries who had taken service on the side of the States. Sir Roger Williams—such a proud and hard-fighting Welshman as might have furnished Shakspeare with a Fluellen of a higher order—was active in his communications with Walsingham; and he gave one piece of counsel on the best mode of attack upon the predominance of Philip, which was most successfully followed in Drake’s expedition to the Spanish West Indies. ‘I dare be bound, if you join with Treslong the States’ Admiral, and send off both three score sail into his Indies, we will force him to retire from congressing further, and to be contented to let other princes live as well as he.’

The English difficulties in affording assistance were considerable. The undeveloped England of that day might well be wary in measuring its strength against that of the powerful monarch who, by force of arms or policy, from his cabinet governed half the world. Still it was becoming daily more obvious that the struggle which was going on everywhere between Protestantism and Popery must be determined by the fate of the Netherlands, that their cause could not maintain itself without assistance, and that its ruin would speedily involve that of England. The question was carefully debated in the English council. Lord Burghley, in his summary of the discussion, preserved in our own State-Paper

Office, wisely concluded, 'upon comparison made betwixt the perils on the one part and the difficulties of the other, . . . to advise her Majesty rather to seek the avoiding and directing of the great perils than, in respect of any difficulties, to suffer the King of Spain to grow to the full height of his designs and conquests, whereby the perils were to follow so evident, as if presently he were not, by succouring of the Hollanders and their party, impeached, the Queen's Majesty should not hereafter be anywise able to withstand the same.' Davison was sent to Holland, and thought was taken for the troubles and dangers of an impending Spanish war.

The Dutch envoys, on their second mission to Paris, again met with a refusal. The King had received the envoys in his cabinet, with a basket of puppies hanging from his neck by a ribbon, which became such a wearer better than the cordon of St. Louis; but, after many weeks, they were dismissed with a total rejection of their offer. If the cause of the Low Countries could have been honestly taken up by the French government, a magnificent opportunity presented itself for territorial aggrandizement. This, however, would have been to range on the Protestant side in the great European struggle; and many a secret and base motive was in operation to prevent it.

Philip himself was master of the situation in Paris, as in other places to which the subtle filaments of his unseen diplomacy extended their paralyzing influence. Catherine de' Medici had a worn-out claim to the throne of Portugal, and it might be useful to entertain the Netherlands' proposal for a while, with the view of obtaining an allowance of this pretension; but a hint from the Escorial would always be enough to terminate the dissimulation. Henry himself was all the time in friendly communication with Parma; and while Elizabeth would have let him take the Netherlands singly, or would have agreed to a combined protectorate—while he was receiving the Garter from the hands of the Earl of Derby at Paris—he was ready to join the arch-traitor Philip in war against England. With Philip the extermination of heretics in France, as in his own dominions, was still an object to be pursued; and the Netherlands profited for the moment by this under-current of intrigue, inasmuch as Parma was left ill-supplied with men and money, while Philip was employing all his energies in fomenting the forthcoming civil and religious war in France.

All this time the great siege of Antwerp was proceeding. Parma directed the magnificent operations of the investment in person. Mr. Motley gives due honour to his abilities:—

'No man felt more keenly the importance of the business in which
he

he was engaged than Parma. He knew his work exactly, and he meant to execute it thoroughly. Antwerp was the hinge on which the fate of the whole country, perhaps of all Christendom, was to turn. "If we get Antwerp," said the Spanish soldiers—so frequently that the expression passed into a proverb—"you shall all go to mass with us; if you save Antwerp, we will all go to conventicle with you."

'Alexander rose with the difficulty and responsibility of his situation. His vivid, almost poetic intellect formed its schemes with perfect distinctness. Every episode in his great, and, as he himself termed it, his "heroic enterprise," was traced out beforehand with the tranquil vision of creative genius; and he was prepared to convert his conceptions into reality, with the aid of an iron nature that never knew fatigue or fear. . . . Untiring, uncomplaining, thoughtful of others, prodigal of himself, generous, modest, brave; with so much intellect and so much devotion to what he considered his duty, he deserved to be a patriot and a champion of the right, rather than an instrument of despotism.

'And thus he paused for a moment—with much work already accomplished, but his hardest life-task before him; still in the noon of manhood, a fine martial figure, standing, spear in hand, full in the sunlight, though all the scene around him was wrapped in gloom—a noble, commanding shape, entitled to the admiration which the energetic display of great powers, however unscrupulous, must always command. A dark, meridional physiognomy, a quick, alert, imposing head; jet black, close-clipped hair; a bold eagle's face, with full, bright, restless eye; a man rarely reposing, always ready, never alarmed; living in the saddle, with harness on his back—such was the Prince of Parma; matured and mellowed, but still unharmed by time.'

Sainte Aldegonde, as Burgomaster, was at the head of the defence; and Mr. Motley's admirable description of him tempts us to present a portion of it in his own words:—

'Scholar, theologian, diplomatist, swordsman, orator, poet, pamphleteer, he had genius for all things, and was eminent in all. He was even famous for his dancing, and had composed an intelligent and philosophical treatise upon the value of that amusement, as an agent of civilisation, and as a counteractor of the grosser pleasures of the table to which Upper and Nether Germans were too much addicted.

'Of ancient Savoyard extraction, and something of a southern nature, he had been born in Brussels, and was national to the heart's core.

'A man of interesting, sympathetic presence; of a physiognomy where many of the attaching and attractive qualities of his nature revealed themselves; with crisp curling hair, surmounting a tall, expansive forehead—full of benevolence, idealism, and quick perceptions; broad, brown, melancholy eyes, overflowing with tenderness; a lean and haggard cheek, a rugged Flemish nose; a thin flexible
mouth;

mouth; a slender moustache, and a peaked and meagre beard; so appeared Sainte Aldegonde in the forty-seventh year of his age, when he came to command in Antwerp.

‘Yet after all—many-sided, accomplished, courageous, energetic, as he was—it may be doubted whether he was the man for the hour or the post. He was too impressionable; he had too much of the temperament of genius. Without being fickle, he had, besides his versatility of intellect, a character which had much facility in turning; not, indeed, in the breeze of self-interest, but because he seemed placed in so high and clear an atmosphere of thought that he was often acted upon and swayed by subtle and invisible influences.’

Sainte Aldegonde was embarrassed by divided authority, by incompetent subordinates, and by a succession of blunders and misfortunes. The Admiral Treslong refused to carry corn; and, although it was known that a populous city would have to stand a protracted siege, and it was of the last importance to complete the victualling of the place, the magistrates suicidally checked the influx of all fresh supplies by fixing a maximum price for corn. When it was proposed to adopt the only true mode of defence by breaching the dykes of the sea and river, so as to submerge the country and ensure water-communication with Zeeland, the Guild of Butchers interfered to prevent the sacrifice of their pasture-grounds. The great Blawgaren and Kowenstyn dykes, on the right bank, consequently remained unpierced, and the other side was chosen for an inundation, which served chiefly to provide Parma with the water-carriage he wanted. By the time the mistake was seen, the Kowenstyn had become a strongly fortified position in the hands of the enemy. No one, indeed, seems to have believed it possible for the besieging force to close the Scheldt, and to complete the investment of the city by carrying a floating line of circumvallation across a stream of such breadth, and in the winter season. By wonderful efforts, however, the construction of a fortified bridge of boats was effected, and its bristling length extended nearly half a mile—at once a road of constant communication for the investing forces on opposite sides of the stream, and a barrier against any approach by it to the beleaguered town.

A daring plan for the destruction of the bridge by explosive vessels of enormous power answered beyond expectation. Of two huge floating infernal machines, each containing seven thousand pounds of gunpowder, charged with ponderous projectiles, and launched against the vast work of the Spanish engineers, one most effectually did its appointed task. A thousand men were destroyed in a moment, and a breach of two hundred feet remained

mained in the shattered fabric of the bridge. The friendly fleet of the Zeelanders, waiting below for the success of the operation, might have completed the demolition of the floating rampart, and ascended to the relief of Antwerp; but the dastardly folly of the officer in charge omitted to ascertain the fact of success and give the concerted signal to the citizens and their allies; the rocket so anxiously looked for was never lighted—for three days the lost chance of deliverance was not known in the city—and again it was too late. For a crowning miscarriage: when a well-combined attack of the Antwerp and Hollanders on the Kowenstyn had finally placed it long enough in their possession to enable them to effect the all-important cutting of the dyke and admit a vessel laden with provisions, the commanders, instead of securing their half-completed work, returned to the city in absurd haste to announce and celebrate the good news, while the Spaniards recovered the position,—and thus the last remaining chance of relief was lost. Every means of defence had now been exhausted or thrown away; there was a clamorous peace party within the walls; starvation was imminent; and fair terms of capitulation were at length obtained and observed.

For his surrender under these circumstances, and for his subsequent conduct, the integrity of Sainte Aldegonde fell under a grave cloud of suspicion and distrust. Mr. Motley has worthily devoted several pages, and has used some hitherto unpublished materials, in vindicating the purity of his motives, and he has arrived at a favourable conclusion, in which all must be glad to concur.

Not until after the surrender of Antwerp did substantial and avowed English help arrive in the Netherlands. The Dutch envoys, headed by John van Olden Barneveld, had been received at Greenwich to make their offer of sovereignty to the Queen. It was in vain pressed upon her acceptance. She promised public assistance and protection upon terms very carefully arranged for the repayment of her money advances; but the proffered dignity was refused. In weighing the amount of aid afforded, and the securities for indemnification so cautiously taken, it must always be remembered that Elizabeth had no standing army, and that her revenue was small:—

‘It is difficult, without a strong effort of the imagination, to reduce the English empire to the slender proportions which belonged to her in the days of Elizabeth. That epoch was full of light and life. The constellations which have for centuries been shining in the English firmament were then human creatures walking English earth. The captains, statesmen, corsairs, merchant-adventurers, poets, dramatists, the great Queen herself, the Cecils, Raleigh, Walsingham, Drake, Hawkins,

Hawkins, Gilbert, Howard, Willoughby, the Norrises, Essex, Leicester, Sidney, Spenser, Shakspeare and the lesser but brilliant lights which surrounded him; such were the men who lifted England upon an elevation to which she was not yet entitled by her material grandeur. At last she had done with Rome, and her expansion dated from that moment. Holland and England, by the very condition of their existence, were sworn foes to Philip. Elizabeth stood excommunicated of the Pope. There was hardly a month in which intelligence was not sent by English agents out of the Netherlands and France, that assassins, hired by Philip, were making their way to England to attempt the life of the Queen. The Netherlanders were rebels to the Spanish monarch, and they stood, one and all, under death-sentence by Rome. The alliance was inevitable and wholesome. Elizabeth was, however, consistently opposed to the acceptance of a new sovereignty. England was a weak power. Ireland was at her side in a state of chronic rebellion—a stepping-stone for Spain in its already foreshadowed invasion. Scotland was at her back with a strong party of Catholics, stipendiaries of Philip, encouraged by the Guises and periodically inflamed to enthusiasm by the hope of rescuing Mary Stuart from her imprisonment, bringing her rival's head to the block, and elevating the long-suffering martyr upon the throne of all the British Islands. And in the midst of England itself conspiracies were weaving every day. The mortal duel between the two queens was slowly approaching its termination. In the fatal form of Mary was embodied everything most perilous to England's glory and to England's Queen. Mary Stuart meant absolutism at home, subjection to Rome and Spain abroad. The uncle Guises were stipendiaries of Philip, Philip was the slave of the Pope. Mucio had frightened the unlucky Henry III. into submission, and there was no health nor hope in France. For England, Mary Stuart embodied the possible relapse into sloth, dependence, barbarism. For Elizabeth, Mary Stuart embodied sedition, conspiracy, rebellion, battle, murder, and sudden death.

'It was not to be wondered at that the Queen thus situated should be cautious, when about throwing down the gauntlet to the greatest powers of the earth.'

It was finally agreed that a permanent force of 5000 foot and 1000 horse should serve in the Provinces at the expense of England, and that Flushing and the Brill should be given up as securities for repayment by the States. The first and noblest of the land were sent forth on the occasion. Leicester went as commander-in-chief; Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Thomas Cecil were the English governors of the two towns. It is agreeable to turn for a while from the miseries of war, and escape from the labyrinths of political intrigue, to dwell upon a character like that of Sidney—'that glorious star, that lively pattern of virtue, that lovely joy of all the learned;' and Mr. Motley has done well

well to add to his portrait-gallery a felicitous sketch of our favourite English hero.

Leicester was received with wonderful splendour and cordiality. In his tour through the towns of Holland he was greeted with banquets, pageants, masques, and allegorical representations. These are indications that the independent Provinces were now prospering; indeed, Camden complains that all the subsequent drunkenness in England was owing to the contagion of the Dutch habits caught in the plentiful drinking-bouts of the Low Countries.

Leicester's insubordinate appropriation of the governor-generalship of the Provinces, and the consequent proceedings, have been discussed at length by Mr. Motley, and, as usual, have been illustrated by an abundance of rich material. It is no matter for wonder that the States, feeling the constant want of some single impersonation of authority, should have wished to place the English Earl at their head; but it is strange that they should have made an abrupt offer to him without communication with England, and still more so that he should have accepted it without referring to the Queen, and in defiance of her express injunction. Her rage at the disobedience of her favourite, and at the notion of a rival court, and his presumptuous folly in not writing in person to her at the earliest moment, are interesting but secondary features in the transaction. It is not unusual to ascribe everything to personal influence and motives in dealing with the history of past times, and perhaps we habitually assign too small a part to them in regarding current events. No doubt, in days of less complete political organization than the present, more may have depended upon individuals and less on system; in the case, however, of Leicester's escapade, there was not merely offended pride and jealousy on the one hand, and wilful and inconsiderate ambition on the other. The Queen and the English government had been treated with entire disregard by Leicester and the States. Such a step would have been followed by instant recall in our own days, or, if that were inexpedient for the public service, by a reprimand in effect no less severe than that which the Earl received. It was felt, however, that it would be dangerous to disgrace the chief representative of England in the face of the enemy and of the States, and due attention was paid to Leicester's own arguments in favour of confirming his hasty act. He pointed out that he was of no use, as the mere military commander of a small force, with so good a soldier as Sir John Norris on the spot. The States wanted a head, and if he had not adopted the proffered supremacy, it would have been taken by some one else, to the prejudice of
English

English interests. The States for themselves explained that in designating Leicester as their *absolute* governor, they had only intended to confer full powers on him, while the sovereignty itself was reserved to the people. Burghley and Walsingham also had from the beginning endeavoured to calm the Queen's anger, and had reasoned in favour of the step. They truly said it was honourable for the Crown that a servant of hers should command such a people, and profitable as placing all their resources at her command. Elizabeth finally acquiesced in the arrangement, and was surely not guilty of caprice or inconsistency in so doing. We agree, therefore, with Mr. Bruce, who, in his learned and able edition of the Leicester Correspondence (Camden Society, 1844), has thrown so much light upon the Earl's brief governorship in the Low Countries—in thinking that on this occasion the Queen was in the right.

At the seat of war, Leicester and Parma were both equally ill-treated by their governments in the neglect shown to the comfort and welfare of their troops. The Spanish forces were left without pay, and the obedient Provinces occupied by them were depopulated, uncultivated, and in a state of wretched exhaustion. They held the great towns, but the possession of Flushing by the English cut them off from supplies by sea, and the country itself was stripped quite bare. Meanwhile was proceeding an obscure attempt at negotiating peace—obscure, indeed, in its privacy at the time, although not so in regard to the illustrious personages who were cognizant of it—and now brought into open light and described by Mr. Motley, from the very curious documents of the time. It seems to have been originated by Parma on his own account, through an Italian merchant going to England on private affairs; or possibly letters may previously have been exchanged between the Duke and Elizabeth; or its initiation may have been more humble, although it was afterwards taken up in exalted quarters. There had certainly been some previous meetings and correspondence on both sides. The words of a letter from Lord-Treasurer Burghley to Andrea de Loo, of the date of 6th March, 1586, are given by Mr. Motley. He wrote:—

‘You answered Champagne correctly as to what I said last winter concerning her Majesty's wishes in regard to a pacification. *The Netherlands must be compelled to return to obedience to the King*, but their ancient privileges are to be maintained. You omitted, however, to say a word about toleration in the Provinces of the reformed religion. But I said then, as I say now, that this is a condition indispensable to peace.’

This extract is valuable, as showing that England would only consent to peace on the terms of obtaining those rights and
liberties

liberties for the Provinces in assertion of which the war had been commenced and continued. It also tends, at this early stage, materially to discredit the good faith of the other side of the negotiations, of which indeed it amply appeared afterwards that there was not one grain. Parma purposely avoided sending a properly accredited agent to England; and the only object on the Spanish side must have been to lull suspicion, to embarrass the Queen with her new allies, and to gain time for the final conquest of the Low Countries, and for the great attempt upon England. The insidious letters from Parma sent to the hypothesized towns, with news that the Queen was going to surrender them to Spain, had been intercepted and were in Burghley's possession, and it must be to these that Elizabeth alludes in the letter to the Duke, given from the Archives of Simancas, at vol. i. page 510:—

“Do not suppose,” said the Queen, “that I am seeking what belongs to others. God forbid. I seek only that which is mine own. But be sure that I will take good heed of the sword which threatens me with destruction, nor think that I am so craven-spirited as to endure a wrong, or to place myself at the mercy of my enemy. Every week I see advertisements and letters from Spain that this year shall witness the downfall of England; for the Spaniards—like the hunter who divided, with great liberality, among his friends the body and limbs of the wolf, before it had been killed—have partitioned this kingdom and that of Ireland before the conquest has been effected. But my royal heart is no whit appalled by such threats. I trust, with the help of the Divine hand—which has thus far miraculously preserved me—to smite all these braggart powers into the dust, and to preserve my honour, and the kingdoms which He has given me for my heritage.

“Nevertheless, if you have authority to enter upon and to conclude this negotiation, you will find my ears open to hear your propositions; and I tell you further, if a peace is to be made, that I wish you to be the mediator thereof. Such is the affection I bear you, notwithstanding that some letters, written by your own hand, might easily have effaced such sentiments from my mind.”

Some highly-curious particulars follow of the interviews at Greenwich, between Burghley and Walsingham and Bodman and Grafigni, the half-accredited envoys in this hidden diplomacy. Finally, Elizabeth despatched to Parma a very dignified letter, and the peace proposals for the present dropped to the ground. So far as the preliminaries—or rather the preparation for the preliminaries—went, it appears that there was in this beginning, as all along, a real and natural desire to avoid the expenses and dangers of a war with the most formidable power in Europe. But there was no intention or pretence of conceding the vital points in dispute.

Nor

Nor can we think there is any ground for concluding that a secret and sinister influence was at work to damage the war by designedly keeping Leicester's army ill-supplied; although it was, unquestionably, in an unhappy spirit of economy, ill-paid, ill-clothed, and ill-fed.

The plan for a grand assault upon England was now secretly assuming a definite shape. Parma's suggestions to Philip (April, 1586) in his letter preserved at Simancas show the close relation between the operations in the Netherlands and those to be directed against Britain. The iniquities of Elizabeth had reached an intolerable height, and the time for her chastisement could not be longer postponed. 'Three points,' he said, 'were vital to the invasion,—secrecy, maintenance of the civil war in France, and judicious arrangement of affairs in the Provinces.' The expedition should be organized in the Netherlands, and flat-bottomed boats should carry troops from Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Nieuport. He proposed thirty thousand infantry and five hundred troopers, with saddles, &c., but without horses, which would be found in England:—

'The most appropriate part of the coast for a landing would, in Alexander's opinion, be between Dover and Margate, because the Spaniards, having no footing in Holland and Zeeland, were obliged to make their starting-point in Flanders. The country about Dover was described by Parma as populous, well-wooded, and much divided by hedges; advantageous for infantry, and not requiring a larger amount of cavalry than the small force at his disposal, while the people there were domestic in their habits, rich, and therefore less warlike, less trained to arms, and more engrossed by their occupations and their comfortable ways of life. Therefore, although some encounters would take place, yet after the commanders of the invading troops had given distinct and clear orders, it would be necessary to leave the rest in the hands of God who governs all things, and from whose bounty and mercy it was to be hoped that he would favour a cause so eminently holy, just, and His own.

'It would be necessary to make immediately for London, which city, not being fortified, would be very easily taken. This point gained, the whole framework of the business might be considered as well put together. If the Queen should fly—as, being a woman, she probably would do—everything would be left in such confusion, as, with the blessing of God, it might soon be considered that the holy and heroic work had been accomplished. Her Majesty, it was suggested, would probably make her escape in a boat before she could be captured; but the conquest would be nevertheless effected. Although, doubtless, some English troops might be got together to return and try their fortune, yet it would be quite useless; for the invaders would have already planted themselves upon the soil, and then, by means of frequent excursions and forays hither and thither about

about the island, all other places of importance would be gained, and the prosperous and fortunate termination of the adventure assured.

The best season for undertaking the expedition would be the month of October, when the barns would be full of corn and the crops sown for the next year. Mansfeldt was to be left to command in the Netherlands. Parma himself would head the invasion. Such was the project as sketched in 1586.

Leicester's first campaign in the Netherlands was not a brilliant one. It deserved something more than the taunt that his device might have been altered from Cæsar's to 'Veni, vidi, redii;' but in truth it effected little. Himself not to be compared as a commander to Parma, with an army hastily raised and in want of almost everything, it is chiefly remarkable that he escaped total discomfiture,—an issue which would have been the probable one had not the Spanish troops themselves been as ill-cared for as their adversaries. He was weakened, too, in authority by his acceptance of the governor-generalship and by its attendant rebuff. He was jealously regarded by the States, who repented of their exaltation of the ambitious and insolent Earl. He had violently quarrelled with Hohenlo, the Dutch commander, and with Norris, his own. The instances of individual gallantry in the field were conspicuous; but on the whole Philip might well have been rather encouraged than dismayed in his plans against England by the first-fruits of her active interference with him in aid of his revolted subjects. Some, however, of Leicester's want of success depended upon causes for which he was in no way answerable. The city of Grave, important as the key of the Meuse, was lost by treachery (for which the Governor was beheaded), and Neusz through want of the means of marching to its relief. As some set-off to these losses, Axel was surprised and taken in a smart expedition planned by Maurice of Nassau, and in which Sir Philip Sidney took a distinguished part; and siege was laid to Zutphen, which had remained in the hands of the King of Spain ever since its cruel fate at an earlier stage of the long conflict. Mr. Motley's description of this place affords a good example of his powers:—

'Zutphen, or South-Fen, an antique town of wealth and elegance, was the capital of the old Landgraves of Zutphen. It is situate on the right bank of the Yssel, that branch of the Rhine which flows between Gelderland and Overijssel into the Zuyder Zee.

'The ancient river, broad, deep, and languid, glides through a plain of almost boundless extent, till it loses itself in the flat and misty horizon. On the other side of the stream, in the district called the Veluwe, or bad meadow, were three sconces, one of them of remarkable

able strength. An island between the city and the shore was likewise well fortified. On the landward side the town was protected by a wall and moat sufficiently strong in those infant days of artillery. Near the hospital-gate, on the east, was an external fortress guarding the road to Warnsfeld. This was a small village, with a solitary, slender church-spire, shooting up above a cluster of neat one-storied houses. It was about an English mile from Zutphen, in the midst of a wide, low, somewhat fenny plain, which in winter became so completely a lake, that peasants were not unfrequently drowned in attempting to pass from the city to the village. In summer the vague expanse of country was fertile and cheerful of aspect. Long rows of poplars marking the straight highways, clumps of pollard willows scattered around the little meres; snug farm-houses, with kitchen-gardens and brilliant flower-patches dotting the level plain; verdant pastures sweeping off into seemingly infinite distance, where the innumerable cattle seemed to swarm like insects; windmills swinging their arms in all directions, like protective giants, to save the country from inundation; the lagging sail of market-boats shining through rows of orchard-trees—all gave to the environs of Zutphen a tranquil and domestic charm.

It was a point of vital importance for Parma to maintain possession of Zutphen, and to enable it to continue to hold out by throwing in supplies. Information was obtained of the intention to introduce provisions, and an ambuscade was planned to intercept the convoy. A small body of English, containing in its ranks some of the noblest names in the land, was posted, before the dawn of an October morning, near Warnsfeld church. Through a thick fog was heard the advance of the relieving force, when a sudden clearing of the mist displayed a far larger number of the enemy than had been expected. Sir John Norris, with five hundred men, found himself opposed to three thousand who formed the escort of the heavily-laden provision-waggons. No individual prowess could redress such odds, and, after a gallant fight of an hour and a half, the superior force of the Spaniards effected their purpose. Mr. Motley's researches among original documents, and a personal inspection of the scene of action, enable him to give a full and accurate account of this affair, which must always have a heartfelt interest for all who speak the English language, for it was here that Sidney met his death-wound. In an unfortunate moment of needless and self-sacrificing chivalry, he had put off the armour from his thighs upon seeing that old Sir William Pelham, the Lord-Marshal, wore no such protection, and it was in the part which would have been guarded by the cuisses that he was struck by the fatal musket-ball. We cannot help joining with Mr. Motley in deploring that he has not found
any

any allusion to the beautiful and well-known anecdote of the dying soldier and the cup of water in the letters and chronicles relating to the engagement which now owes its chief fame to Sir Philip Sidney's mournful connection with it. It is easy to understand how such a circumstance may have escaped mention; but we must regret, if it were only for Mr. Motley's own sake, that he has missed the gratification of meeting with any contemporary reference to it.

When Leicester departed from the Netherlands he left behind him anarchy, intrigues, suspicion, and distrust. So far as he was personally concerned, there was ground enough for the latter. In June he had written to Queen Elizabeth, proposing to attempt a repetition of Anjou's game and to get into his hands 'three or four most principal places in North Holland;' so as to enable her to hold an independent position, and make her own terms advantageously with Spain, if she chose to leave the States in the lurch. It is true that the proposal received no countenance, nor is there any reason for believing that the Queen was otherwise than loyal in her relations with her allies. Yet as Leicester's most secret correspondence was apt to be known to the States leaders, such hints from him were sufficient to create grave alarm. Some of the Governor's ill-judged dispositions led to unfortunate results and to still further mistrust. Headstrong and overbearing, he loved to sacrifice the public service to the gratification of his own fancies or dislikes; and it was partly in despite of Sir John Norris that he left Sir William Stanley in charge of the important town of Deventer, and Rowland York in command of Fort Zutphen. Both were Roman Catholics, and a large proportion of Stanley's troops were wild Irish kernes, whom he had been permitting to enter the town of Zutphen for the purpose of attending mass. Stanley, to lull all suspicion, gave a banquet to the magistrates of Deventer, and introduced Tassis, the Spanish governor of Zutphen, with troops, to whom he delivered up the town. The inhabitants had the usual choice of becoming Roman Catholics or leaving the place, and were heavily mulcted. The English officers went away; the Irish regiment remained with Stanley to take service under the King of Spain, and Parma had good reason afterwards to be weary of their mutinous and disorderly conduct. Fort Zutphen also was given up. Sir William Stanley was a person of such consideration at home that it was in contemplation to make him Viceroy of Ireland. He seems to have acted upon this occasion on conscientious convictions of religious duty, not unmingled, however, perhaps with views of personal ambition; and although he did receive a pecuniary 'merced,' Parma wrote that he found him 'singularly disinterested.' After this affair he went to Spain, but was again
in

in the Netherlands in the following year, and ready to take part, under Parma, in the great expedition against England. Such treason as this of Sir William Stanley's strongly illustrates the general wisdom of Elizabeth's severe vigilance with regard to her Roman Catholic subjects. When the great hour of danger came, and the Armada threatened their Queen and homes, the Roman Catholics stood by her truly and gallantly for the most part; but it was clearly difficult for a good Catholic to be also a good subject to a heretic prince; and in the struggle of divided allegiance, when exposed to temptation, the temporal loyalty was often prone to give way.

The English troops still continued in a disgraceful condition of neglect. The English expenses of the war had been more than half a million for the year, but this was altogether an insufficient provision, and for five months together no money had been sent to them at all. This inadequate assistance and the treason at Deventer roused the States to indignant remonstrance, and they so far forgot what was due to Elizabeth as to appoint young Maurice of Nassau their Governor-General, although Leicester had not resigned. In England, in fact, there were other matters now pressing upon attention, and the affairs of the Netherlands for the time gave way to the question of the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. During the whole intercourse, indeed, of the two countries, up to the final establishment of their republican independence, it must be admitted that what Bacon is reported to have said was true to a considerable extent, namely, that we were holding the Belgic lion by the ears; for we could not abandon the Dutchmen for our safety, nor keep them for our profit.

The Queen certainly was in a most unmanageable humour. Walsingham wrote, 'When I lay before her the peril, she scorneth it. The hope of a peace with Spain has put her into a most dangerous security.' Early in the year the dissatisfaction of the States had expressed itself in a mission to England. Envoys from the Netherlands were again before Elizabeth at Greenwich. Again they offered to her the sovereignty of the country, and they, not unreasonably, asked for an increase of succour to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, together with the very moderate loan of 60,000*l.*, for which they only got an angry denunciation of their ingratitude and neglect of the English soldiers, and were, besides, accused of tampering with the enemy. The arrival of the news of the loss of Deventer and Fort Zutphen, and of a strong letter from the States to Leicester, did not tend to propitiate the Queen. She threatened that Leicester should not return among a people who did not understand

stand the ways of princes and could not appreciate the sacrifices made for them. Leicester himself at first professed he was unwilling to go back to his enemies Norris and Hohenlo; but, on second thoughts, vowed that he loved the poor, afflicted people of the Netherlands better than the people of England. Even he could not extract from the Queen an advance of the 10,000*l.* necessary to save the foreclosure of the mortgages on his estates, which had been pledged to raise money for the expenses of his government.

Finally, Lord Buckhurst (afterwards the Lord-Treasurer Dorset) returned with the envoys on a mission of mingled pacification and expostulation, and he landed at Flushing just four months after Leicester's departure. For a short time he succeeded in keeping things smooth; but Leicester's agents and partisans continued working to obtain for him the absolute power, and independence of the States' control, which he continued to desire for himself. Abstract questions of the sovereignty of the people were discussed: the question of religious toleration added difficulties. There was distraction, doubt, and disaffection between the powers which should have been cordially united to repel their common danger. To such an extent did these prevail, that Elizabeth sent a letter in cipher to Buckhurst at Utrecht, ordering him to decoy Hohenlo, the States' commander-in-chief, into some safe town, on the ground that he had been tampering with Philip and was about to betray the Republic to him: and this was doubtless provoked by similar charges thrown out by Hohenlo against Leicester. The whole expense of the war was now borne by Holland and Zeeland. Elizabeth refused any further loans. As Walsingham wrote deplorably, 'no reason that breedeth charges can in any sort be digested.' Yet this was at a time when Buckhurst had to make the most touching appeals for the Queen's furnishing and ragged troops, now without pay for six months, and was beseeching her to make use of her relations with the States as her own best means of defence.

All this was doing Parma's work for him; nor was he himself idle in the field. Sluys was invested in June (1587). Its situation, and the natural difficulties of the siege, may be best described in Mr. Motley's own words:—

'When Dante had passed through the third circle of the Inferno—a desert of red-hot sand, in which lay a multitude of victims of divine wrath additionally tortured by an ever-descending storm of fiery flakes—he was led by Virgil out of this burning wilderness along a narrow causeway. This path was protected, he said, against the showers of flame by the lines of vapour which rose eternally from a boiling brook.

brook. Even by such shadowy bulwarks, added the poet, do the Flemings between Cadzand and Bruges protect their land against the ever-threatening sea.

‘It was precisely among these slender dykes between Kadzand and Bruges that Alexander Farnese had now planted all the troops that he could muster in the field. It was his determination to conquer the city of Sluys; for the possession of that important seaport was necessary for him as a basis for the invasion of England, which now occupied all the thoughts of his sovereign and himself.

‘Exactly opposite the city was the island of Kadzand, once a fair and fertile territory, with a city and many flourishing villages upon its surface, but at that epoch diminished to a small, dreary sand-bank by the encroachments of the ocean.

‘A stream of inland water, rising a few leagues to the south of Sluys, divided itself into many branches just before reaching the city, converted the surrounding territory into a miniature archipelago—the islands of which were shifting, treacherous sand-banks at low water, and submerged ones at flood—and then widening and deepening into a considerable estuary, opened for the city a capacious harbour, and an excellent although intricate passage to the sea. The city, which was well built and thriving, was so hidden in its labyrinth of canals and streamlets, that it seemed almost as difficult a matter to find Sluys as to conquer it. It afforded safe harbour for five hundred large vessels; and its possession, therefore, was extremely important for Parma. Besides these natural defences, the place was also protected by fortifications, which were as well constructed as the best of that period. There was a strong rampire and many towers. There was also a detached citadel of great strength, looking towards the sea, and there was a ravelin, called St. Anne’s, looking in the direction of Bruges. A mere riband of dry land in that quarter was all of solid earth to be found in the environs of Sluys.’

It was bravely defended within—the women even joined in constructing a work, which was called Fort Venus, in compliment to them—but relief from without was tardy and insufficient. Leicester returned in July, still bent upon a very different station from that which the States were willing to concede to him. Jealousies and misunderstandings between himself and Barneveld and other States leaders would have alone been enough to prevent any hearty effort to save Sluys, even if there had been a better army at their disposal. Roger Williams’s advice to succour the place by sea was neglected until it was too late to use it, and the harbour had been closed by a bridge of boats, similar, though on a smaller scale, to that so successfully employed at Antwerp. There was a most wretched want of concert and of effectual resistance, for which all parties concerned seem equally to blame. At last was made an inglorious effort to raise the siege, but to no purpose, and Sluys was inevitably

inevitably surrendered. Leicester, 'not so facile to forget as ready to revenge,' had rendered it so impossible for any one to act with him, that, upon his reappearance, Wilkes, the most important of the English civilians who had originally accompanied him, Sir John Norris, and Buckhurst all returned to England. There, however, the influence of 'Sweet Robin' was paramount at court, and in return for their services Wilkes was thrown into the Fleet, Norris was forbidden the Queen's presence, and Buckhurst was sent to stroll under the beeches, or to pace the galleries, at Knole. All this is small and disheartening. One turns from it with joy to better work, and such was Drake's naval expedition to Cadiz and Lisbon. It was a most gallant and successful enterprise. A small force, boldly handled, inflicted enormous damage. It was an excellent 'little beginning,' and was of service in the confidence which it gave to the commanders of the English vessels in their encounters with the huge but unwieldy ships of Spain. Even here, the Queen's wish for peace would have stopped the best part of Drake's doings on this occasion, for despatches went after him, commanding him not to attempt anything by land, nor to enter the ports, but to confine himself to taking vessels at sea.

The peace negotiations were soon to assume a more formal and public character, but the motives of the two parties continued the same. Parma had no authority and no wish to conclude peace. Elizabeth was entirely sincere on her side, but her frankness was no match for the elaborate duplicity and thorough falsehood of the diplomatists of the Escorial. It was the contest of rogues and liars with honest folk, whom they believed to be as false as themselves. The vast preparations for the attack on England were being rapidly forwarded; means were contrived to keep France fully occupied by civil wars at home; the only object of the negotiations was to cover the intended invasion and to gain time. Philip had collected more money than had ever been seen in the world before, and the invasion was to be made simultaneously from Scotland, from the Netherlands under Parma, and by the Great Armada descending on the Isle of Wight. It was calculated that Parma would have thirty thousand men with him, and the main fleet would bring twenty-two thousand more. The King was even sanguine enough to suppose that Parma, who was indefatigable in his preparations, might elude the Dutch and English cruisers, cross the Channel with his flotilla of small craft, and land in England without waiting for the arrival of the Great Armada at all. The Duke's activity was not, however, unknown in England. Walsingham's informants kept him supplied with accounts even of the splendid dresses

that were being embroidered, and the jewels that were being cut, to add lustre to the conqueror's triumphal entry into London. At last Leicester himself, who either ignorantly or designedly had always reported that the people of the Netherlands wished for peace, saw enough to be persuaded that they did not and could not wish for peace, and that peace was not possible; and he, too, sent to the Queen information of the warlike preparations which were being made on so grand a scale.

Before the end of his second year of administration, Leicester's presence was finally withdrawn. He left behind him a mutinous soldiery, and the sovereignty in abeyance. Mr. Motley remarks that—

'Leicester's administration was a failure; and although he repeatedly hazarded his life, and poured out his wealth in their behalf with an almost unequalled liberality, he could never gain the hearts of the Netherlanders. English valour, English intelligence, English truthfulness, and English generosity, were endearing England more and more to Holland. The statesmen of both countries were brought into closest union, and learned to appreciate and to respect each other, while they recognized that the fate of their respective commonwealths was indissolubly united. But it was to the efforts of Walsingham, Drake, Raleigh, Wilkes, Buckhurst, Norris, Willoughby, Williams, Vere, Russell, and the brave men who fought under their banners or their counsels, on every battle-field, and in every beleaguered town in the Netherlands, and to the universal spirit and sagacity of the English nation, in this grand crisis of its fate, that these fortunate results were owing; not to the Earl of Leicester, nor—during the term of his administration—to Queen Elizabeth herself.'

In February of the memorable year 1588 the peace negotiations had advanced to the point of sending English Commissioners, who took up their quarters at Ostend, and were there met very courteously by Parma's secretary, who profited by the opportunity of entrance thus afforded to the town to introduce an engineer officer disguised as his servant, in order to take a view of the fortifications of the place for future use. The intercourse thus initiated dragged on for months. There were delays in fixing the date of the conference, delays in producing the authority to treat—Parma always knowing that he had no powers to treat at all, and that he was indeed expressly forbidden to do so, and declaring upon his honour that he knew of no intention of the King of Spain against Her Majesty or her realms. In May there was a preliminary meeting of the commissioners on both sides, in tents upon the sands near Ostend, and on this occasion, says Mr. Motley,—

'The same servant in plain livery, who had accompanied Secretary Garnier on his first visit to the English commissioners at Ostend, had
now

now come thither again, accompanied by a fellow-lackey. While the complimentary dinner, offered in the name of the absent Farnese to the Queen's representatives, was going forward, the two menials strayed off together to the downs, for the purpose of rabbit-shooting. The one of them was the same engineer who had already, on the former occasion, taken a complete survey of the fortifications of Ostend; the other was no less a personage than the Duke of Parma himself. The pair now made a thorough examination of the town and its neighbourhood, and, having finished their reconnoitring, made the best of their way back to Bruges. As it was then one of Alexander's favourite objects to reduce the city of Ostend at the earliest possible moment, it must be allowed that this preliminary conference was not so barren to himself as it was to the commissioners. Philip, when informed of this manœuvre, was naturally gratified at such masterly duplicity, while he gently rebuked his nephew for exposing his valuable life; and certainly it would have been an inglorious termination to the Duke's splendid career, had he been hanged as a spy within the trenches of Ostend. With the other details of this first diplomatic colloquy Philip was delighted. "I see you understand me thoroughly," he said. "Keep the negotiation alive till my Armada appears, and then carry out my determination, and replant the Catholic religion on the soil of England."

No commission to treat, however, was then forthcoming, but the impatient importunities of the English soon afterwards compelled the production of such a document, prepared only for the purpose of deception, and in Philip's own words, 'on no account to be used, except for show.' In another month the commissioners actually met in conference at Bourbourg, and the delusive negotiations went on. While the conferences were proceeding, English translations of the famous bull of the Pope, Sixtus Quintus, and of Cardinal Allen's infamous Admonition to the People of England, appeared at Antwerp, and pedantic Dr. Valentine Dale, one of the English commissioners, was thereupon despatched to obtain explanations from Parma. It was now July, and the preparations for the sailing of the Armada were nearly complete. Nevertheless it was important to gain time, and Dr. Dale was politely assured by the Duke that he knew nothing about the Cardinal's book, and had nothing to do with it. He was equally innocent of the Pope's bull. Not a fortnight before, Parma had been thanked by Philip for having had the Cardinal's book translated at Antwerp.

Even the sagacity of Walsingham was deceived by the masterly skill with which the Spanish web of deceit was woven. Writing as late as the beginning of May in the very year of the Armada, he says, 'The King of Spain is too old and sickly to fall to conquer kingdoms;' and the actual destination and

time of departure of the fleet were so well concealed, that it was supposed to be intended for the conquest of a new country discovered in America, and that all the while the King was laughing in his sleeve at the Pope, and would attempt nothing against England. Nevertheless, some naval preparations were going on, under Lord Howard and Drake, and, though not carried forward by the Government with anything like the spirit which the occasion demanded, yet they were never wholly intermitted.

The Armada sailed at the end of May. Off Cape Finisterre it encountered the tempest which so long delayed its approach to England. Mr. Motley gives some very interesting details of what happened in the Bay of Biscay, where gallant David Gwynn, a Welsh mariner, who had sat in the Spanish hulks, a wretched galley-slave—as prisoner of war—for more than eleven years, contrived to master his own and another vessel; and of the joyous and spirited attack by Lord Howard upon the Armada as it passed up the Channel.

A considerable force of Dutch and English ships offered the best and almost only means of defence for England, and of preventing a junction between the Spanish army in the Netherlands and that which was to be transported by the Armada. By land the English armaments were frightfully deficient; and even at the beginning of August, at the time when the Armada was at Calais, discouraged and flurried indeed, but with its force not materially impaired, there was really no army worthy of the name assembled to meet it. There was abundance of loyalty and enthusiasm; there would have been no want of courage in the hour of extremity; but there was not a regularly disciplined and well-officered force, such as alone could have successfully contended in the field with Spanish veterans. There were few professional soldiers in England who had seen service, and of these even there was jealousy. The people chose rather to join the standards of the great nobles than to enlist in the royal army. Mr. Motley points out—and it is impossible to think of it without emotion, even at this distance of time—how narrowly the dangers of invasion were escaped:—

‘The Armada had arrived in Calais roads on Saturday afternoon, the 6th August. If it had been joined on that day, or the next—as Philip and Medina Sidonia fully expected—by the Duke of Parma’s flotilla, the invasion would have been made at once. If a Spanish army had ever landed in England at all, that event would have occurred on the 7th August. The weather was not unfavourable, the sea was smooth, and the circumstances under which the catastrophe of the great drama was that night accomplished were a profound mystery to every soul in England. For aught that Leicester, or
Burghley,

Burghley, or Queen Elizabeth knew at the time, the army of Farnese might, on Monday, have been marching upon London. Now, on that Monday morning, the army of Lord Hunsdon was not assembled at all, and Leicester, with but four thousand men under his command, was just commencing his camp at Tilbury. The "Bellona-like" appearance of the Queen on her white palfrey, with truncheon in hand, addressing her troops in that magnificent burst of eloquence which has so often been repeated, was not till eleven days afterwards—not till the Great Armada, shattered and tempest-tossed, had been, a week long, dashing itself against the cliffs of Norway and the Faröes, on its forlorn retreat to Spain.'

The unprotected state to which the parsimony of a Queen had brought the England of that day has been well nigh repeated by the economies of a House of Commons in our own. What the warning voice of a Walsingham failed to effect then in time to be of service, if the defence by sea had broken down, has been recently commenced by the nation (not, we trust, too late), after the equally neglected warnings of a Wellington.

It is impossible to do justice to Mr. Motley by partial extracts from this part of his work. The following may serve as another specimen, and to show what were the hopes of the invaders, and what would have been the fate of London, if they had reached it:—

'The impatience of the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet was equal to that of their commanders. There was London almost before their eyes—a huge mass of treasure, richer and more accessible than those mines beyond the Atlantic which had so often rewarded Spanish chivalry with fabulous wealth. And there were men in those galleons who remembered the sack of Antwerp, eleven years before—men who could tell, from personal experience, how helpless was a great commercial city when once in the clutch of disciplined brigands—men who, in that dread "fury of Antwerp," had enriched themselves in an hour with the accumulations of a merchant's lifetime, and who had slain fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brides and bridegrooms, before each other's eyes, until the number of inhabitants butchered in the blazing streets rose to many thousands; and the plunder from palaces and warehouses was counted by millions before the sun had set on the "great fury." Those Spaniards, and Italians, and Walloons were now thirsting for more gold, for more blood; and as the capital of England was even more wealthy and far more defenceless than the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands had been, so it was resolved that the London "fury" should be more thorough and more productive than the "fury" of Antwerp, at the memory of which the world still shuddered. And these professional soldiers had been taught to consider the English as a pacific, delicate, effeminate race, dependent on good living, without experience of war, quickly fatigued
and

and discouraged, and even more easily to be plundered and butchered than were the excellent burghers of Antwerp.

Mr. Motley's whole narrative of the advance, defeat, and subsequent dispersion of the great Spanish fleet—of the difficulties which prevented Parma from ever leaving the Netherlands to co-operate with it—will be read with all the fresh interest which his treatment of it must inspire. He has most happily combined all that is picturesque and stirring with the most accurate and sometimes novel details. Here, as throughout his work, the most ample and conscientious reference is made to the original authorities from which he has composed his living and truthful picture of events. The scene is laid in Calais Roads, where the two fleets were lying within a mile and a half of each other.

'At an hour past midnight it was so dark that it was difficult for the most practised eye to pierce far into the gloom. But a faint drip of oars now struck the ears of the Spaniards as they watched from the decks. A few moments afterwards the sea became suddenly luminous, and six flaming vessels appeared at a slight distance, bearing steadily down upon them before the wind and tide.

'There were men in the Armada who had been at the siege of Antwerp only three years before. They remembered with horror the devil-ships of Gianibelli, those floating volcanoes, which had seemed to rend earth and ocean, whose explosion had laid so many thousands of soldiers dead at a blow, and which had shattered the bridge and floating forts of Farnese as though they had been toys of glass. They knew, too, that the famous engineer was at that moment in England.

'In a moment one of those horrible panics which spread with such contagious rapidity among large bodies of men, seized upon the Spaniards. There was a yell throughout the fleet—"The fire-ships of Antwerp, the fire-ships of Antwerp!" and in an instant every cable was cut, and frantic attempts were made by each galleon and galeasse to escape what seemed imminent destruction. The confusion was beyond description. Four or five of the largest ships became entangled with each other. Two others were set on fire by the flaming vessels, and were consumed. Medina Sidonia, who had been warned, even before his departure from Spain, that some such artifice would probably be attempted, and who had even, early that morning, sent out a party of sailors in a pinnace to search for indications of the scheme, was not surprised or dismayed. He gave orders—as well as might be—that every ship, after the danger should be passed, was to return to its post, and await his further orders. But it was useless, in that moment of unreasonable panic, to issue commands.'

Mr. Motley evinces throughout his narrative of the most critical period of our history that warm and genuine English feeling which we are entitled to look for in those who owe their liberties,

liberties, as well as their descent, to the England which was then so wonderfully preserved for us and for them. We have not, however, been always able to agree with him when he comes in contact with Queen Elizabeth; nor, on the whole, can we admit that he has done perfect justice to the great qualities of her character as exhibited under the circumstances in which he has had occasion to discuss it. With the great dramatist of Elizabeth's age he has an acquaintance so deep and familiar, that it is impossible to read many pages without often experiencing the pleasure occasioned by the recognition of a common sympathy; and, for the sake of the Poet, we are almost content to compound any differences we may have with him about the Queen. We have much difficulty also in assenting to the way in which Philip II. is sometimes mentioned. For his policy and for his crimes we can feel nothing but detestation. Intellectually he was, no doubt, ill-educated, ill-informed, and was only acquainted with his own language. His writing was that of a schoolboy at a time when no one in high station held it a baseness to write fair. His remarks, scrawled on the margin of the most important State Papers, were sometimes puerile and ludicrous. Mr. Motley has given a few choice specimens of them:—

‘A most important despatch—in which the King, with his own hand, was supposed to be conveying secret intelligence to Mendoza concerning the Armada, together with minute directions for the regulation of Guise's conduct at the memorable epoch of the barricades—contained but a single comment from the monarch's own pen. “The Armada has been in Lisbon about a month—*quassi un mes*”—wrote the secretary. “There is but one *s* in *quasi*,” said Philip.

‘Again, a despatch of Mendoza to the King contained the intelligence that Queen Elizabeth was, at the date of the letter, residing at St. James's. Philip, who had no objection to display his knowledge of English affairs—as became the man who had already been almost Sovereign of England, and meant to be entirely so—supplied a piece of information in an apostille to this despatch. “St. James is a house of recreation,” he said, “which was once a monastery. There is a park between it and the palace which is called *Huytal*; but *why it is called Huytal*, I am sure I don't know.” His researches in the English language had not enabled him to recognise the adjective and substantive out of which the abstruse compound *White-Hall* (*Huyt-al*) was formed.

‘On another occasion a letter from England containing important intelligence concerning the number of soldiers enrolled in that country to resist the Spanish invasion, the quantity of gunpowder and various munitions collected, with other details of like nature, furnished besides a bit of information of less vital interest. “In the windows of the Queen's presence-chamber they have discovered a *great quantity of lice*, all clustered together,” said the writer.

‘Such

‘Such a minute piece of statistics could not escape the microscopic eye of Philip. So, disregarding the soldiers and the gunpowder, he commented *only* on this last-mentioned clause of the letter; and he did it cautiously too, as a King surnamed the Prudent should:—

“But perhaps they were fleas,” wrote Philip.’

These are valuable and curious indications of character. But it may be doubted whether Mr. Motley throughout his work has allowed sufficient credit to the patient industry, the devotion to business, the constancy of purpose, the resignation under calamity, which were found in Philip. It is surely no fair reproach to him that he persevered in his attention to public work, even under the pressure of constant and painful sickness. No mere bigot and foolish scrawler on the margins of paper could have managed so large and varied a system of governments, and directed so many complicated motions. Genius and a profound sense of duty there must have been to sustain him in the laborious work of a lifetime. The answer to the question, whether that work altogether was successful, should not affect our estimate of the qualities of the worker. Better men have failed in better designs, and worse men have succeeded in worse applications of strong wills and energies; and we cannot think that the cause of historical justice can be advanced by attempting to deprive of all claim to admiration or respect in a certain sense so considerable a personage as Philip II.

The great object of Mr. Motley, throughout his whole work, appears to be to revive and give reality to the events which he describes, and his endeavours are eminently successful. Every important transaction is narrated in the fullest detail, yet the author seldom dwells too long upon matters of secondary interest. Perhaps he has done so in his notice of the protracted and resultless negotiations between Elizabeth and Parma. Many will object to the dramatic form into which he has chosen to throw some of the conferences, and will hardly be satisfied with his answer, that ‘no personage is made to write or speak any words save those which on the best historical evidence he is known to have written or to have spoken.’ Mr. Motley’s style, though clear and vigorous, betrays in some parts the baneful (though perhaps unsuspected) influence of Macaulay and Carlyle; and he displays occasionally a tendency to sarcasm which is not pleasant in a history. Nor can we entirely acquit him of a disposition to exalt his favourite hero, William the Silent. Many of Mr. Motley’s characteristics as a historian will appear from the extracts which we have made. It will be seen how vividly he can depict the places, the men, the deeds of other days. But the work itself must be read to appreciate the
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the vast and conscientious industry which he has so lavishly bestowed upon it. His delineations are true and lifelike, because they are not mere compositions written to please the ear, but are really taken from the facts and traits preserved in those authentic records to which he has devoted the labour of many years. Diligent and painstaking as the humblest chronicler, he has availed himself of many sources of information which have not been made use of by any previous historical writer. At the same time, he is not oppressed by his materials, but has sagacity to estimate their real value, and he has combined and arranged with scholarly power the facts which they contain. He has rescued the story of the Netherlands from the domain of vague and general narrative, and has laboured, with much judgment and ability, to unfold the 'Belli causas, et vitia, et modos,' and to assign to every man and every event their own share in the contest, and their own influence upon its fortunes. We do not wonder that his earlier publication has been received as a valuable addition, not only to English, but to European literature. With the destruction of the Armada the first portion of Mr. Motley's newer work appropriately terminates; and we close his volumes, looking forward with satisfaction to the pleasure of having his further guidance through the tangled paths and the 'confusum chaos' of Netherlands politics, which he has thus far rendered smooth and attractive to his readers. Having read with sympathy the early pangs and sufferings of the Republic, we shall enjoy the history of 'its palmy days, and the establishment of its external system of dependencies, and its interior combinations for self-government and European counterpoise.'

ART. IV.—1. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and of the Museum of Practical Geology. The Iron-Ores of Great Britain.* Parts I., II. Published by order of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. 1856-1858.

2. *History of the Iron Trade from the earliest records to the present period.* By Harry Scrivenor, Liverpool. New edition. London. 1854.

ALL calculations with respect to the efficiency of the means of attack and defence are grounded on the assumed quality of the materials employed, and thus many of the questions which have been most hotly debated may be solved at once. Both parties are right, but they are talking of different things.

Iron, which plays so prominent a part in these discussions, is usually

usually dealt with as if it were of unvarying quality, or as if the best qualities could always be procured to any amount. Yet iron does not differ more completely from wood, than iron differs from iron in toughness and power of resistance; the supply of the most valuable kinds is limited, and to obtain them in any quantity requires management, foresight, and knowledge of the trade. But if we cannot at the moment of need produce iron sufficient in quantity and equal at least in quality to any that an enemy can bring against us, our schemes of national defence fall to the ground. Thus the safety of the country ultimately depends on the abundance and excellence of our iron manufacture. Nor is the comfort and security of every-day life less deeply involved in the operations of the iron-master. Besides the ordinary uses of iron, which are so important and so numerous that a writer of the last century considers the progress of the iron trade as 'the index of civilization,' modern ingenuity has applied it to an infinite variety of new purposes. At all times the safety of our ships depended on the soundness of their anchors: but now iron is also the material of cables and of ropes; and ordinary merchant-vessels are built of iron plates. Iron has in many instances superseded wood as the material of beams and roofs; bridges of various denominations are constructed of wrought and cast iron; and as the train sweeps past us with a force which shakes the ground beneath our feet, it is fearful to think how many are the parts of the iron-work in which the slightest flaw would cause instant destruction to—who shall say how many? The failure of a bolt in the sleeper may send the train off the line; the imperfect weld of a tire, or the fracture of an axle, may cause a sudden crash. At Helmsore last autumn (and a similar accident occurred at Brierly Hill about two years before) the snapping of a coupling-link, which was occasioned by a sudden jerk, as a heavily-loaded excursion-train ascended an inclined plane, disengaged a portion of the carriages, which accordingly rolled back and encountered an approaching train with consequences which must still be fresh in the reader's memory.

But while public safety is thus dependent on the quality of our iron, it is obvious that, as the worst iron is made of the cheapest materials (else it would not be made at all), and of course bears the lowest price, there must exist in the minds of all connected with the iron-trade a constant inclination to economise, as far as possible, in the article of quality; and against the undue operation of this bias the public have no safeguard, except the great discovery of commercial ethics, that honesty is the best policy
—a truth

—a truth which no rogue ever had the wit to realise yet ; and that good things are cheapest in the end—a maxim which is not less true, but which it requires some experience to believe, and large means to act upon. Unfortunately, too, public opinion exercises little control over the policy and proceedings of those who manufacture or who purchase iron for purposes in which the public safety is concerned. The public at large are very little acquainted with the causes which affect the quality of the manufactured iron, or with the comparative cost of the different qualities, and their relative fitness for the various purposes to which they may be applied. Many who by the requirements of their business, or the possession of mineral property, are interested in the iron-trade, are not much better informed. Many a railway director and Government official suddenly finds himself called on to decide questions connected with the details of a manufacture of which he has never learnt even the first principles. He is keenly alive to the necessity of obtaining technical information, but looks in vain for a disinterested guide from whom to seek it ; and the result of his efforts and his inquiries is often little more than to obtain a clearer view of his difficulties, and to multiply his doubts and suspicions.

To all such we hope to render an acceptable service, by giving a short and popular introduction to this obscure subject. We do not pretend to point out a royal road to a knowledge of the iron trade, but we venture to offer a chart which we trust will assist the reader in finding his way through the intricacies of this unknown region, and will encourage him to continue his researches. We shall carefully abstain from all the scientific discussions, however interesting, with which the iron manufacture is connected, and we pledge ourselves to eschew the technical jargon with which its mysteries are concealed from the uninitiated. We have been permitted to avail ourselves of Dr. Percy's forthcoming work on Metallurgy, as far as it has gone through the press ; but the publication is not sufficiently far advanced to enable the critic to pass judgment on his work, nor would our present plan allow us to do justice to his scientific treatment of the subject. We can, however, bear testimony to the great utility of the design, and the care and accuracy with which the parts already completed have been worked out. The groundwork of a treatise on the iron manufacture is supplied by the analysis of the British ores which has been published by order of the Treasury. The origin of this publication is highly interesting. 'In the Great Exhibition of 1851 there appeared a very extensive series of the iron-ores of the United Kingdom, which were collected, arranged,
and

and catalogued by Mr. Blackwell, of Dudley. . . . At the close of the Exhibition Mr. Blackwell generously presented the collection to the Museum of Practical Geology; and he further 'placed at the disposal of the lecturer on Metallurgy the sum of 500*l.* towards defraying the expenses of analytical investigations of all the more important varieties of ore in the collection.' (Preface, p. 4.) The results of this very munificent and public-spirited donation are given in the 'Memoirs' which we have added to our list. Thus we are in possession of a most careful and exact analysis of all the British ores. To complete our knowledge of the subject we require a corresponding investigation respecting the iron produced, and the fuel and flux employed in the process of smelting.

'Most of the fundamental phenomena of metallurgy,' says Dr. Percy, quoting from Le Play, 'were discovered and regularly applied to the wants of man before the physical sciences, properly so called, were called into being. It is not wonderful, therefore, that there has always existed, and, in spite of the obligations which the useful arts owe to science in modern days, there still exists on the part of practical men a disposition to undervalue what they disparagingly call theory.' In the iron-trade especially each district takes a pride in believing that a knowledge of its materials and their use is a mystery which can be learnt only by a life-long apprenticeship, and which is inaccessible to those who have practised the craft elsewhere. The furnace-managers are generally men of little education and strong prejudices; and few iron-masters have knowledge and self-confidence enough to awe and control their conceited and tyrannical subordinates. Dr. Percy's work is just what is wanted to enable the manufacturer to methodize and apply the results of his practical experience, and to serve as a guide in future attempts at improvement. It points out the bearings of chemistry and physics on the iron manufacture, and it opens to all the road which men of genius and science in the profession have toilsomely cleared for themselves.

We subjoin Mr. Scrivenor's 'History of the Iron Trade,' of which a new edition has not long ago been published. It contains much useful information which the reader would have a difficulty in finding elsewhere, though it does not throw much light on the most important part of our present subject—the causes which affect quality in the manufacture of iron.

A brief summary of the history of the iron manufacture will be the readiest way of bringing before the reader the principles which regulate its operations.

The

The art of making iron in this country is of very ancient, though of unascertained date. It was probably found by the Romans in a far advanced state; it certainly was carried on by them subsequently to a great extent, and has never been discontinued by the other races who in succession have held sway in the island. We hear little of it indeed during a great part of the troubled times which followed the retreat of the Imperial legions. But though it languished, it did not die out, for in *Doomsday-book* it is stated that no other tribute was imposed by the Conqueror on the city of Gloucester than a certain quota of iron for the use of the Royal Navy. So low, however, had the manufacture sunk in the days of the Plantagenets, that Edward III. saw no better mode of keeping up the supply of iron than by forbidding the exportation of that truly precious metal, whether of foreign or of home manufacture.

'Gold, silver, and copper,' says Mr. Scrivenor, 'are found in their perfect state,* and were accordingly the metals first known and first applied to use; but iron, the most serviceable of all, is never discovered in its perfect form. Its gross and stubborn material must twice feel the force of fire and go through two laborious processes before it becomes fit for use.'—(p. 9.) In the early ages of the world the method of smelting the ore was everywhere essentially the same, and has for ages continued unchanged in principle till comparatively recent times. In the infancy of the manufacture the furnaces were of very small dimensions, and were supplied with a proportionally small quantity of ore, which was first carefully washed and broken into minute pieces. In later times it was discovered that 'roasting,' or calcining, was a more expeditious and more effectual method of preparing the iron-stone for the furnace, for by the action of fire the sulphur and arsenic, with which in its native state it is combined, are in a great measure expelled; but it must not be supposed that this is one of the two fiery processes of which Mr. Scrivenor speaks. To disengage the metal from the earthy matter with which it is commingled, a certain degree of heat is required. A comparatively low temperature, if continued for a considerable length of time, is sufficient to reduce a rich ore in contact with charcoal; and to this circumstance may be attributed the very early and probably independent discovery of iron by so many

* Mr. Scrivenor is speaking popularly—he must not be understood to mean that these metals are found absolutely free from all alloy. By 'perfect state' he doubtless means a metallic state. Iron is occasionally found in that metallic state in lumps, supposed to be of meteoric origin. But in conveying general broad facts to the unscientific reader, it is not easy to stop to make the special exceptions.

branches of the human family. The advantage, however, of a more intense heat was soon discovered; but the great difficulty was to obtain a draught or blast, as it is technically called, sufficient to produce the requisite fierceness of combustion. In remote ages no better device suggested itself than to build the furnaces in exposed situations, and so to dispose the pipes and air-holes as to convey the strongest current of air. The heat thus obtained, however, was not sufficient to liquefy the metal. It is uncertain when the art of 'casting' was invented, but probably not till comparatively recent times. By the ancient process an unmelted metallic mass was obtained from the furnace, and was then transferred to the forge.

For many ages the history of the iron trade is little more than a record of the efforts made to improve the blast. But it is unnecessary to dwell at length on this part of the subject. Bellows worked by the hand or by horse-power were successively employed. It was a great improvement when double bellows were introduced, so connected that by their alternate action a continuous blast was maintained. In later times a blowing apparatus was constructed by means of a cylinder and piston, which was worked by a water-wheel, and bore a rude resemblance to the improved methods of modern days. And still in many of the mining districts tradition points out the sites and even the ruins of the tiny furnaces and forges with which the brooks and water-courses of those once romantic valleys were dotted. The combustible employed was charcoal. But in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor serious apprehensions were felt by the Government that the increasing demands of the iron manufacture would exhaust the ancient forests, already much curtailed by the advance of civilization; and so unimportant did the supply of iron appear in comparison with that of wood for the comfort, the commerce, and the safety of the country, that more than one Act of Parliament was passed to regulate the felling of timber, and to restrict within very narrow limits the erection of forges and furnaces.

In many of the districts where iron had been manufactured from the earliest times, such, for instance, as Staffordshire and the Forest of Dean, the ore is found in juxtaposition with coal. But two difficulties, which long remained insuperable, prevented the application of coal to the smelting of iron. In the first place, a greater power of blast than any machinery then in use could command was needed to produce in coal the requisite intensity of heat; and in the next, no means had been devised to expel from coal the sulphur which is prejudicial to the manufacture of iron. It is not known with accuracy when

when the first experiments to use coal were made, or how far they were carried; but Dud Dudley, in the early part of the seventeenth century, is the first who so far succeeded in the attempt as to be entitled to the merit of discovery. The account he gives of his invention in his '*Metallum Martis*,' published in the days of Charles II., is highly curious and interesting, though, as he is pleading for the renewal of a patent, he purposely withholds from us much which it would be interesting to know. He probably found means to improve the blast of his furnaces, and he certainly discovered how coal charred by a process analogous to that applied to wood, and since called coking, may easily be raised to the necessary degree of heat, and that, if the process is properly conducted, the coal loses to a great extent the noxious ingredient of sulphur. He boasts that he had succeeded in manufacturing iron of a good quality which he could afford to sell at the unusually low price of 12*l.* per ton; that this iron had been tested by the King's orders and had been pronounced 'good merchantable iron;' 'that he could each week produce of it seven tons' (which is at the present day the average amount of a single 'cast' or twelve hours' production at an ordinary furnace, but then was) 'the greatest quantity of pit-coal iron that ever yet was made in Britain;' and further, that by an invention of his own he had made several articles of cast-iron for domestic purposes, specimens of which he offers to show to the incredulous or the curious at his house in Worcester. It is remarkable that his arguments in favour of his discovery scarcely touch on the advancement of the iron trade. He dwells chiefly on the all-important economy of wood, and on the advantage of employing the small coal, which otherwise the colliers are apt to leave in the pits, to the great hindrance of their work and with imminent risk of combustion. But nature and man seem to have conspired against poor Dudley and his inventions. At one time his works were carried away by floods, at another they were pulled down by mobs. The utility of his discovery was decried by rivals who hoped to stifle it, its originality was denied by rogues who wanted to purloin it. He was involved in expensive lawsuits; he was wrongfully imprisoned for debt; he was plundered in the Rebellion, and was refused justice at the Restoration. Unlike many other men of genius, he was not lacking in worldly wisdom; he availed himself to the utmost of the interest of his patron Lord Dudley, who perceived the value of the discovery to his own large mineral estates, and he more than once connected himself with partners whose influence he thought likely to be of service in the council and at the court. His perseverance and energy were

were unrivalled. No sooner was one plan defeated than he formed another. He petitioned, he published, he argued, he implored; but all in vain. That the author of a great discovery should pass his life in ineffectual struggles to make his light shine before the world—that he should found the fortune of thousands and ruin his own—that he should live unrewarded and die brokenhearted—is unhappily common enough; but we do not remember another instance of a discovery so nearly brought to perfection, and then so suddenly dropped and so long allowed to sleep in oblivion. If Dudley discovered the art of applying coke to the manufacture of iron, his secret died with him; for Dr. Plot, in his ‘History of Staffordshire,’ published in 1686, while he is recommending coke for malting and other purposes, expressly states that for the smelting and refining of iron it is wholly unfit. The next experiment was made with raw coal by a German, who, by the same authority, is called Mr. Blewstone, and ‘who built his furnaces at Wednesbury, so ingeniously contrived that only the flame of the coal should come to the ore;’ but in the state of the iron manufacture at that time, it is scarcely necessary to say, this invention had no success. The first man who permanently established works for the smelting of iron with coal was Mr. Abraham Darby, who commenced his undertaking in Coalbrooke Dale in the year 1713. He enlarged his furnaces and improved their shape, and devised many new expedients for increasing the blast by means of machinery set in motion by the water-power which was supplied by the streams of his well-selected site.

And now, connecting the well-known names of Darby and Coalbrooke Dale with the ultimate success of the iron trade, we naturally expect to find that from this point one triumph of human ingenuity led to another till the manufacture was developed to its present full-blown dimensions. Quite the reverse. Since the days when Dudley wrote, the iron trade had rapidly declined and continued to decline. Of the 800 furnaces and forges which were then known to exist, he calculates that 300 were furnaces for the smelting of iron, that the average make of each was 15 tons per week, and that they worked forty weeks in the year. But this would give a result of 180,000 tons for the annual make of the country—an amount which far exceeded the aggregate of the exports and the possible consumption of the country at that period. It is clear that Dudley, in his eagerness to prove the havoc which the iron trade, as then conducted, was making with the woods, greatly overestimated the number of furnaces in blast, and the average ‘make’ of each furnace; but after every possible allowance for his credulity or his exaggeration, we are forced to conclude that the iron-manufacture

manufacture had reached in Charles II.'s day a culminating point, from which it suddenly declined, and which it did not again approach for upwards of a century.

The rapid progress which agriculture made after the accession of William III. swept away the woodlands to an extent which it is now difficult to conceive.* The increased price of charcoal and the difficulties of internal transit so raised the price of the home manufacture, that the annual importation of Russian iron at 17*l.* per ton, and Swedish iron at 18*l.*, and even for some qualities 24*l.* per ton, continued steadily to increase till it reached the amount of nearly 50,000 tons, while the annual make of British charcoal-iron sunk from 18,000 to 13,000 tons, and remained steadily at that average during the greater part of the eighteenth century. To this the iron smelted with coal made no very important addition, and it was confessedly of inferior quality. From time to time proposals were made in Parliament for diminishing or removing the duty on American iron; but they produced no results, and are worth noticing only in so far as the debates to which they gave rise throw light on the estimate in which the different kinds of iron were then held. The advocates for the measure urged that our colonies would be able to supply iron equal in quality to that for which we annually paid upwards of 600,000*l.* to strangers. Its opposers argued that the colonial iron was not equal to the Swedish, and that, even if it were, only the British iron would be displaced by it. The question turned on the quality of the home manufacture, on which the disputants were not agreed. But there is reason to believe that, from the superiority of the Swedish ore for certain purposes and the declining quality of the British charcoal, the English iron could not at that time compete with the Swedish. So little fear, however, was then felt lest the demand of the iron-manufacture should exceed even the diminished supply of wood, that in 1760 we find the tanners in the neighbourhood of Sheffield petitioning the legislature against any encouragement to the iron trade of the American colonies, lest the home manufacture should be discontinued, and the woods by which the tanning trade was supplied with bark should cease to be felled.

At length the completion of the steam-engine in the latter part of the last century supplied the power which was needed to give the iron-manufacture its full development. Hitherto the

* The apprehensions which the disappearance of the woods occasioned were very general and very strong. We remember to have seen the MS. journal of a large landed proprietor of the last century, who proves by a rule of three sum that within a limited time the country would be denuded of timber, and left absolutely without commerce and without defence.

'top measures' only of the minerals had been worked, and generally on the 'rise of the mine,' where the water would not lie, or those strata favourably situated on the side of a hill where levels could be driven in and the water released. Water was the great enemy in the pits, and even in shallow workings it often accumulated faster than a gin turned by horse-power could bring it to the surface. By the new agency of steam the deepest pits were drained, and materials were drawn up from the bowels of the earth in a quantity and with a rapidity and security hitherto unknown. By the same means that prodigious 'blast' was obtained for the furnaces to which all subsequent improvements of the manufacture owe their origin. Instead of the rude machinery of waterwheels and bellows, huge engines of enormous power forced an immense volume of air through several small 'tuyers' or tubes, so disposed at the lower part of the furnaces that in each portion of the ignited mass an equally diffused blast may raise an equal intensity of heat. Furnaces of greater height and much larger capacity than any hitherto known were erected, and in its general aspect the iron-manufacture assumed very much the appearance which it maintains at the present day.

Most readers are aware that the flaming towers which give such an unearthly effect at night to what is picturesquely called the Black Country round Wolverhampton, are iron furnaces, and that the projecting circular galleries which surround their tops are contrived for pouring down their capacious throats, by apertures placed at equal distances, an equable and regular supply of the materials with which they are fed. Besides the ironstone and the fuel, there is needed a third substance, which is called 'a flux,' because it forms a fusible compound with the earthy matter of the mineral. When we are acquainted with the foreign matter in combination with the ore, chemistry tells us what substance we ought to add for the purpose of eliminating the metal. Among the wondrous provisions of nature for the convenience of man, none is more remarkable than that by which many substances are fusible in conjunction at a temperature which either could resist separately. The British ores are for the most part argillaceous, that is to say, they are combined with what in its general character and appearance resembles clay. To all such limestone in due proportion must be added; but if the earthy matter consists of lime, clay is the proper flux. In either case, the foreign matter and the flux are fused into one substance, the liberated iron sinks downwards, and, having now itself become fusible by the combination of 'carbon,' with which it has been impregnated by the fuel, it melts as it reaches the point of fusion (which is a little above the level of the blast),

blast), and settles down in the lowest part of the furnace, otherwise called the 'hearth.' It is followed by the scoria, slag, or 'cinder' (as it is always called in the trade), composed of the flux, the foreign matter of the ores, and the ashes of the fuel, which are now in a vitrified state; and this artificial lava, being of much less specific gravity, rests on the surface of the iron and protects it from the action of the blast. The furnace is continued 'in blast,' that is to say in full operation, and must be fed equably and constantly with materials night and day till the manufacturer thinks fit to 'blow it out,' either for the purpose of repairing it or of reducing his make of iron. At certain intervals, generally twice in the twenty-four hours, the furnace is tapped; that is to say, the stoppage of sand which closes an orifice at the bottom is knocked away, the liquefied metal rushes out, and is guided successively into moulds of sand in the form of thick short bars, which by a rude metaphor, as old as the invention of casting, are called 'pigs,' while the main-channel down which the red-hot torrent flows is called the 'sow.' The practised eye, as it scans the colour of the cinder and the phenomena exhibited by the molten tide as it flows, can foretell at once what the quality of the produce will be. The best chemical reasons can be given to explain these indications—it is enough for the present to note them.

The introduction of the new methods was contemporaneous with an increased and rapidly-increasing demand. The advancing civilization of the world required more iron than the old system could furnish. The case was analogous to one much less important which we have witnessed in our own day. As luxury increased, more people chose to burn wax-candles than all the bees in the world could supply with wax. Some substitution was inevitable. Fortunately in the iron trade the substitution was most satisfactory. The coal was coked, and the improved blast was powerful enough to raise it to a temperature as intense as that of charcoal. The iron thus produced was such as to supersede the Swedish for all but a few special purposes; and as it could be manufactured at a much cheaper cost than that at which foreign iron could be imported, it was made to a considerable profit. At the same time the canal system was rapidly advancing to perfection, and the increased facilities of traffic gave an impulse to commercial enterprise beyond what the most sanguine had ventured to anticipate.

The effect of this prosperity was to attract into the iron trade a vast amount of fresh capital, and to call forth a great deal of energy and ingenuity for the invention of methods by which labour

labour and expense might be abridged, and materials hitherto unserviceable might be turned to account. Thus a prodigious number of improvements have been successively introduced into the manufacture. But it must be roundly and broadly stated that the improvement is shown only in the increased quantity and diminished cost of production, and not in the quality of the iron. It is true that improvements in quality are often vaunted as the result of modern inventions; but the sense in which the assertion is made must be explained. When a new process for cheapening the manufacture of iron is discovered, it frequently happens that a deterioration of quality ensues. This bad effect is corrected, at least to a certain extent, by some subsequent contrivance, and no doubt in such cases an important improvement is made; but the improvement is only relative. In the earliest times a small quantity of iron was extracted from the very best materials by the rudest, most laborious, and therefore most expensive of processes; but the iron thus manufactured is equal in the most valuable qualities of the metal to any that modern times can produce. In this sense there has been no improvement since the days of Tubal Cain. The bedstead of Og, king of Basan, was doubtless better than any now turned out at Birmingham. The specimens of ancient and mediæval iron and steel which have come down to us are of first-rate quality; and the holiday-making manufacturer who takes an excursion-trip to London will see in the iron railings of St. Paul's, which were cast at Lamberhurst, in Kent, two centuries ago, a specimen of iron which might certainly be made in the present day, but which it would puzzle his ingenuity to procure. It would lead us into unnecessary details if we were to chronicle each successive improvement as it was introduced. We hurry on to the invention of the hot blast, which in its consequences is hardly less important than Dudley's discovery of the use of coal. It is remarkable that in the furnaces of Peru a contrivance had been remarked for letting the air pass over hot coals, and thus become heated in its passage to the fire (Scrivenor, p. 20). But it was his own observation, and not archæological research, that in 1829 suggested to Mr. Neilson, of the Clyde Iron Works, the possibility of economising fuel by substituting hot for cold air in blowing his furnaces. The experiment at first only partially answered the projector's expectations. The air was heated in an oven contrived for the purpose to 290° or 300° of Fahrenheit, and the enormous consumption of coal reduced to coke, which hitherto had been necessary in that district, was considerably reduced: but on subsequently raising the temperature of
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the hot blast to that of melting lead,* the success was complete, and the economy of fuel was not less than 70 or 75 per cent. Mr. Crane states, in a report to the British Association in 1858, that he was led, by observing at his own fireside the cooling effect of a common pair of bellows at the point where the cold air comes in contact with the ignited matter, to try the effect of the hot blast on the anthracite coal—a very valuable but intractable material in the smelting of iron—and the effect of the alteration was very considerable. Mr. Dixon applied the hot blast to raw coal, and met with a success which far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The hot blast not only had power sufficient to produce in the raw coal the requisite intensity of heat, but was also found to expel from it to a certain extent the sulphur which injured the quality of the iron,† and thus a great economy in labour as well as in the quantity of fuel was effected. Since then the ‘black band,’ an ironstone found in great quantities in Scotland and also to a less extent in Wales,‡ but not readily convertible into iron by the old methods, and also the Northamptonshire and the Cleveland ores, discoveries of a later date and of incalculable extent, have been made by hot blast to yield their iron in great abundance. Another material which had hitherto been thrown away was by the same agency made available for the purposes of the ironmaster. The ‘tapcinder,’ or refuse of the ‘puddling furnaces’ (where the second process of the iron-manufacture begins, of which we shall speak presently), and not to be confounded with the cinder of the blast furnace, contains a considerable percentage of metal, and when thrown again into the furnace greatly increases the ‘yield,’ though it proportionally deteriorates the quality of the iron.

The results of these successive discoveries and innovations are truly astonishing. The make of iron, which, on the introduction of steam, had suddenly risen to nearly 50,000 tons per annum, in 1796 reached 125,000; in 1806 it had advanced to nearly 260,000. In 1825 the make was nearly 600,000 tons; in 1840 it amounted to 1,300,000 tons; in 1854 to 2,700,000. The returns for the present year are not completed, but there is little doubt that for the United Kingdom they will not fall much short of 4,000,000 tons. The reduction in the price of all kinds of iron

* We understand experiments are now being made with the blast heated to 2000°.

† Such, at least, seems to be its effect. In Staffordshire the ‘New Mine’ coal and other thin measures could not safely be used in the cold blast, but with hot blast they are employed in considerable quantities.

‡ These ironstones, in small quantities and combined with other ores, might be smelted by the cold blast; but if used alone, hot blast would be absolutely necessary.

has been very considerable, and the supply of the inferior sorts has become most abundant. Thus far all is well. For many purposes the inferior qualities are as well suited as those of more costly make, and the variety of choice now offered to the manufacturer affords him great facility of combination, so as to produce exactly the quality best suited to his purpose at the cheapest rate. In short, the consequence of the new discoveries would be unqualified good if all manufacturers and their customers were perfectly honest and perfectly prudent and wise. But when can this be expected on this side of the Millennium? And the first result of the prodigious increase of supply to the market was to raise, on the least decline of demand, a ruinous competition, under the pressure of which honesty is too apt to yield and wisdom to fail. Thus the recent improvements in the iron manufacture are clogged with many and great drawbacks. To estimate their relative importance—to compare the advantages and disadvantages of modern progress, and thus arrive at a knowledge of the present position of the trade—is the main object of our present inquiry.

In the first place, we direct our attention to the first process,—the manufacture of ‘pig-iron.’ As the cold-blast can act efficiently only on the best materials, and from them only can the first-class iron be made, and as the hot-blast is needed where any materials of inferior quality are introduced, iron in modern days is divided by a broad line into two comprehensive classes, bearing different prices in the market, and applicable to different purposes. The ‘cold-blast’ comprises all the first-rate iron. The ‘hot-blast’ includes all the second-rate varieties, from very excellent down to the worst possible iron. Several eminent iron-masters, indeed, are of opinion (and in that opinion we entirely concur) that the occasional and auxiliary use of a portion of hot-blast in a cold-blast furnace improves the quality of the iron and removes at once the little difficulties which occasionally arise, *provided always that no use is made of the hot-blast to introduce a mixture of cheaper and inferior materials.* But so difficult is it to inspire confidence in a manufacture where trickery has become common, that it is safer to refrain from the most discreet and beneficial use of the hot-blast from the fear of exciting distrust. By stipulating for cold-blast, the purchaser shows that he desires to have, and is willing to pay for, the best iron; but he must specify more particularly what denomination of iron he requires—for its qualities are very various—using the term ‘quality’ to denote not merely different degrees of goodness, but totally different properties. These latter, in modern days, are usually designated by the numerals up to 8. Nos. 1, 2, 3, mark the gradations of the grey ‘melting’ iron, as it is called, which is
used

used chiefly for very fine castings and steel. No. 4 is generally called 'best grey forge,' and is too grey for ordinary forge purposes. No. 5 is called 'grey forge,' and is less melting, but of tougher quality. No. 6 is 'strong forge;' and these two latter qualities are those in the greatest request for the manufacture of wrought-iron. No. 7 is mottled, and No. 8 is white. The latter are of decidedly inferior quality, but useful for many purposes. This classification obtains through all the varieties of good and bad iron. Melting-iron may at once be discerned by the novice from the tougher kinds by the greyiness of its colour, and the rough sparkling crystals it exhibits in its fracture; but it requires the eye of an adept to distinguish *No. 1 cold-blast iron* from *No. 1 hot-blast cinder-iron*, which is worth less by two pounds per ton.

But neither in the case of 'cold-blast' nor of 'hot-blast' iron will materials of the same denomination, even when they are really of the same quality, invariably produce results of equal value. Much depends on the manufacturer. By want of skill and care white and mottled iron may be turned out of a cold-blast furnace, and in spite of skill and care a certain proportion of these inferior qualities will be made. Even from the same furnace and from the same materials samples of different kinds of iron are often produced. The quality of the iron in both the senses above noted depends on the care with which the manufacture is conducted. Great vigilance is needed to watch the furnaces and the machinery connected with them, in order to obviate or remedy the many accidents which may mar the process of smelting. Moreover, beyond human control many influences, such as heat and other conditions of the atmosphere, affect the action of the furnaces in ways that can neither be counteracted nor explained; and as yet no foresight can prevent a burdened furnace occasionally 'slipping,' that is to say, sinking irregularly on one side, and damaging the cast of iron. It is, however, to be hoped that the future researches of science will throw new light on these unintelligible causes of mishap; and sometimes we suspect they admit of a very simple explanation. Very possibly, when the disappointed ironmaster is deploring some 'unaccountable' disaster, he would do well to inquire if some malformation of his old-fashioned furnaces, or other deficiency in his own arrangements, may not bear part of the blame; and often there stands within ear-shot the careless delinquent whose neglect of duty would, if confessed, explain the mystery. But, above all, success depends on the judgment with which the materials are combined. In the first instance, as the quantity and the component parts of the earthy matter contained in the different ores vary considerably, the proportion

portion of flux must vary accordingly ; and though this is learned empirically by a clever and observant furnace-manager, the result would be arrived at more speedily and more surely by the assistance of chemical analysis. The best ironstones differ very much from each other in their properties, and it is by a judicious combination of them that the exact quality required is produced. Thus a complete and full understanding between the manufacturer of pig-iron and his customers is necessary ; and it is much to be regretted that the intervention of brokers and middlemen, who rarely understand either the requirements of the one or the produce of the other, leads so often to mistakes.

In using the inferior ores a judicious mixture is still more necessary to correct their respective defects. In former days, only those materials could be used in combination which were found in close proximity to each other. On the substitution of coke for charcoal, many of the old ironworks which had been erected on sites where coal was not found in connection with the ironstone were abandoned ; but now, by means of the increased facility of communication, the deficiencies of one district may be compensated by the abundance of another. In fact, the multiplication of railways has introduced a gradual and unmarked revolution in the iron-trade, of which the effects are by no means fully developed. Of the ores thus brought into more general use, the hæmatite or red ore is the richest ; it yields from 40 to 60 per cent., and needs no calcining ; and as these qualities diminish the cost of labour and of freight, it is extensively used, even in distant districts. The hæmatite and richer ores have a tendency to make iron which, though tough when cold, is brittle at red heat. This quality is, in the trade, called 'red short.' Iron, in the making of which 'tapcinder' has been employed, is brittle when cold, though easily worked when hot, and accordingly is technically called 'cold short.' It is by judicious mixtures of these antagonistic properties that good serviceable iron is produced. Thus for instance, in Wales, the 'Black band,' with the assistance of hæmatite and clay iron-stone to improve the quality, and of tapcinder to increase the quantity and so keep down the price, produces a class of iron which is very cheap and highly useful for common purposes.

Yet, when human ingenuity has done all it can to improve the inferior qualities of iron, we return to the point from which we started. The best iron can be made only from the best materials, and there remains the broad distinction between the 'hot-blast' and the 'cold-blast.' But as the supply of first-class materials is limited, it follows that the make of first-class iron cannot be greatly increased, though that of inferior quality admits

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of indefinite extension. Wales owes its importance as an iron-manufacturing district to the excellence of its coals. Its iron ores are for the most part of an inferior quality. In Staffordshire the stone is of very superior quality, but the best coals are so far worked out that it is necessary to employ largely those of inferior value. In Shropshire the ironstones generally are capable of producing the best iron for all purposes, without foreign mixtures; and the supply of coal is satisfactory. It is a matter of great interest and importance to ascertain whether the aggregate make of first-class iron admits of any considerable increase; and we learn with regret that many practical men, whose opinion is entitled to the greatest weight, are inclined to reply in the negative. That there will be no great increase under the present circumstances of the trade, we readily believe; but we are persuaded that if a new customer, or the increased requirements of an old one (such as Government), occasioned a steady demand for first-rate quality, the first-class ironworks would have no difficulty in increasing their make to an extent which in the aggregate would be considerable. At present the proportion of the inferior kinds to the superior is very large. In South Wales the cold-blast iron does not exceed 3 per cent. of the aggregate of iron made in the district. In Scotland and Cleveland it does not equal one. In Staffordshire it is less than 5 (but it must be borne in mind that much of the 'hot-blast' of Staffordshire is of very superior quality); and in Shropshire alone it reaches the amount of from 40 to 50 per cent., or nearly one-half. If the annual production of cold-blast iron remains stationary, while that of hot-blast is on the increase, it follows that the quantity of cold-blast is virtually diminishing, as a certain percentage of it is in so many cases needed to correct the defects of the inferior kinds.

As far as the pressure of competition has induced the makers of first-class iron to lower their standard, it has worked ill for the public and for individual traders. That each district should make the best iron of which its materials are capable, is the interest of the country, whose supremacy in the iron-trade and whose safety depend on the quality of its iron; and it is miserable policy for the midland manufacturer, who is possessed of good materials, to compete in the sale of low-priced iron with the worker of inferior minerals who has the advantage of a seaport. He is beaten by his rival in price, even when the demand is plentiful, and, when it slackens, he is left without a market and without a character.

Popularly speaking, the use of coal for the purpose of smelting iron is universal; but there are still kept up in certain districts

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some of the old charcoal-furnaces: they are very few in number, and their aggregate produce bears a very insignificant proportion to the prodigious sum-total of the annual returns of the iron-trade; but it is highly valuable. It is available for purposes to which no other iron can be applied; it possesses qualities which no other British iron can equal,* and bears of course the highest price in the market. We are persuaded that, by a judicious use of it, the strength of our ordnance might be prodigiously increased, and the experiment would be much less expensive, and much more promising, than many which the Government have recently made. It is much to be desired that this manufacture should be extended; but a difficulty presents itself in the supply of charcoal, which cannot easily be increased in quantity, and which has much deteriorated in quality since it has become the custom, instead of full-grown oak timber, to employ underwood of all denominations for its manufacture. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter more fully into this part of the subject at present, although it is highly interesting. Charcoal is the most important agent in the manufacture of steel, as it is in all the processes of metallurgy; and we see with great satisfaction that this portion of Dr. Percy's work is laboured with the greatest care, and contains the most minute and accurate information.

The pig-iron, which is the result of the first process of the iron manufacture, is the raw material of all its subsequent operations. Thus much of the iron trade, we presume, must have been known to our negotiators when they framed the commercial treaty with France, which we should designate as ridiculous, if its consequences were less serious. But it matters little to the country at large whether they knowingly betrayed or ignorantly surrendered its interests. The reduction of the duty on iron was generally quoted as one of the few advantages gained by England in the one-sided bargain. The iron trade was suffering from depression; iron is one of the staples of English commerce, and the relief to this great manufacturing interest was an excellent parliamentary topic. When we come to particulars, we find it is on pig-iron only that any important reduction is made. Our rivals obtain the raw material of which they were in want, and the British workman is defrauded of his profit on the manufac-

* We happen to know that Messrs. Harrison, Ainslie, and Co., of Newland Furnace, Ulverstone, are selling pig-iron to a manufacturer in France, who finds it of such a quality as to be able to cast pistol-barrels from it without any further manipulation than remelting and annealing. Thousands of these pistols are made yearly for the French, Belgian, and Spanish markets.

tured article. But this is not all. Confidence is more important to commerce even than customs. By not one farthing has the commercial treaty raised the price even of pig-iron.

For the purposes of the foundry the pig-iron is simply remelted in air-furnaces, or 'cupolas,'* and then in a liquid state is cast into moulds of the shape required. The process of making wrought-iron is somewhat more complicated, and in modern times has been divided into two parts, although by the brilliant invention of Mr. Cort it has on the whole been much simplified, and its cost very much diminished. It would only weary the reader to describe the laborious and expensive methods which were previously in use, and the many alterations which had been introduced with imperfect success. Mr. Cort, after many years of experiments, discovered the means of converting cast or pig iron into malleable iron, by a process which was at once rapid, sure, and economical. The iron is remelted in a puddling-furnace, as it is called, which is heated with raw coal, and there, by a series of operations which it would be difficult to explain to the general reader, but the object of which is to give the iron malleability and toughness by expelling the carbon, it is manipulated till it acquires the consistency of a solid white-hot ball. In this shape it is subjected to the action of an enormous hammer of four or five tons weight, by which the coarser parts are beaten from it, and it is formed into the shape of thick, short bars, called blooms or slabs. While still red-hot it is passed through a series of grooved rollers till it is drawn out into a long bar, the exact dimensions of which are regulated by the requirements of the manufacture for which it is destined. The bars thus made are technically called puddled bars (the operation which they have undergone in the furnace being called 'puddling'), and they are considered as *half-manufactured* iron. They are not classed as merchant-iron till a further operation is gone through. When cool they are again submitted to the action of fire, and, when hot enough, are 'welded' together and formed into the various denominations of bars, rods, hoops, sheets, or plates. There is no property of iron which is more important in rendering it serviceable to man than that by which its fragments may, at a certain temperature, be compressed by hammering into an union as perfect as if they had never been separated. This process is called 'welding.' When it is intended to make steel, the iron must be impregnated with carbon, which is effected by placing it on layers of ignited charcoal in the 'converting' furnaces, as they are

* Castings for ordinary purposes are sometimes made by running the iron direct from the blast-furnace.

called,

called, where it is left at an even heat for many days ; but this is a part of the subject on which we have not space to enter.

Mr. Cort's discovery was of such value and importance, that it has given to this country the command of the markets of the world ; yet, with the usual fate of discoverers, he derived from it no benefit to himself or his family. His two patents (for the puddling, and for the rolling) expired before he had perfected his inventions ; and though his petition for compensation was backed by a recommendation from the throne in the days of George IV., and supported by a special committee of the House of Commons, he remained without redress.

The two processes of manufacturing pig-iron and of converting it into malleable iron, though perfectly distinct, are frequently carried on by the same persons and at the same works. But whether this operates to the advantage of the public is doubtful. On the one hand, the man who has the whole business in his own hands can best prepare the pig-iron to meet his own requirements : on the other, he is apt to be less critical in the quality of an article which he makes himself, and he is tempted to use his own iron exclusively, in preference to the mixture which, even when the quality of all the kinds employed is equally good, produces the best result.

The great art of the iron-founder or the manufacturer of malleable iron is to make this mixture with the best effect. For this purpose he must be intimately acquainted with the theory and the practice of his craft, in order to judge what qualities of iron are best suited for his purpose : he must also have great experience of the trade, to know where to procure them.

It was a want of this intimate practical knowledge which caused the failure of an experiment made by Government to manufacture their own ordnance, though commenced on a great scale, and in many respects very ably conducted. A large foundry was erected, and all the necessary plant constructed on the most approved principles. Great pains were taken to investigate by analysis the properties of various kinds of pig-iron, and by every known means to test the 'tension,' 'torsion,' and 'transverse power' of each. The persons employed in the various departments were of very great ability ; but this particular knowledge was wanting, and the results of their efforts were unsatisfactory.* But the failure should not have been con-

* It is a matter of doubt with many scientific and practical men whether the total expulsion of all impurities, such as phosphorus and silicon, is possible in the first place ; and in the second whether it is desirable to make the attempt, which, it is urged, has consequences more prejudicial to the quality of the iron than the very small quantities of the objectionable matter which it is desired to remove. We trust Dr. Percy's work will throw some light on this difficult subject.

sidered to do. Another course was yet open to the heads of the department—they might have applied to several of the best-known manufacturers of first-class pig-iron to supply a quality capable of standing a certain specified test, and with iron thus obtained they might have cast their ordnance. This iron, being of extra quality, would of course have borne a higher price than what is usually sold as first-class iron. But it is impossible to doubt that this course would have been cheaper and wiser than prematurely to abandon their expensive works, and again to throw themselves into the hands of the contractors.

The great difficulty of the manufacturer is to maintain the quality of his iron amid the struggles of competition, the fluctuations of trade, and the many inducements and solicitations with which he is assailed. Few, indeed, are the firms (but some, we rejoice to say, there are) who can venture to maintain the 'list prices' as declared at the quarterly meeting of the iron trade. On others the pressure to reduce the price acts irresistibly in bad times, and with it the temptation, or rather the necessity, to lower the quality; but when the demand improves, they have no inducements to improve their quality, the best materials are become scarce, and the purchaser cannot venture to be critical. It is unfortunate, too, that when there is a brisk demand for iron, the consequent rise of prices is out of all proportion greater in the inferior kinds; consequently, on all such occasions a standing temptation is held out to manufacturers to tamper with their make by producing quantity at the expense of quality.

It is, of course, the part of wisdom to employ the cheapest iron that will answer the purpose. But what is the purpose? We all remember the old joke of the razors which were made not to cut, but to sell. A certain quality, indeed, is needed to give to the specified article the form required. It is not every kind of iron that can be rolled into plates or drawn into wire. But how much beyond this is necessary? Cases like the following are of constant occurrence. An American trader sends specifications across the Atlantic for wrought iron on condition that they can be executed *at a certain price*. Such an order is accepted only by firms who make inferior sorts of iron. There is no stipulation annexed as to quality on the one hand, no attempt at concealment or fraud on the other. No positive blame can be attached to the manufacturer; and the merchant sells the article to a customer from whom he never expects a second order, and is quite indifferent to the loss of credit sustained by the British manufacturer.

When a customer such as the knowing American bargains for a cheap article, he knows the condition with which cheapness is coupled.

coupled. But the careless public are often encouraged by over-competition to insist on cheapness, in utter ignorance of the consequences. We remember to have read in the nursery (it is a long time ago) the story of a man who, having bought twelve yards of broadcloth to make him a complete suit of doublet, hose, and cloak, bethought him that perchance two suits might be made out of it, and, encouraged by the tailor's assent, he successively raised his demands, till he extorted the promise to furnish twelve complete suits out of twelve yards of cloth. At length he discovered his error when the tailor brought home the clothes according to promise, but of dimensions suited only to an undersized fairy. Unfortunately the purchaser of cheap hardware has no such ocular proof of his folly. The deterioration is in quality. There is no diminution in size. He finds there is no wear in the goods, and contents himself with the explanation that 'they do not make the good iron they used to do.' This is not the solution. They make iron as good as ever, but they make also a great deal of inferior iron; and those who will pay only the price of the bad have no right to complain that they are not supplied with the good. When the manufacturer and his customer are both agreed as to the expediency of paying the best price for the best work and the best material, there is no cause for complaint of the quality of British iron. The railway companies have felt, as they ought, how vastly important to the safety of life and property it is that the boilers of the locomotive engines should be as strong as art can make them; and accordingly the accidents arising from explosions are *extremely rare*. When plates were first employed in the construction of merchant-ships, boiler-plates only were used for the purpose; but as the orders for iron ships multiplied, the spirit of competition was aroused. Contractors made every effort to reduce cost, and each new invention was an experiment how far security might be tampered with. Mills were laid down to roll plates of large size, by which the labour of the shipbuilder was saved, as less riveting was required; but the strength which was imparted by the overlapping of the plates was lost. A new branch of the trade has sprung up; and the term boat-plate, in contradistinction to boiler-plate, has been invented, to designate a quality and texture which are notoriously unfit to resist the equable pressure of steam, but which shortsighted avarice chooses to risk in a conflict with the sudden strains and violent wrenches of a storm at sea. Thus rashly will men act when the danger is contingent and the scene remote! How many of the iron vessels now built would stand the trial which one of the earliest of them, the 'Great Britain,' sustained in Dundrum Bay, stranded on the beach, and
lashed

lashed for weeks by a tremendous surf, such as no wooden vessel had ever been known to resist? And of the iron vessels now missing, who shall say how many have foundered in consequence of the inferior quality of their plates?

When in the Crimean war the iron-cased gunboats were ordered, at the request of our ally, by a Government reluctant, incredulous, and anxious only to save their credit by an appearance of energy and promptitude, the work was executed as all works begun without faith and carried on without zeal must ever be executed. The necessary time was not allowed to the contractors, no stipulations as to quality were made, and economy was professedly the chief object of the agents of Government. It is not only by the purchase of cheap materials that economy is consulted. Seven-eighths of the value of iron consists in labour; and at each successive stage of its manufacture this ratio increases till at last we come to Mr. Scrivenor's astounding calculation, that, whereas a ton of cold-blast pig-iron costs from 4*l.* to 5*l.*,* a ton of Berlin shirt-buttons, at the selling price, would be worth 60,000*l.*, and a ton of steel hair-springs for watches would exceed nine millions. Insufficient labour must be added to bad materials to produce the maximum of cheapness. In order to save expense, and also to save time, the plates were forged from puddled or only half-manufactured bars, which have not acquired the toughness and strength which would have been imparted to them by further manipulation. This was inexcusable. But, in fact, the iron employed in these plates was for the most part of a kind on which *beyond a certain point* labour is bestowed in vain. It is only the higher qualities of iron that progressively improve by repeated working. A disregard of this fact has betrayed some of our railway companies into an important error. In their anxiety to obtain good iron for their rails, they have specified for *twice-worked* iron. This is well meant: but *alone* it is insufficient. It is easy to observe the letter and violate the spirit of such a contract—to keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope.

It is, generally speaking, no fault of the present railway boards, and certainly it is much to the detriment of their respective concerns, that the iron of their rails is so bad. When the new railway companies started into existence in such numbers, they were not aware of the importance of good iron; and even if they had been willing to pay for it, they could hardly have procured it in sufficient quantities. But it would startle the directors

* The present price in the Midland district of No. 1 cold-blast melting pig-iron is 5*l.* at the works. This is a price of depression; but fluctuations of price do not affect the force of Mr. Scrivenor's illustration.

to estimate the loss which this misfortune or miscalculation has entailed. If the increased price of good iron were exactly in proportion to its increased durability, then indeed, as far as the saving of money is concerned, the cheaper sort, requiring less outlay in the first instance, would answer best. But as in this case the increase on the cost would not have exceeded 20*s.* or 30*s.* per ton—a mere percentage on the whole amount—and as for this a duration of double or treble the length of time would have been insured, to say nothing of the increased security—an element of the calculation which cannot easily be reduced to a sum in arithmetic—the damage which has been sustained is enormous. We have seen rails of first-rate quality which were laid down on one of the most important lines twelve years ago, and are now in better working order than some cheaper rails on the same line which have been in use only three years. However, so generally acknowledged is now the necessity of employing good iron for the rails, that, in order to insure a superior quality, one of the greatest railway companies have established works to manufacture their own iron; and another company not less important are just about to follow the example. In a similar spirit of wisdom the railway companies generally have of late years taken much more pains with the iron-work, more especially the tires and axles, of their passenger-carriages: it is much to be desired that not less care should be bestowed on the trucks and waggons of the traffic-trains. But for only a portion of these are the railway companies responsible; the greater part are the property of the freighters, or of companies who have built them for the purpose of letting.

The price of iron is subject to considerable variations. Since such a vast amount of capital and labour has been drawn into the iron-trade, it has been liable to alternations of depression which of late years have been periodical. At such times first-class iron falls much in price. But as for certain purposes it is indispensable, and as the supply is limited, there remains even in the worst of times a steady demand for it, which prevents its sinking below a certain point, while the inferior kinds are often sold by the distressed manufacturer at prices below the cost of production. This cannot last long. He cannot reduce his wages, which, as we have seen, make up the greater part of the cost of iron; and if he is not saved by a timely rise of prices, he is forced out of the trade. It is indeed highly possible that further exertion of ingenuity may accomplish a further saving of labour and materials. The application of gas to the purpose of heating the boilers which generate the steam for the blast-engine is only partially introduced; and its general adoption would no doubt
effect

effect a great economy of fuel and labour; but it is the sunshine of prosperity that causes expansion and development in trade. Men struggling for existence have not the power, if they had the will, to sink more capital in a sinking concern.

The present is one of those periods of depression. It began with the failures in America in 1857, the consequent cessation of the American trade, and the monetary crisis in this country. The prospect was just beginning to brighten when the unprovoked attack of France upon Austria caused a general panic in the commercial world. Since then the public mind has been occupied with wars and rumours of wars, and all mercantile enterprise has been stopped—the peace demand has ceased, and the war demand (which, however, is very small in comparison) has only partially begun. It is to be regretted that Government cannot act with the providence and the energy of an individual—that it cannot, or at least it does not, take the opportunity of laying in at low prices, and gradually, a stock of an article which, if wanted in large quantities and in a hurry, cannot at any price be procured. It would be very desirable that the Ordnance and Admiralty should have in their employment some officer thoroughly acquainted with the manufacture and the trade of iron, whose special business it should be to receive the various specifications from the dockyards and the arsenals, and to expedite the orders to those who are best qualified to execute them. Such a man it might not be easy to find. He must be thoroughly and practically acquainted with the trade, yet free from connexions which might bias his judgment or lead to jobbing. He must be inflexibly honest, or he would be open to bribes. Bribe is a harsh word. Some softer term, ‘commission’ perhaps, would be found; and it might be pleaded only too truly that such arrangements are ‘all in the way of business.’ His salary should be such as to place him above petty temptations. Its amount would be ten times repaid to the public by the saving of commissions to brokers, and of intermediate profits to middlemen; and far more important than this saving is the confidence and decision which his practical knowledge would give to the Government departments with which he was connected.

Government—we are speaking generally of all administrations of whatever party—means well; and with all its faults, jobbing is kept down to a degree which never yet has been surpassed in this or any other country; but it is fettered by routine, and paralyzed by divided responsibility. Nothing can be more unfair than the outcry against ‘red tape.’ The minutest regulations and an infinite series of checks are invented to secure the

good conduct of public servants, and then they are reproached for their want of promptitude and addiction to form. We bind a man hand and foot, and then ridicule his want of activity. And if Government offices thus shackled can with difficulty get through their ordinary business, how on extraordinary occasions can they act with the decision and spirit of an individual who is his own master? Assailed as they have been at all times by projectors and inventors, what wonder that stern rules have been contrived which deter rather than attract candidates for Government patronage?—what wonder if, ignorant and incredulous, the heads of departments take refuge in form? When the system works ill, the public must share the blame—and it often does work ill. Patient merit is often neglected, noisy pretension rewarded. The author of some great invention is obliged to exhibit his experiments at his own cost, in the presence of a Government officer; his success is complete, but nevertheless he is left a prey to neglect and disappointment. In other instances, encouragement is given before success is attained; and a good deal of expense, which it is unnecessary to particularize now, has been needlessly incurred, without any benefit to the public service. It is too much the tendency of Governments (and a very natural one) to feel a hostility to further improvements, when they have already spent largely on making some innovation which they would gladly think final. But to Lancaster's ordnance succeeded the wonderful improvements of Armstrong, which have brought ordnance to a point of perfection which it might well be supposed could not be exceeded. And since his inventions, Whitworth has introduced his improvements, and is still continuing his experiments with a view to further progress. Others are in the field—

‘And he perhaps is born
Who shall drive either from their nest.’*

It cannot be expected that public servants should have a special knowledge of all the trades with which their departments bring them into contact; and for that very reason, since a knowledge of the iron manufacture has become so very important, the appointment of some such official as we have recommended appears indispensable; moreover, a revision of many of the rules in public offices is desirable. In these times, when inventions are so numerous, and often so very important, it should not be a matter of difficulty and uncertainty

* ‘E forse è nato
Chi l’ un e l’ altro caccierà di nido.’

DANTE, *Purgatorio*, c. xi.

to a projector to obtain a hearing. There should be some competent tribunal to examine and report on all inventions and improvements. In the word 'competent' lies the difficulty. We cannot pretend to discuss now the composition of such a court of reference; but we will venture to suggest that much of the difficulty would be anticipated if it were the standing rule for their guidance to permit the fullest experiments to be made before they gave a decision. Moreover, the mode of dealing with the manufacturers might be amended. When a private firm desire to try what quality of iron will suit their purpose best, they are in the habit of ordering small lots from different works, for which of course they pay, but which are understood to be sold on trial. Government professes only to *permit* the manufacturer to send his samples at his own cost and his own risk; the sum saved by this haughty and overbearing economy is not more perhaps in the aggregate than a few hundreds a year; but though the loss to the individual manufacturer is very small, the injury to his pride, of which ironmasters have their full share, is great. He knows his iron is well worth its price; he declines to court a customer before whom he must appear as a suppliant, and the Government is virtually excluded from the market.

All this becomes very important if, in following out any scheme of national defence, Government is to become to a large extent a purchaser of iron. We are certain that iron can be wrought in England to stand any test that can be proposed, and equal to any metal that can be brought against it. Extra quality can always be obtained at extra price. But in the case of plate-armour for ships there is a preliminary inquiry to which we think hardly due attention has been given. Is it ascertained what is the best quality of armour for the purpose? The cheaply and carelessly made iron which was employed in the Crimean war was a failure. At present, scrap iron, as it is called, consisting of every old fragment collected by the 'Marine Stores' of London and the Continent, down to old horseshoes and broken kettles, is bought up under the idea that this mixture of various qualities of often-worked iron will produce the toughest plate. But there is reason to fear that the iron composed of this infinite variety of fragments will be wanting in uniformity. Some of its component parts will have been worked so often that they have lost their fibrous texture; others, such as broken locks, contain bits of steel which are unfit for welding, or portions of solder or fragments of brass which render it impracticable to weld the iron with which they come in contact; and it is almost impossible that any overlooking which we can expect to be applied will detect and remove all the deleterious substances which may be found in such

a prodigious diversity of materials. Again, iron of such variety of quality, and such inequality of size, cannot all come to the welding point at the same time—parts will be spoilt, and parts will be consumed, before other portions are brought to the necessary degree of heat.* If these objections were obviated, there is no kind of iron from which a harder plate could be produced with so little trouble. But though hard, it is brittle, and by hammering it is rendered crystalline rather than fibrous. This latter quality would be better attained by ‘rolling.’ But hammering is the course adopted; and if this process is continued long enough to give a good finish to the plate (and the workman will not readily stop short of this point), it will certainly diminish the tenacity of the metal.†

For our own parts we should have preferred rolling plates for ship-armour in the ordinary way, from a selection of the best merchant bars.

But if a better quality still is desired, to procure that better quality is merely a question of expense. When the best merchant bars have been manufactured by a mixture of the best qualities of pig-iron, they should be cut into small and equal portions, and ‘piled’ or ‘balled’ (these two technical terms only indicate two different methods of arranging the fragments in the furnace for re-heating), and they should then be hammered and rolled till their quality was brought to the highest state of tenacity. By this means a perfect uniformity of quality would be secured, and we believe the iron resulting from this process would offer the greatest resistance to a shot. We know that an Armstrong gun will blow a hole through a soft plate; and whether a very hard one would not be splintered by it is not yet ascertained. A plate such as we have described, combining to a certain degree the qualities of both, would probably offer the most effectual resistance. But the only way of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion is by a series of well-con-

* The iron of which the plate-armour of the ‘Gloire’ is constructed is of no peculiar quality, but excellent forged iron. We point out the objections to which the use of such iron is liable; but we do not mean to say that they *may* not have been obviated in the case of the ‘Warrior,’ whose launch has been announced in the papers since these pages went to press.

† In all similar experiments it should steadily be borne in mind that the desired uniformity of quality cannot be attained unless those kinds of iron exclusively are employed which come to the welding point at the same time; thus tough iron would be injured by too long exposure to the fire before hard ‘steely’ iron was sufficiently hot to form a conglomerate mass, and unless both are properly heated for welding the mass will not be reduced uniformly either by hammering or rolling. If it be true that scrap slabs and puddled slabs or bars have been used together in forming the plates of the ‘Warrior,’ we hold the mixture to be injudicious, because puddled bars represent the *softest* and most easily heated form of wrought iron, and scrap slabs the hardest and least easily acted on by fire.

ducted experiments. We possess every kind of iron, and all the best methods in use for manipulation; and any shade of quality may be obtained by those who know enough of the iron business and of their own to tell exactly what they want and where to look for it. Unless we wilfully throw away our advantages, we cannot be beaten in any struggle for superiority in the manufacture of iron. The abundance and the excellence of our minerals, the prodigious facilities of traffic, the perfection of our machinery, the energy and ingenuity of our manufacturers, backed by the industry, boldness, and hardihood of our mining population, give this country advantages with which none other can compete. We believe that the iron manufacture is one of the most important elements of national grandeur and national safety; and it will give us the highest satisfaction if we can contribute in any degree, however slight, to make its progress and its prospects as much a matter of interest to the general reader as they claim of right to be to the legislator and the statesman.

ART. V.—1. *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Italy.*

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1860.

2. *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Italy, Savoy, and Switzerland.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1860.

3. *The Congress and the Cabinet.* By the Marquis of Normanby, K.G. London, 1859.

4. *Le Pape et le Congrès.* Paris, 1859.

5. *A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily.* By Susan Horner. Edinburgh, 1860.

LITTLE did the French Emperor foresee or intend the results that have followed from his armed interference in Italy. Little did he know the direction the waters would take when he determined to unsluice the stagnant lake, and fancied that he could channel out the course in which the waters were to flow. Whatever he may have meant by his watchword of 'Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic;' whether it did or did not include, along with the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy and Venice, a throne in Italy for his cousin Prince Napoleon, as well as the realization of the 'idea' for which, while solemnly disavowing all thoughts of territorial aggrandisement, France made war,—namely, that Savoy and Nice should be torn from Italy and become incorporated with France,—it is plain that the policy of Napoleon III. has been to a great extent disconcerted and baffled

baffled by the course of events. There is, however, another monarch who has known well how to turn them to his own advantage, who has reaped where others have sown, and has himself known right well how to sow unobserved, and who—aided by ministers whose far-seeing sagacity we acknowledge, however much we must condemn the means they have employed—has from first to last shown that those events have not taken him by surprise, and that he has led rather than followed in their path.

From the time when, without any imaginable cause of war, King Victor Emmanuel engaged the little kingdom of Sardinia by the side of the Western Powers in the struggle against Russia in the Crimea, down to the present moment, when he has added to his dominions the territory, or parts of the territory, of six independent States, he has steadily worked out one idea, and that has been, the Unity of Italy with the House of Savoy upon the throne. And this, now that success has so far crowned his efforts, he openly avows; for in the manifesto which he addressed from Ancona on the 9th of October last to the people of Southern Italy, he declared, 'I have thus been able to maintain in that part of Italy which is united under my sceptre the idea of a national hegemony, out of which was to arise the harmonious concord of divided provinces united in one nation. Italy was put in possession of my view when it beheld me sending my troops to the Crimea by the side of the soldiers of the two great Western Powers. I desired to obtain for Italy the right of taking part in all transactions of European interest.'

There are two views of the astounding drama that has been acted in Italy; each of which has its advocates, but in neither of which can we wholly acquiesce. The one sees in the dazzling series of events nothing but the triumph of liberty over oppression; and, on the principle that the end justifies the means, exults with unalloyed delight in the idea of a national regeneration. The other sees in them nothing but the reckless ambition of an unscrupulous sovereign, the triumph of insurrection, and the daring contempt of international law. In this country, as might be expected, the first or the Italian view is, beyond all doubt or question, the popular one. It has been adopted with remarkable unanimity by the press; and while all rejoice in the result, few have cared to find fault with the acts that have been successful. Nor need we be surprised at this: it is natural that Englishmen should sympathize with a struggle for freedom, and rejoice in the prospect of a strong constitutional government in Italy in the place of effete despotism like that of Naples, or ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical misrule like that of Rome. It is natural that the Protestant feeling of the nation should view without displeasure the humiliation of the Pope, and the diminution, if not the destruction, of his temporal power. And there was something in the character of Garibaldi, and in the nature of his enterprise, which seemed to realize the wonders of romance, and to justify that hero-worship which always has been and always will be one of the darling passions of the multitude. The feeling was that which warmed the head and fired the imagination of Macchiavelli, when he almost prophesied the advent of such a deliverer, and exclaimed, 'I cannot express with what love he would be received in all the provinces which have suffered from these foreign inundations; with what a thirst for vengeance, with what stedfast fidelity, with what affection, with what tears! What gates would close themselves against him? What people would refuse him their obedience? What envy would oppose itself to him? What Italian would deny him homage? *A ognuno puzza questo barbaro dominio.*'*

'Italy for the Italians' is a captivating cry. It seems to express the sentiment of liberty with the force of a truism; and men forget that its true meaning is the expulsion of the foreigner, that 'barbaro dominio' of which Macchiavelli speaks; and can be no argument to justify insurrection against *Italian* governments, or the overthrow of *Italian* dynasties. We do not say that they cannot be justified; but this is a very different thing from admitting the right of one independent State to interfere and foment insurrection in the dominions of another, of which it intends to reap the fruits and carry off the lion's share of the spoil. The cry of 'Germany for the Germans' would hardly be allowed as a pretext for the invasion of Saxony or Bavaria by Prussia, although we find it employed as an apology for the attempts that are made to deprive Denmark of her provinces, the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, because they are said by community of origin and sameness of language to belong to the Great Fatherland. Men forget also, that since the fall of the Roman Empire (if even before it) there never has been a time when Italy could be called a nation, any more than a stack of timber can be called a ship. During the middle ages the little Republics into which it was split up fought like tiger-cats against each other; and for the last three hundred years, with the exception of the period of the French Revolution, when all landmarks were effaced, the circumscription of territories, and the

* Il Principe, cap. 26.

distinction of governments, have been as complete in Italy as in any other part of Europe.

By the Treaty of Villafranca, which was definitely signed at Zurich on the 11th of November, 1859, and to which Sardinia was forced to become a party, Lombardy was under one instrument ceded to France, and, under another, by France to Sardinia. Thus a blow was struck at the European settlement of 1815, which France has so long desired to subvert. France, too, in receiving directly from Austria the cession of Lombardy, conceived herself to have acquired, as against Austria, the right to interfere at all times to protect the Sardinian possession of that territory. It was also agreed separately between France and Austria that they would make every effort to encourage a Confederation amongst the Italian States, to be placed under the honorary presidency of the Pope. And the rights of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Modena, and the Duke of Parma were reserved, on the alleged ground that the territorial delimitation of the independent States of Italy which took no part in the war could be changed only by the Powers who presided at their formation and recognized their existence. It was then proposed by France and Austria that a Congress should assemble to take into consideration the pacification of Central Italy; but it never met. It was found impracticable to get the Great Powers to agree on a common basis of action. Austria insisted on the restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena. France could not oppose herself to this; and we have no reason to doubt that the French Emperor, in all sincerity and good faith, made every effort to give effect to the stipulation in favour of the dethroned princes. But England steadily and firmly adhered to the principle that the inhabitants of Tuscany and the *Æmilia** were to be left entirely to themselves, to choose their own form of Government, and settle, as they thought fit, the question whether they would annex themselves to Piedmont, or form an independent State. So early as the month of August, 1859, the Tuscan assembly at Florence had voted unanimously, or we believe with only three exceptions, in favour of annexation to Piedmont; and in September following, the revolted province of the Romagna, having convoked a general assembly of representatives at Bologna, declared that 'the people of Romagna refuse to live any longer under the

* The *Æmilia* or *Emilia* is the name given to the triangular tract of country, between the Po and the Apennines, which embraces the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and the Romagna. It derives its name from the *Via Æmilia*, which ran from Piacenza beyond the northern extremity of the Apennine range as far as Rimini, where it joined the *Via Flaminia*.

temporal sway of the Pontiff.' With regard to the Romagna and the Legations, which had made common cause in throwing off the allegiance of the Pope, and may be considered as one province, the French Emperor was under no engagement to Austria, and before the end of the year he had satisfied himself that it was vain to dream of coercing them; he therefore strove to induce the Holy See to make a virtue of necessity, and on the 31st of December wrote that remarkable letter to the Pope, in which he said,—

'After a serious examination of the difficulties and the dangers which the different combinations presented—I say it with sincere regret, and however painful the solution may be—what seems to me most in accordance with the true interests of the Holy See would be to make a sacrifice of the revolted provinces. If the Holy Father, for the repose of Europe, were to renounce those provinces which for the last fifty years have caused so much embarrassment to his government, and were in exchange to demand from the powers that they should guarantee him possession of the remainder, I do not doubt of the immediate restoration of order. Then the Holy Father would assure to grateful Italy peace during long years, and to the Holy See the peaceful possession of the States of the Church.'

In the mean time Central Italy remained without a Government, except such as it had extemporised for itself; and it is only fair and just to say that the conduct of the people during the trying period of hope deferred was admirable. With one melancholy exception, the murder of Colonel Aviti at Parma, accounted for by local and peculiar causes, yet affording a terrible proof of what *might have been* on a more frightful scale—there was (thanks to the wise guidance of such men as Ricasoli and Farini) neither disturbance nor disorder; and the people seemed determined to prove their fitness for self-government by the calmness of their attitude, the prudence of their counsels, and the moderation of their demands. Not a whisper was heard of a Republic, or, if heard, it was instantly suppressed by the good sense of an overwhelming majority; and we think that Lord John Russell did not overstate the case when, writing to our Minister at Vienna, he declared:—'At the present time the people of Italy, in harmony with public opinion throughout Europe, seek for order as well as liberty beneath the dome of monarchy, supported by national consent and equal laws.' And yet their patience was sorely tried. When the vote for annexation to Piedmont, in August, was communicated to King Victor Emmanuel, and he was offered the homage of Tuscany and Æmilia, the fear of France compelled him to give an evasive reply; and when, as a provisional expedient, they wished to confer the Regency upon the King's cousin,
Prince

Prince de Carignan, he did not dare to accept it; but the Chevalier Buoncompagni was nominated in his stead. Sardinia, held in check by France and Austria, hesitated to take possession of a territory the throne of which was vacant, and which held out its arms to receive her; for, as Lord John Russell stated in March last year, in the House of Commons, 'The Austrian Government declared that, if a Sardinian soldier should go into Central Italy, they would at once march their troops to oppose them. On the other hand, the Emperor of France declared to the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, that the moment a single Austrian soldier crossed the Po the French army would be marched to oppose them.' Lord John Russell also said in the same speech, that 'it was agreed by France, in communication with Austria, that the Congress should be indefinitely postponed;' and it was generally believed that the chief cause of this postponement was the appearance of the pamphlet '*Le Pape et le Congrès*,' bearing the name of M. de la Guernonnière, but attributed to the French Emperor, which advocated the restriction of the temporal government of the Pope to Rome alone.*

However this may be, England now came forward with four proposals for settling the difficulty, which were communicated by Lord John Russell to Earl Cowley, our Ambassador at Paris, in a despatch dated the 15th of January:—

'1. That France and Austria should agree not to interfere for the future by force in the internal affairs of Italy, unless called upon to do so by the unanimous assent of the five Great Powers of Europe.

'2. That in pursuance of this agreement the Emperor of the French should concert with his Holiness the Pope as to the evacuation of Rome by the troops of France.

'3. The internal government of Venetia not to be in any way matter of negotiation between the European Powers.

'4. Great Britain and France to invite the King of Sardinia to agree not to send troops into Central Italy until its several States and Provinces shall, by a new vote of their Assemblies, after a new election, have solemnly declared their wishes as to their future destiny.'

The French Government at once professed its willingness to accept the first three of these propositions, observing, with respect to the second, that the 'evacuation of Rome must remain sub-

* 'A pamphlet published in Paris, under the title of *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which has created too much stir in the political world not to have attracted your Lordship's attention, is the indirect cause of the postponement. The Austrian Government, it appears, requires an engagement, on the part of the French Government, neither to bring before the Congress themselves the measures of which the pamphlet is the advocate, nor to support them if brought forward by others. The French Government hesitate at entering into any such engagement, and Austria in consequence declines appearing at the Congress.'—Earl Cowley to Lord John Russell, Jan. 1, 1860. Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Italy, 1860.

ordinate to the certainty that no serious danger should result therefrom to the safety of the Holy See.' As regarded the fourth, M. Thouvenel, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that the Emperor 'personally considered the principle laid down by Her Majesty's Government, that the future destinies of the States of Central Italy should be ascertained through the Assemblies, to be equitable and practical. But before taking any steps in conjunction with Her Majesty's Government in the sense desired by them, His Majesty considered himself to be bound in honour to address himself to the Cabinet of Vienna, to expose what had taken place since the Peace of Villafranca, and to state the reasons which led him to the conclusion that no other solution was possible than that suggested by Her Majesty's Government.'

The Austrian Government, however, would not accede to the English views, and France then proposed the following plan:—

'1. Complete annexation of the Duchies of Parma and Modena to Sardinia. 2. Temporal administration of the Legations of the Romagna, of Ferrara, and of Bologna, under the form of a *vicariat*, exercised by his Sardinian Majesty, in the name of the Holy See. 3. Re-establishment of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in its political and territorial independence.'

But this did not meet the approval of either Austria or Sardinia. And we do not believe that any ministry could have stood in Sardinia which continued to oppose itself to the demand for annexation, supported by the unanimous vote of the revolted provinces. The result was that the French Government, in face of the 'inexorable logic of facts,' no longer insisted on maintaining the separate existence of Tuscany as an independent state, but sullenly withdrew, and left Central Italy to determine its own fate.

The question of annexation to Piedmont, or the erection of a separate kingdom, was put to the vote in Tuscany and the Æmilia, and determined by an immense majority in favour of annexation. Baron Ricasoli, who had succeeded Chevalier Buoncompagni as provisional Governor of Tuscany, presented the result of this appeal to universal suffrage to the King on the 22nd of March; and soon afterwards a bill was brought into the Sardinian Chambers to authorise the annexation, and passed into a law.

In the mean time Europe was startled by the announcement that France required a 'rectification' of her frontiers on the side of the Alps. In other words, the French Emperor insisted upon the cession of territory which he had bargained for as the price of assisting Sardinia in her contest with Austria, and obtaining for her a large accession of dominion. The transaction was dis-
creditabile

creditable to all the parties concerned, and it involved both Governments in duplicity and dissimulation, if not positive falsehood. We can understand the reason why the bargain was concealed, for it was of vital consequence to Napoleon III. at the outbreak of the war that the Great Powers of Europe should have no hint of a scheme which revived awkward recollections of the policy of the First Empire, and, more than anything else, was likely to rally them on the side of Austria. But we do not understand how statesmen of character could bring themselves to deny peremptorily the existence of a scheme which they knew had at one time been arranged, in the hope that a change of circumstances might prevent it from being carried into effect, and so they might escape the odium of ever being known to have entertained it.

We believe the following to be a true account of the facts of the case, although our limits will not allow us to do more than give the most rapid summary of them.

When the question of the intervention of France in Italy was originally discussed between the French and Sardinian Governments; or rather, if we are rightly informed, between the Emperor and Count Cavour at a confidential interview, it was agreed or 'understood,' that if the result of the war should be to free Lombardy and Venetia from the grasp of Austria, and annex them to Piedmont, France was to receive Savoy and Nice, or at all events Savoy, as the consideration for her services. At that time there was no idea on the part of the contracting parties that Tuscany and the Æmilia would demand to be incorporated with Sardinia. It was, as the lawyers say, a *casus omissus*, and unprovided for in the agreement. But the event falsified the expectation. Austria retained Venetia, and Central Italy resolved to join Piedmont. The French Emperor now claimed the fulfilment of the contract, but Sardinia demurred. She took her stand on the letter of the bond: Savoy and Nice were to be the equivalent of Lombardy and Venetia; but Venetia still remained in the hands of Austria, and her chains were riveted by the peace of Villafranca. The terms of the bargain therefore, not having been kept by France, were not binding upon Sardinia. The French Emperor seems to have admitted the force of this reasoning, or at all events he yielded to it, and did not insist upon his demand; and thus it was that Count Walewski, on the 8th of July, 1859, declared to Earl Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, that, 'if at any time the idea of annexing Savoy to France had been entertained, it had been entirely abandoned.' But when it became apparent that the whole of the Æmilian provinces, and in all probability
Tuscany

Tuscany also, would become united to Piedmont, he revived the dormant claim, on the ground that the meaning of the agreement was, that, if Sardinia obtained by the aid of French arms a substantial increase of territory on one side of the Alps, she was to make a cession to France on the other.* And to this he conceived himself entitled, even if Tuscany were excluded from the annexation.†

The Sardinian Government, however, conscious of the extreme unpopularity it would incur by giving up provinces one of which was the most ancient inheritance—nay, the very cradle of the House of Savoy, and too glad to find a pretext for escaping from the fulfilment of the odious bargain, resisted the claim. And now the machinery was put in motion whereby the compulsion of authority is made to assume the appearance of a voluntary act, and a fictitious majority obtained by dexterous intrigue is called the national will, expressed under the imposing name of universal suffrage.

We will not waste words upon the impudence of the attempt to make it appear that the agitation of the question of annexation to France in Savoy and Nice was a spontaneous movement; but soon afterwards the question became the topic of universal discussion, and Europe, although indignant at being duped, laughed at the idea of danger to France because Piedmont was likely to double her territory and population. At this juncture the inhabitants of Chambéry adopted at a public meeting an address to King Victor Emmanuel, declaring their wish to remain under the dominion of the House of Savoy, and the Governor of that province stated that, having asked instructions from Turin, he had received the following reply:—

‘The policy of the Government of his Majesty is known; it has not varied. *The Government never entertained the idea of ceding Savoy to France.* Questioned already previously by the party who dared to moot the separation, the Government did not even think it necessary to reply.’

We never heard that the statement of the Governor was disavowed by Count Cavour, and yet it seems distinctly at variance with the facts. On the 4th of February M. Thouvenel informed Lord Cowley, in Paris, that ‘it was true that, among the possible *arrangements* discussed between the two Governments when they found themselves likely to be engaged side by side in war with Austria, was the cession to France, under certain contingencies,

* See Lord Cowley's speech in the House of Lords, April 23, 1860.

† M. Thouvenel to Baron de Talleyrand, Feb. 24, 1860. Correspondence on Affairs of Italy.

of Savoy and the county of Nice.'* And in a speech made by Count de Persigny in the Council General of the Department of the Loire, at the end of August, when he was the Ambassador of France at our Court, he said :—' Even *before the beginning of the war* we had warned Sardinia that if events should bring about a great kingdom in Italy, we should demand that the slopes of the Alps should not remain in its hands.' Does any one believe that Count Cavour refused to listen to the 'possible arrangement,' or that he gave any hint to France that his Government would resist the 'demand'? It is indeed pitiable to see the way in which the Sardinian Government affected to make Europe believe that they yielded at last to the popular will, and that in ceding Nice and Savoy they merely paid homage to the new principle of universal suffrage invoked to determine the allegiance of subjects. They might have said 'We bow to a supreme necessity,' and the reason would at least have been understood. But what are we to think of the sincerity of the minister who could write as Count Cavour wrote to M. Thouvenel on the 2nd of March?—

'We feel too deeply what Italy owes to the Emperor not to pay the most serious attention to a demand based on the principle of respect for the wishes of the inhabitants. His Majesty's Government would never consent, with even the greatest prospective advantages, to cede or exchange any one of the parts of the territory which has formed for so many ages the glorious inheritance of the House of Savoy. But the King's Government cannot refuse taking into consideration the changes which passing events in Italy may have introduced into the situation of the inhabitants of Savoy and Nice. At the moment when we are loudly demanding for the inhabitants of Central Italy the right of disposing of their destiny, we cannot, without incurring the charge of inconsistency and injustice, refuse to the King's subjects dwelling on the other side of the Alps the right of freely manifesting their will. However poignant the regret we should feel, if the provinces, once the glorious cradle of the monarchy, could decide on demanding their separation from the rest of the King's dominions in order to join other destinies, we should not refuse to acknowledge the validity of this manifestation declared legally and conformably with the prescriptions of Parliament.'

The farce accordingly was played out, the ballot-box was opened, and, by the conjuring process of universal suffrage under the provident care of French emissaries and electioneering agents, the two provinces transferred themselves from Sardinia to France, and another blow was struck at the settlement of 1815.

* Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell, Feb. 5, 1860. Correspondence on proposed Annexation of Savoy and Nice, 1860.

At the end of March then, last year, the state of things in Italy was this:—Piedmont, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, the Romagna, and the Legations formed one independent kingdom under the constitutional monarchy of the House of Savoy. Venetia belonged to Austria, as has been her lot since the Treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797; and the rest of Italy, divided between the States of the Church and the Two Sicilies, retained its old governments without modification or change. The position of Sardinia was excellent. She had added to her dominions some of the finest provinces of Italy, rich in material wealth, and filled with an intelligent, docile, and industrious population. It was her obvious policy now to consolidate her new acquisitions, and to set an example of good government to the rest of Italy, to husband her resources, and to prepare herself for a struggle which might be forced upon her, but which she ought not to seek or precipitate.

Above all, it was her duty to abide loyally by the terms of the Treaty of Peace to which she was a party, and not to cause fresh complexities by ambitious projects or restless intrigues. We find Count Rechberg in January last complaining that ‘no tranquillity or repose could exist, nor could the security of peace be assured, so long as the Sardinian Government continued to foment discord and insurrection within the States of her neighbour.’* This was with reference to alleged attempts on the part of Sardinia to incite the populations of Venetia and Southern Tyrol to throw off their allegiance to Austria.† And soon afterwards M. Thouvenel informed Lord Cowley ‘that Prince Metternich had been ordered to call the attention of the French Government to the proceedings of Sardinian agents in Venetia. A despatch containing a series of facts which, if true, were very regrettable, had been communicated to him by the Austrian Ambassador.’‡

With respect to Austria, we are bound to say that, having accepted the principle of non-intervention, she has adhered to it. Under the most irritating provocation, she has remained purely on the defensive, and neither directly nor indirectly since the peace of Villafranca has interfered in the affairs of

* See the letter from Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell, Jan. 12, 1860, in the Further Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Italy.

† It is, however, right to quote the following:—‘A deputation from the [Southern?] Tyrol waited upon Count Cavour a few days ago in order to urge that minister to listen to their complaints, and to explain the view which they take of the position of affairs in their country. Count Cavour declined to enter into any discussion with them upon those points.’ Sir J. Hudson to Lord J. Russell, Feb. 3, 1860. Further Correspondence on Affairs of Italy.

‡ Earl Cowley to Lord John Russell, Jan. 30, 1860, *Ibid.*

Italy beyond the limits of her own frontier. When the Marches and Umbria were invaded by Piedmontese troops, she did not send a soldier to the assistance of the Pope, although, as a great Catholic power, she must have felt it almost a duty of religion to protect the Holy See from what she believed to be an act of sacrilegious spoliation. When the King of Naples appealed to her for help, she declined to interfere.

We are not called upon to scrutinize the motives which have restrained her, nor to decide how far she may have been held in check by the fear of France or the exhaustion of her treasury. We accept the fact, and we think that in all fairness and justice Sardinia ought to accept it also. That her rule in Venetia has during the last year been harsh and stern, we are not inclined to doubt. The whole province was turned into a camp, martial law was proclaimed, and an overwhelming force was ready to crush the slightest symptom of popular disaffection. But this was the cruel necessity of her position if she was to hold Venetia at all. The time had gone by when she could hope to conciliate the inhabitants of that province by any concessions short of its absolute surrender. They scorned, as a mockery, administrative reform, when their whole hearts were bent on revolution. A bold defiance was hurled against Austria by the Italians, who swore that Venetia should be free; and she could only respond to that defiance by arming her fortresses and strengthening her battalions. She must govern by the sword, or cease to govern altogether. In short, that unhappy state of things existed which Burke described when he said 'Kings will be tyrants from policy, when subjects are rebels on principle.'

Such was—such, alas! is—the state of Venetia. In the Papal States, and especially the Marches, which are separated from Romagna by only an impalpable line, it was with the utmost difficulty that insurrection was kept down. A rising took place in Perugia, on the western slope of the Apennines, in June, 1859. Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government formed. But the town was attacked by 2000 troops, and Colonel Schmidt, their commander, made himself infamous by the cruel massacre of many of the inhabitants after the gates had been thrown open, and all resistance was at an end. When Romagna threw off the Papal yoke, the excitement in the Marches became so great that it seemed impossible to prevent a revolutionary outbreak, especially as Garibaldi was on the frontier organizing levies, and ready at a moment's notice to pass the imaginary line, invade the province, and raise the standard of revolt: even the Papal troops were beginning to desert and cross over to Romagna. We believe that at this period the efforts

efforts of the Sardinian Government were sincere, at all events they were successful in stopping the further progress of insurrection in this part of the Papal States. Garibaldi was forced or persuaded by Farini to retire, and for the moment aggression was prevented.

Let us now turn to the Two Sicilies, where the smouldering fire of discontent was about to burst into a flame.

Never had a dynasty more emphatic warnings that it was pursuing a policy of self-destruction than the dynasty of the infatuated Bourbons at Naples. We speak not now of the warnings conveyed by attempts at insurrection, and by the necessity of stifling in dungeons, and crushing by brute force, the voices of many of the best and noblest of their subjects to prevent the cry against their tyranny from being heard. But we refer to the remonstrances from time to time addressed to them by foreign Powers, who were shocked by the scandal of such a Government. Shortly after the revolution of July, which took place three months before the accession of Ferdinand II. to the throne, Louis Philippe wrote to him a letter. He said,—

‘We are in a period of transition, when often a little must be relinquished so that all may not be lost, and it would give me real joy to learn that your Majesty has given up a system of compression and of severity which caused many days of intense agony to your late august father, and which often banished the smile from the lips of the enlightened King Ferdinand I. Let your Majesty imitate the system in France; you will be a gainer in every respect; for, by sacrificing a little authority, you will insure peace to your kingdom, and stability to your house. The symptoms of agitation are so strongly pronounced and numerous in Italy, that an outbreak may be expected sooner or later, accordingly as the stern measures of Prince Metternich may hasten or adjourn it. Your Majesty will be drawn into the current if you are not prepared to stem the tide, and your house will be burst in two either by the revolutionary stream or by the measures of repression the Vienna Cabinet may think fit to adopt.’

To this letter the King of Naples sent the following reply, which it is difficult to believe could emanate from anything short of insanity:—

‘To imitate France, if ever France can be imitated, I should have to precipitate myself into that policy of Jacobinism for which my people has proved feloniously guilty more than once against the house of its Kings. Liberty is fatal to the House of Bourbon; and, as regards myself, I am resolved to avoid, at all price, the fate of Louis XVI. and of Charles X. My people obey force and bend their necks, but woe’s me should they ever raise them under the impulse of those dreams which sound so fine in the sermons of philosophers, and which are impossible in practice. With God’s blessing, I will give

prosperity to my people, and a Government as honest as they have a right to; but I will be King, and always.

'My people do not want to think; I take upon myself the care of their welfare and their dignity. I have inherited many old grudges, many mad desires, arising from all the faults and weaknesses of the past; I must set this to rights, and I can only do so by drawing closer to Austria without subjecting myself to her will. We are not of this century. The Bourbons are ancient, and, if they were to try to shape themselves according to the pattern of the new dynasties, they would be ridiculous. We will imitate the Hapsburgs. If fortune plays us false, we shall at least be true to ourselves.

'Nevertheless your Majesty may rely upon my lively sympathy and my warmest wishes that you may succeed in mastering that ungovernable people who make France the curse of Europe.

'FERDINAND.'

The course of misrule which Ferdinand pursued is strikingly narrated by Miss Horner.* It became so bad that, in October 1856, both the English and French Governments took the strong and unusual step of recalling their ambassadors, and breaking off diplomatic relations with the Court of Naples, on the avowed ground of its vindictive and arbitrary conduct, and the cruel inhumanity with which it treated its political prisoners. Ferdinand II. died in May, 1859, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II. The two Western Powers resumed diplomatic intercourse with Naples in hopes that the Government would be carried on in a different and wiser spirit. But it soon became evident that change in the occupant of the throne had made no change in the policy of the Government, and the maxim of the young King seemed to be that, if his father had chastised his subjects with whips, he would chastise them with scorpions. Again the voice of warning and remonstrance was heard. In July, 1859, Lord John Russell wrote to Mr. Elliot, the British Minister at Naples, and said:—

'It may suit the purposes of those who have thriven on the past abuses to encourage the King to follow in his father's footsteps, or a change of system would probably lead to their ruin; but it appears to her Majesty's Government that the King has now to choose between the ruin of his evil counsellors and his own: if he supports and upholds them, and places himself under their guidance, it requires not much foresight to predict that the Bourbon dynasty will cease to reign at Naples, by whatever combination, Regal or Republican, it may be replaced.' And he added that, 'neither the moral nor the material

* 'A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily.' The materials of this well-written little book are derived from the larger work, Colletta's 'History of Naples,' which Miss Horner has recently translated and brought down to the present time.

support of England is to be looked for by the King, if, by a continual denial of justice, and the refusal of an improved form of internal administration, the Neapolitan people should be driven into insurrection, and should succeed in expelling the present dynasty from the throne.

In January last year he informed Mr. Elliot that the British Government could only lament the blindness of the Neapolitan Council, and would 'neither accept any part of their responsibility, nor undertake to ward off the consequences of a misgovernment which has scarcely a parallel in Europe.' And finally, in March, Mr. Elliot told M. Carafa, the Neapolitan Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he 'felt that the destruction of his Majesty and of the dynasty is inevitable unless wiser counsels are listened to.' When, therefore, not long afterwards, the King, panic-stricken at the rapid progress of insurrection, applied to the Foreign Powers to guarantee to him the possession of his throne, there was no one in this country who did not rejoice to hear that they had refused.

The danger of the King's position was so apparent that even his uncle interposed. In a remarkable letter written to Francis II. on the 3rd of April last year, the Count of Syracuse pointed out what he called the 'blindness and madness' of refusing to acknowledge the principle of Italian nationality, which for centuries had remained in the field of ideas, but had now descended vigorously into the field of action, and he advised the King to shake off the influence of Austria, and identify himself with the policy of Sardinia.

But it was then too late, even if the ears of the Monarch and his advisers had not been deaf to such advice. At the very moment when the Count of Syracuse was counselling a change of policy to avert insurrection, the revolution had begun. Early in April the island of Sicily rose in revolt. It seems to have begun at Palermo, where, on the 4th of April, the Royal troops were attacked, and the town was placed in a state of siege. But it soon spread like lightning over the island. Messina, Catania, and Agrigentum declared for the insurgents; a secret committee organized their movements, and guerilla bands multiplied so fast that in a short time it was computed that there were not less than 200,000 Sicilians in arms. For a month the insurrection raged in the island without any direct help from Italy. But it produced there a profound sensation, and there was one man who determined that, come what might, he would raise a body of volunteers, and take part in the struggle on the side of liberty. This was Garibaldi, who had already, as we have seen, been with difficulty restrained from invading the Marches and pro-

voking a conflict with the forces of the Pope. He now actively employed himself in organizing an expedition to Sicily, and embarked at Genoa on the night of the 5th of May with upwards of 2000 volunteers. An enthusiastic crowd was assembled to witness their departure, and the only semblance of concealment of their purpose was that they did not march in their uniforms, which had previously been put on board three steamers which were lying outside the harbour. The volunteers were conveyed to them from different points along the shore. Before he reached the shores of Sicily Garibaldi prepared a proclamation, in which he called the Italians to arms in the name of 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel.'

Garibaldi landed in Sicily, at Marsala, on the 11th of May, and on the 14th, as 'Commander-in-Chief of the National Force in Sicily,' assumed the Dictatorship of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel. Bands of volunteers soon began to pour into the island from Sardinia, and it was in vain for the Government to deny (as it did for some time deny) that this was done with its connivance and consent. Every one knew that its professions were belied by its acts, for the undisguised manner in which recruiting went on in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany, and the collection of vessels at Genoa, of which the destination was Sicily, made ignorance of the object an impossible excuse.

But indeed afterwards, when the success of the enterprise was assured, and Sardinia was about to reap the fruits of Garibaldi's exploit, she took credit to herself for the underhand assistance she had given. In his address from Ancona to the people of Southern Italy on the 9th of October, Victor Emmanuel made it a matter of boast, and declared—

'It was quite natural that the events which had taken place in Central Italy should have more or less excited the minds of the people of South Italy. In Sicily this disposition of the people found vent in open revolt. The people were fighting for liberty in Sicily, when a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me—General Garibaldi—sprang to their assistance. They were Italians; I could not, I ought not, to restrain them.'

And what was the conduct of England? If ever there was a time when it behoved the English Government to keep itself clear from all suspicion of complicity in insurrection, it was now. Independently of the rules of international law and the plain obligation of one State not to interfere in the internal struggles of another, the Government had preached to Austria and France the doctrine of non-intervention as the one sole principle to be observed by the Great Powers in the question of Italy. It was the attitude and moral influence of England which more than anything

thing else prevented Austria from lending assistance to the Pope. On the one hand, her duty as a Sovereign Power commanded her to respect the obligations of treaties, and to observe the strictest good faith; on the other, her sympathies with liberty forbade her to support Governments, whose misrule she detested, in a contest with subjects driven by oppression into revolt. We shall see by and bye that, in the opinion of Lord John Russell, this doctrine of non-intervention did not apply to Garibaldi or Victor Emmanuel, and that Garibaldi was justified in interfering because he was an Italian patriot, and Victor Emmanuel because he was an Italian king. But letting this pass, it excluded all who were beyond the limits of that which was once called a 'geographical expression'—Italy. If, however, the unchecked supply of money and men from England, with the knowledge of the Government that they were to be employed in aid of the Sicilian insurgents, constitutes complicity, we do not see how the charge can be denied. Advertisements appeared openly in the newspapers soliciting subscriptions for Garibaldi in his enterprise—the word was afterwards, indeed, softened down to 'testimonial'—and the names of the subscribers were ostentatiously paraded. When the question was asked in the House of Commons in May whether a person so subscribing was liable to be indicted, it was admitted by the principal law-officer of the Crown that, 'according to the common law of England, any subject of the Queen who, either *directly or indirectly*, may supply money in aid of the revolting subjects of any nation or power with whom we are in alliance, commits an offence at common law;' but at the same time he asserted that there was a long interval between the enunciation of that principle and the manner in which it is to be carried into execution, and that there was no case in which there had been a decision of the general principle in the shape of an indictment for that particular offence. In other words, the Government were not prepared to enforce the law. And this was openly avowed by Lord John Russell in the same debate, in which, of course, he could not take part without dragging in the Revolution of 1688. We doubt, however, the prudence of the Minister who attempts to be facetious when dealing with such topics as filibustering and rebellion. He said:—

'A movement such as that which Walker attempted in South America, when he sought to invade and to obtain possession of territory, with no higher object in view than his own selfish interests, is one case; but a patriot fighting for the independence of his country is quite another case. We know that our sympathies and the judgment of history will distinguish between the cases of the filibuster and felon, and that of the hero and the patriot. We had once a great filibuster who landed in England in 1688. He not only received considerable

considerable support, but all the people of England flocked around him. That filibustering was successful. There are cases in which it is not sufficient to say that Garibaldi is a man fighting against a Sovereign whom he ought to respect, or that the Pope is endeavouring to maintain his authority by unlawful expedients. It is not enough to say these things in a glib and fluent manner.'

We are not at present concerned with the question whether William of Orange was a filibuster or not; but we cannot admit that Garibaldi was 'a patriot fighting for the independence of his country,' unless we assume that there was no difference between a subject of Sardinia and a subject of Naples, because both were Italians, and that the Bourbons, who had ruled over the Two Sicilies for upwards of a century, were foreign usurpers. Will Lord John Russell venture to assert that community of language effaces distinction of country, or that, according to the doctrine of natural boundaries, geography is to determine citizenship and allegiance? If so, it will be difficult for him to deal with the pretensions of France when she claims the frontier of the Rhine; and we commend to his attention the following passage from a speech of Lord Palmerston when the question before the House of Commons was not the conduct of Garibaldi in the invasion of Sicily, but the policy of Napoleon in the annexation of Savoy:—

'For, Sir, if you come to natural boundaries, and if the country which claims them is to be the judge of where they are, it is very easy to see that Europe would find it very difficult to decide where danger would begin and where resistance upon a grand scale ought to be undertaken. If language were to be the measure of aggrandizement, it is plain that it would be difficult for many countries to show that they had a good title to possessions which they now hold. Therefore, these two principles of natural boundaries and of community of language are principles the establishment of which would be very dangerous to Europe, however small, comparatively speaking, might be the instance in which they were carried into effect.'

But sympathy with Garibaldi soon assumed a more active form. He sent over to England an accredited agent to collect not only money, but men; and a considerable body of volunteers enrolled themselves and embarked for Italy to fight against a government with which their Sovereign was at peace. This was not only in defiance of international law, but in direct contravention of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The British Government were bound to put a stop to such a state of things; but they did nothing. We say that it is a scandal and disgrace, and a fatal and dangerous precedent, to allow this kind of privateering in the service of insurrection. The Sicilians may have had the holiest of causes; but it was no cause of ours. And

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we hold that, whether it be to support a throne like that of Spain in 1835, when the Foreign Enlistment Act in this country was suspended by an Order in Council, or to upset a throne like that of Naples in 1860, Englishmen have no right to take up arms in a quarrel in which their Government is not engaged and in which they have no concern. And mark the consequences that may follow from permitting such a course. At the very time when volunteers were enlisting in England for Garibaldi, the emissaries of the Pope were raising recruits in Ireland for the defence of the Holy See: so that it was quite within the bounds of probability that these adventurers might meet in hostile conflict on the same battle-field, and Englishmen and Irishmen cut each other's throats, while the one side shouted 'Victor Emmanuel for ever!' and the other 'Long live the Pope!' Besides, the honour of the English name is carried with the English flag, and it is exposed to all the obloquy which the misfortune or misconduct of those who bear it may bring upon it.*

* Even tourists should beware how they comport themselves when they seek among foreigners a little excitement and temporary importance. The following exploit of Mr. E. James, incredible upon any authority save his own, was communicated by himself to one of the daily journals. (It may be premised that Mr. James had ventured, we do not know in what capacity, but attired in a 'half-military, half-navy equipment,' as the artist of the 'Illustrated News' calls it, a little too near the scene of hostilities.)

'The cry arose that the "Cavalry were coming!" and the panic seized the troops. In the *mêlée* I lost my carriage; my servant had very indiscreetly taken shelter with some priests in the top of a convent, and during his absence the carriage disappeared. I had to walk along the high road to Caserta; a little Swiss soldier who had been wounded by a rifle-ball in the wrist, and was going to the hospital there, accompanied me. On our way I saw seven or eight soldiers, among whom were two officers—the Swiss soldier told me they belonged to a Sicilian regiment—seated on one of the long agricultural carts, which they had taken from a field adjoining the road, and were proceeding at a rapid pace to Caserta. As they met troops coming from that town to relieve Santa Maria they spread the panic among them; they cried out, "The cavalry are coming!" "The artillery are close on us!" "We shall all perish!" "Back to Caserta, back!" More than one regiment wavered and turned. The officers behaved firmly and well, drew their swords, and urged their men on; but the alarm had spread, and the soldiers refused to follow. I followed these mischievous and cowardly fellows to Caserta, asked for the colonel of a regiment who spoke French, gave him my name and address, pointed out the fellows as they entered the square in front of the Palace, and, although I did not request it as a personal favour, I certainly suggested that they should be marched out and shot; they were at once taken to the guard-house, and were no more seen by me. It is only just to say that several regiments passed these dastardly renegades unnoticed, and marched on to the relief of the village.'

That is to say, a mere foreign spectator (for notwithstanding the pistols and 'half-military equipment,' we cannot suppose that he belonged, even as a volunteer, to the Garibaldian force), being rather out of humour at 'having to walk,' suggested—all but requested—that seven or eight soldiers, who were coming along the road with himself, but were more fortunate in obtaining carriage, should—for conduct witnessed and not animadverted upon by many officers of their own army—be executed without trial!

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We have not space nor is it necessary to give details of the marvellous success of Garibaldi—

‘Whose name in arms through Europe rings,
Filling each mouth with envy or with praise,
And all the jealous monarchs with amaze,
And rumours loud that daunt remotest kings.’

In an incredibly short time, and notwithstanding the resistance of the royal troops, which with wanton cruelty bombarded Palermo, he reduced all the fortified places in Sicily, except the citadel of Messina. He landed at Melito on the 19th of August, and made his entry into Naples on the 8th of September. And how did he enter? Not at the head of victorious legions with all the pomp of war, but, accompanied by a few friends, as a passenger in a railway-carriage! He had conquered by the mere sound of his name, as the walls of Jericho fell down with a shout. The only place where anything like resistance was attempted was Reggio, the fortress which commands the Strait opposite Messina, and which was taken in a few hours. At San Giovanni a body of Neapolitan troops, two thousand strong, surrendered without a blow; and we are told that when Garibaldi went amongst them he was almost torn to pieces ‘by hugging and embracing.’ At Monteleone ten thousand more laid down their arms; and, after staying a few days at Salerno, the Dictator of the Two Sicilies, accompanied by his staff, proceeded by the railway-train to the capital.

But what in the mean time had become of the King and the main body of the Neapolitan army? As the insurrection in Sicily went on, and all hope of putting it down by force was at an end, Francis II. endeavoured to avert ruin by concession. He dared not trust himself in his capital, but from Portici, at the end of June, he issued a decree proclaiming the Constitution of the 10th of February, 1848, a general amnesty of political offences, and the liberty of the press. He also charged Commander Spinelli with the formation of a liberal ministry, which was to frame the articles of a Statute ‘on the basis of national and Italian institutions;’ and he convoked an assembly of the national Parliament for the 10th of September. The tricolor flag was hoisted at the castle of St. Elmo. Representative institutions were decreed for Sicily, and one of the royal princes was to act as viceroy of the island. But these and other concessions came too late. Many towns revolted, and the army showed that it could not be trusted. The King had also sent ambassadors to Turin to propose a confederacy with Sardinia upon Italian constitutional principles. But the Sardinian Government rejected these overtures. Abandoned by all, on the morning
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of the 6th of September he embarked on board a Spanish steamer, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Gaëta, which, with that of Capua, now alone of all his dominions remained in his hands.

Leaving Naples for a moment, let us turn to the Papal States. The Pontifical Government did all in its power at the beginning of last year to recruit its army by foreign mercenaries; and early in April the well-known French General, Lamoricière, was appointed to the chief command. We do not expect historical accuracy from a soldier engaged to defend a desperate cause, but it is startling to be told in a military order of the day that 'Revolution, like Islamism in by-gone times, now threatens Europe; and now, as then, the cause of the Papacy is the cause of the civilization and of the liberty of the world.' We pass over the period from April to September, during which the new levies were drilled, and garrisons occupied, and attempts at insurrection sternly put down. For, as may be well supposed, the events that took place in Sicily and Naples shook the States of the Church to their centre, and nothing but the strong hand of military repression prevented the people from rising both in Umbria and the Marches, and throwing off the Papal yoke.

It was at this juncture, and, unless we are mistaken, very soon after some of the principal persons of the Sardinian Court had personally communicated with the French Emperor at his newly-acquired city of Chambéry, that Count Cavour addressed to Cardinal Antonelli, the Cardinal Secretary of the Holy See, a letter which, in its bold contempt of the rules of international law, is without a parallel. It is dated Turin, September 7:—

'Eminence—The Government of H. M. the King of Sardinia could not without serious regret see the formation and existence of the bodies of foreign mercenary troops in the pay of the Pontifical Government. The organization of such corps, not consisting, as in all civilized governments, of citizens of the country, but of men of all languages, nations, and religions, deeply offends the public conscience of Italy and Europe. The want of discipline inherent to such troops, the inconsiderate conduct of their chiefs, the irritating menaces with which they pompously fill their proclamations, excite and maintain a highly dangerous ferment. The painful recollection of the massacre and pillage of Perugia is still alive among the inhabitants of the Marches and Umbria. This state of things, dangerous in itself, became still more so after the facts which have taken place in Sicily and in the kingdom of Naples. The presence of foreign troops, which insults the national feeling, and prevents the manifestation of the wishes of the people, will infallibly cause the extension of the movement to the neighbouring provinces. The intimate connexion which exists between the inhabitants of the Marches and Umbria, and those

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of the provinces annexed to the States of the King, and reasons of order and security in his own territory, lay His Majesty's Government under the necessity of applying, as far as is in its power, an immediate remedy to such evils. King Victor Emmanuel's conscience does not permit him to remain a passive spectator of the bloody repression with which the arms of the foreign mercenaries would extinguish every manifestation of national feeling in Italian blood. No government has the right of abandoning to the will and pleasure of a horde of soldiers of fortune, the property, the honour, and lives of the inhabitants of a civilized country. For these reasons, after having applied to His Majesty the King, my august Sovereign, for his orders, I have the honour of signifying to your Eminence that the King's troops are charged to prevent, in the name of the rights of humanity, the Pontifical mercenary corps from repressing by violence the expression of the sentiments of the people of the Marches and Umbria. I have, moreover, the honour to invite your Excellency, for the reasons above explained, to give immediate orders for the disbanding and dissolving of those corps, the existence of which is a menace to the peace of Italy. Trusting that your Eminence will immediately communicate to me the measures taken by the Government of his Holiness in the matter, I have the honour of renewing to your Eminence the expression of my high consideration.

'CAVOUR.'

In this letter we find an European statesman demanding, in the name of his Government, under the threat of invasion, that an independent Power shall dismiss its army on the ground that it is composed of foreign mercenary troops, who are engaged in the repression of the 'manifestations of national feeling,' or, in other words, putting down a wide-spread insurrection. We have no sympathy with the Papal Government; we believe it to be one of the very worst in existence, and we rejoice in the defeat of General Lamoricière and his polyglott soldiers, collected from all corners of Europe. But we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the reasoning of Count Cavour is false and dangerous. It is false, because every State has the undoubted right to take mercenaries into its pay—we believe that there is no nation in Europe which has not, at some time or another, employed them; and it is dangerous, because it sets a precedent for interference between a government and its subjects which would lead to interminable war. It is impossible to deny the force of Cardinal Antonelli's reply, when he said:—

'The new principles of public law which you lay down in your letter would be indeed sufficient to dispense me from giving any answer at all, they being so contrary to those which have constantly been acknowledged by all governments and nations. . . . Your Excellency concludes your painful despatch by inviting me, in the name of your Sovereign, to immediately order the disarming and disbanding of the said troops. This invitation was accompanied by

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a sort of menace on the part of Piedmont, in case of refusal, to prevent the action of the said troops by means of the Royal troops. This involves a quasi-injunction which I willingly abstain from qualifying. The Holy See could only repel it with indignation, strong in its legitimate rights, and appealing to the law of nations under the ægis of which Europe has hitherto lived. . . .

Whether the Sardinian minister could or could not have put his interference on better grounds, we shall not now enquire; but we cannot admit that Sardinia alone, of all the European States, is, like 'a chartered libertine,' to be held free from the obligations of international law, or that she is to be permitted, without a protest, to lay down new principles of which the logical consequence would be, that the right of the strongest is that alone which ought to be recognized in the relations of two independent governments. For if Sardinia may with impunity make demands which are contrary to the received law of nations, and invade the territory of her neighbour unless those demands are complied with, *à fortiori* France, and Austria, and Russia may do the same. And it would be difficult to justify waging war with Russia in the Crimea because she had crossed the Danube for the purpose of holding Wallachia and Moldavia as a 'material guarantee.' We feel the more bound to challenge the dangerous doctrine of Count Cavour, because it has received the high sanction of John Lord Russell, the Foreign Minister of England, in a despatch which has created no little sensation in Europe, and which we trust will not pass without comment when Parliament assembles. To anticipate for a moment our narrative of facts, we must mention that, when the Papal States were invaded by the Piedmontese army under Generals Fanti and Cialdini in September, the Emperor of the French (whatever may have been his real sentiments) recalled his Minister from Turin; and when at a later period the same army crossed the Neapolitan frontier, in October, the Emperor of Russia withdrew the Russian Mission, there being no ambassador, from that capital; and the Prince Regent of Prussia expressed his dissatisfaction at the conduct of Sardinia, although he did not go so far as to recall the Prussian Minister. It was after these diplomatic acts that Lord John Russell felt himself called upon, by that impulse which leads him to write letters more celebrated than successful, to read to the Great Powers a lecture on international law, and to establish the principle, which if true is at least novel, that where subjects have 'good reasons' for taking up arms against their governments, it is right in another State to render them assistance. In
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a despatch to Sir James Hudson, the British Minister at Turin, dated October 27, Lord John Russell said,

‘The large questions which appear to them to be at issue are these :—Were the people of Italy justified in asking the assistance of the King of Sardinia to relieve them from governments with which they were discontented ? and was the King of Sardinia justified in furnishing the assistance of his arms to the people of the Roman and Neapolitan States ? There appear to have been two motives which have induced the people of the Roman and Neapolitan States to join willingly in the subversion of their governments. The first of these was, that the Government of the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies provided so ill for the administration of justice, the protection of personal liberty, and the general welfare of their people, that their subjects looked forward to the overthrow of their rulers as a necessary preliminary to all improvement in their condition.

‘The second motive was, that a conviction had spread since the year 1849 that the only manner in which Italians could secure their independence of foreign control was by forming one strong government for the whole of Italy. The struggle of Charles Albert in 1848, and the sympathy which the present King of Sardinia has shown for the Italian cause, have naturally caused the association of the name of Victor Emmanuel with the single authority under which the Italians aspire to live.

‘Looking at the question in this view, Her Majesty’s Government must admit that the Italians themselves are the best judges of their own interests.

‘That eminent jurist Vattel, when discussing the lawfulness of the assistance given by the United Provinces to the Prince of Orange when he invaded England and overturned the throne of James II., says—“The authority of the Prince of Orange had doubtless an influence on the deliberations of the States-General, but it did not lead them to the commission of an act of injustice, for when a people for good reasons take up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties.”

‘Therefore, according to Vattel, the question resolves itself into this—Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their governments for good reasons ?

‘Upon this grave matter Her Majesty’s Government hold that the people in question are themselves the best judges of their own affairs. *Her Majesty’s Government do not feel justified in declaring that the people of Southern Italy had not good reasons for throwing off their allegiance to their former governments ; Her Majesty’s Government cannot, therefore, pretend to blame the King of Sardinia for assisting them.*

We need not quote the rest of the letter, for with it we have no concern. *We* are not ‘partisans of the fallen governments,’ nor do we assert that the people of the Roman States were attached to the Pope, and the people of the kingdom of Naples to the dynasty of Francis II. But we pay attention to the

the passage which we have marked in italics. Her Majesty's Government cannot blame Sardinia for assisting a people which has good reasons for throwing off their allegiance. Who is to be the judge of those reasons? Was there ever yet a revolt in which the insurgents did not believe themselves to be in the right? and was there ever a government which did not believe rebels against itself to be in the wrong? Lord John Russell shelters himself behind the authority of Vattel, and, as usual, draws his illustration from his stock precedent—the Revolution of 1688. But, in the first place, Vattel is a very poor authority; as Chancellor Kent says of him, 'he is not sufficiently supported by the authority of precedents which constitute the foundation of the positive law of nations.'* And in the next place, Lord John Russell ought to have continued the quotation. Vattel goes on to say, 'Whenever, therefore, a civil war is kindled in a State, foreign Powers may assist that party which appears to them to have justice on its side.' This no doubt is the logical consequence of his previous proposition; but it proves its falsity. It is, in fact, a licence for intermeddling, which is wholly destructive of national independence. These doctrines, as we shall show a little later, were repudiated by the Sardinian Government, and they are wholly at variance with what has hitherto been the policy of this country in the affairs of Europe. We will cite a memorable example. When, in 1821, revolution broke out in Spain, and the progress of the Liberals at length threatened destruction to the monarchy, the Congress of Verona was assembled in the following year to consider the course to be adopted by the Great Powers. Lord Londonderry was to have gone as the Plenipotentiary of England, but, on his sudden death, the Duke of Wellington was appointed in his stead, and in the instructions drawn up by the deceased statesman and transferred to the Duke, we find the following passage: 'With respect to Spain there seems nothing to add to or vary in the course of policy hitherto pursued. Solitude for the safety of the royal family, observance of our engagements with Portugal, and a rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs of that country, must be considered as forming the limits of his Majesty's policy.' Mr. Canning, who had succeeded as Foreign Secretary, was equally explicit in his instructions to the Duke, and said, 'I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party.' The Duke of Wellington refused to sign the *procès verbal* of the Conference, because the

* Kent's Commentaries, i. 17.

opinions of the other Powers were therein expressed in favour of intervention; and in a separate note which he addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies (Nov. 20, 1822) he vindicates the principle on which Great Britain was resolved to act. He said, 'His Majesty's Government is of opinion that to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent State, unless such transactions affect the essential interests of his Majesty's subjects, is inconsistent with those principles on which his Majesty has invariably acted on all questions relating to the internal concerns of other countries; that such animadversions, if made, must involve his Majesty in serious responsibility if they should produce any effect, and must irritate if they do not; and, if addressed to the Spanish Government, are likely to be injurious to the best interests of Spain, and to produce the worst consequences upon the public discussions between that country and France. The King's Government must therefore decline to advise his Majesty to hold a common language with his allies upon this occasion; and it is so necessary for his Majesty not to be supposed to participate in a measure of this description, and calculated to produce such consequences, that his Government must equally refrain from advising his Majesty to direct that any communication should be made to the Spanish Government on the subject of its relations with France.'

But, moreover, if it was right in Sardinia to help the oppressed subjects of the Pope, she was entitled to render aid to the oppressed subjects of Austria, and surely it would have been as much an act of 'justice and generosity' to assist the Italians of Venetia as it was to assist the Italians of the Papal States. Lord John Russell, at all events, is the last man who could blame her for such an act; and yet, strange to say, less than two short months before his letter of October, Lord John Russell had written another in which he denounced such a scheme, and even went so far as to hint that if it were attempted Great Britain herself might take part in hostilities against Sardinia. We will quote some passages from this despatch, which was addressed to Sir James Hudson, and dated August 31. The last sentence, in which the interests of England in the Adriatic are made the plea why Sardinia should abstain from an 'act of justice and generosity in assisting brave men in the defence of their liberties'—we are quoting the words of Vattel—gives a selfish and most ungracious reason for the policy which the English Minister advises the King of Sardinia to adopt:—

'... Still, although Austria, France, and England have abstained from all interference in Sicily and Naples, there nevertheless exists a fear at Paris and at Vienna that the annexation of the Roman and Neapolitan States

States may be followed by an attack by the Italian forces upon the Venetian possessions of the Emperor of Austria. It is clear that such an attack could not take place without the assent of the King of Sardinia. It is equally clear that, taking a legal view of the question, the King of Sardinia has no excuse for breaking the Treaty of Zurich, recently concluded and signed. The King of Sardinia was free not to accept the preliminaries of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zurich; but, having renounced a continuation of the war, after having given his royal word to live in peace and friendship with Austria, he is no longer free to cast aside his obligations and direct a wanton attack against a neighbouring Prince.

‘It is, moreover, evident in the present case, that interests go hand-in-hand with the prescriptions of duty. An attack against the Austrian enemy encamped behind powerful fortresses is not an undertaking in which success may be reasonably expected. And if such an attack should fail, it would perhaps offer to Austria the desired opportunity of restoring the Romagna to the Pope, and Tuscany to the Grand Duke.

‘There is good reason to believe that neither of these acts would be considered by France as irreconcilable with the Treaty of Zurich; yet such acts would certainly be most detrimental to the independence of Italy and to her future tranquillity. The King of Sardinia in gaining Lombardy, Parma, and Modena, but losing Savoy, Nice, and Tuscany, would no longer be able to resist Austria, who would be fighting for a good cause—the preservation of her territory and the redemption of her military honour. The only hope left to Sardinia in such a conflict would be to bring France into the battle-field, and excite an European war. We trust Count Cavour will not give way to such dangerous illusions. The Great Powers are bent upon the maintenance of peace, and Great Britain has interests in the Adriatic over which she keeps a most careful watch.’

We imagine that this advice will not have much effect if the time comes when Victor Emmanuel believes that he can attack Venetia with success, and that Lord John Russell will then find his letter of October quoted against his letter of August. Sardinia seems determined to care as little for the maxims of international law as the Bey of Tunis regarded them on a certain memorable occasion when he rid himself of the French consul.

To return, however, to the order of events. At the beginning of September General Lamoricière, commanding the Papal army, which was badly provided with artillery and means of transport, and of which only a small portion had rifled muskets, was assured by Cardinal Antonelli that the Piedmontese troops would prevent an invasion of the Marches by others, and would make no attack themselves. The Piedmontese Generals, however, after a notification which cannot be called a warning, entered

entered the Papal States on the 11th of September, in two divisions. Lamoricière was in want of money and of bread, and, to keep open his communications with Ancona, he attacked the Sardinian General, between Crocetta and Castel Fidardo, on the 18th of September. The battle was fierce and bloody, and the Papal troops were utterly defeated. General Lamoricière himself escaped with difficulty, with a handful of horsemen, to Ancona. Amongst those who fell on this disastrous day was General de Pimodan, a young French officer connected with some of the noblest families in France, who had offered his sword to the Pope to defend what he believed to be the holy cause of religion. Next day 4000 of the Pontifical troops laid down their arms at Loreto. They were allowed the honours of war, and both officers and men were permitted to return to their homes. Indeed, throughout the whole campaign the conduct of the Piedmontese was marked by humanity and forbearance. Spoleto, which was garrisoned by 500 men, 300 of whom were Irish, had surrendered on the 17th, and after the battle of Castel Fidardo the Papal army outside the walls of Ancona had ceased to exist. Ancona was immediately invested by land and sea, and on the 29th of September was forced to capitulate.

The result of these successes was that, except within the charmed circle occupied by the French army at Rome, the whole of the population declared for King Victor Emmanuel, and the temporal government of the Pope was at an end. In fact, that very state of things had come to pass which had, with a kind of prophetic inspiration, been suggested at the beginning of the year by the pamphlet '*Le Pape et le Congrès*,' to which we have already alluded. And it is not unreasonable to presume that, however much the French Emperor may have thought it decent to censure openly the conduct of Sardinia in the invasion of the States of the Church, he did not secretly disapprove of a step by which that result was brought about which he had indicated as the best solution of the Papal difficulty.

Rome, and the territory immediately around Rome, were, at all hazards, to be preserved to the Pope. Accordingly, when the plot thickened, and the Sardinian army was pressing onwards, and Umbria and the Marches were proclaiming Victor Emmanuel, fresh French troops were poured into Rome, and General de Goyon, who had been recalled to Paris, was ordered to resume his former command, 'to protect,' as he announced in his order of the day, 'the interests of Catholicism in the person of the Holy Father, who is its most legitimate and most high representative, and to guarantee the safety of the Holy City, which is its seat.'

We need not repeat our emphatic condemnation of the French occupation of Rome. It began in a violent act of injustice towards a people which, copying the example of France, had chosen a Republic as their form of government. We are not informed what pledges Lord Palmerston obtained or sought as to its duration; but it has been continued in direct defiance of the principle of non-intervention which France insists that other nations shall observe in the affairs of Italy. It is not, however, difficult to assign reasons why the French Emperor chooses to prolong such an anomalous state of things. First, it may be alleged that the honour of France is engaged not to abandon a government which she has upheld so long. Secondly, Napoleon III. hopes by such support to conciliate towards his throne Roman Catholic sentiment, and to enlist on his side the clergy, who have much influence in France. And, thirdly, by holding his position at Rome he secures a vantage-ground in Italy which admits of indefinite extension. It is the end of the wedge, which at any moment may be driven home. He gets, however, small thanks for his pains. He has done too much or too little. He has gone too far not to be required by the Pope to go a great deal farther. He has been passive while sacrilegious hands were spoiling the patrimony of the Church, when a word from him would have arrested the invader. He, like the King of Sardinia, has dared to draw distinctions between the temporal Sovereign of the State and the spiritual Head of the Church, and has appealed to history to prove that, from time to time, ecclesiastical territories have been taken by Catholic Powers from the Holy See, and that, in the negotiations of 1815, the Romagna and the Legations were treated as belonging to the Allies by right of conquest, and were on the point of being permanently separated from the Pontifical States.*

These things are neither forgiven nor forgotten; and it is only in despair of other help that the Pope sullenly accepts the protection of France, which alone saves the Government of the Vatican from destruction.

But what in the mean time was the state of things at Naples? The King had abandoned his capital, but not his kingdom, and behind the line of the Volturno had turned at bay against the insurgents with an army which could not be reckoned at less than 30,000 strong. To conquer this would seem, to ordinary minds, the first and indispensable task which Garibaldi had to perform. But it shows the character of the man, and the idea

* See the despatch of M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny, February 8, 1860. Further Correspondence on Affairs of Italy.

which had taken possession of his soul, that he was ready even then to precipitate a conflict with the French at Rome and the Austrians in Venetia. 'Italians,' he exclaimed in a proclamation, 'the moment is come! Our brothers are already fighting the stranger in the heart of Italy. Let us go and meet them in Rome, and thence march together towards the Venetian land.' We shall not attempt to give anything like a detailed account of the feverish struggle that ensued at Naples—a struggle not of arms, but of principles, or rather factions—while the Dictator had to divide his energies between the duties of civil government and those of military command. But it must not be forgotten that Garibaldi's political creed had always hitherto been that of the Republicans. His political friends and associates were such men as Mazzini, Saffi, Crispi, and Bertani, and it seems to have been from personal admiration of Victor Emmanuel, 'il Rè Galantuomo' as he is called in Italy, and of his gallant bearing in the field of battle, rather than from any attachment to monarchy, that he did not proclaim a Republic when he first landed in Sicily. But for some time it was doubtful whether Victor Emmanuel or Mazzini would carry the day at Naples. One of the first acts of Garibaldi was to make over the Neapolitan fleet to the Sardinian Admiral Persano, and he headed his decrees 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel.' But he appointed Mordini and Sirtori—both men of extreme opinions—the one Pro-Dictator of Sicily and the other Pro-Dictator of Naples. His Ministry also was of the same complexion, and became, indeed, decidedly Republican when Libertini, de Boni, Conforti, Anguissola, and Rainieri found themselves in power. But the hopes of this party were suddenly disappointed by the appearance of a decree in which Garibaldi declared it indispensable to promulgate 'the fundamental law of the Italian Monarchy,' and proclaimed *lo Statuto*, the Sardinian Charter, which had been granted by Charles Albert to his subjects on the 4th of March, 1848. This seemed as if he were in favour of annexation to Piedmont, but, to prove the contrary, he paid a flying visit to Sicily, and at Palermo, in a public address, thanked the people for their resistance to the scheme, telling them, 'At Rome we will proclaim the kingdom of Italy,' but not then, while there were 'brothers beyond the Volturno with chains on their ankles.' The truth is that, intoxicated with success, he thought that neither the French nor the Austrians would be able to stop his victorious career, but he well knew that, if annexation were proclaimed, his mission was at end. He would no longer be master of the helm, and more cautious pilots would avoid the rocks against which, in his heated imagination, he was ready to dash

dash the ship. Some of the appointments were laughable from their absurdity, such as that of the French novelist M. Dumas, who was made Director of the National Museum, with a special commission to present a project to the Dictator on the excavations of Pompeii. But it was a more serious matter, and one full of significance, when a decree appeared awarding a pension to the family of Agesilao Milano, the Neapolitan soldier who, in 1856, attempted to assassinate Ferdinand II. with his bayonet, and was hanged for the crime. By another decree, all the archiepiscopal and episcopal funds were declared national property, but a provision was made for the maintenance of the clergy. For some time the office of Secretary to the Dictator was held by Bertani, a man about whose republican principles there was little doubt, and during the first two or three weeks of Garibaldi's 'reign' it seemed as if the end would be the proclamation of a republic at Naples. He was surrounded by an atmosphere of plots and intrigues, which thickened as time advanced. But his personal devotion to King Victor Emmanuel, and his conviction that without the help of Piedmont it would be impossible to work out the idea of Italian unity, determined him to adhere to his original plan of annexation, while he reserved to himself the right of postponing the period of its accomplishment. Bertani was dismissed from the secretaryship, and Sirtori was succeeded by the Marquis Pallavicini, one of whose first acts was to address a letter to Mazzini, calling upon him to retire from Naples, on the ground that his presence as the representative of the Republican principle created embarrassment to the Government and dangers to the nation. Mazzini, as might be expected, refused, saying that he was not prepared spontaneously to make another sacrifice, having already made one when, 'interrupting the apostolate of his faith, for the sake of unity and concord he declared that he accepted monarchy not out of respect for ministers or monarchs, but for the satisfaction of a blinded majority of the Italian people.' This led to a ministerial crisis; for Mazzini appealed to Garibaldi, and he stood by his friend. Pallavicini and his colleagues in consequence resigned. But the populace at Naples shouted 'Down with Mazzini!' 'Down with Crispi!' and Pallavicini resumed office. And, besides the party of the Annexationists and the party of the Republicans, there was a third party, that of the 'Unitarians,' so called not in a theological but in a political sense. Their creed was that Piedmont should become Italian, and not Italy Piedmontese. They objected to the charter and code of Sardinia becoming the charter and the code of the rest of the Peninsula, unless and until in some solemn conclave of the representatives of the nation such was declared

to be the will of the whole people. Pallavicini wished to break up this association. The leaders appealed to Garibaldi, and declared that it should continue, being under his special guarantee. And yet the next day he issued an address to the people in which he announced that 'to-morrow Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, the elect of the nation, will break down the frontier which has hitherto divided us for so many centuries from the rest of our country,' and he called upon them to receive 'the sent of Providence,' when there would be no more political colours, no more parties, no more discords. At the same time he proclaimed that the Two Sicilies form an integral part of one and indivisible Italy, under her constitutional King, Victor Emmanuel, and his descendants; and that he would, on the arrival of that monarch, depose in his hands the Dictatorship conferred upon him by the nation.

The truth is, that the advent of the King of Sardinia had become a political necessity, unless the revolution was to end in anarchy or a restoration. The Neapolitan royal army still held the line of the Volturno, and occupied the two fortresses of Capua and Gaëta. On the 1st of October Francis II. in person led a general attack against the insurgent forces at Santa Maria and San Angelo, and a battle was fought which lasted the whole day. Garibaldi was victorious; but the obstinacy of the struggle showed that the royalists were strong and determined; and, if they had been successful, nothing would have prevented the King's entry into his capital. Reactionary symptoms were beginning to show themselves in the provinces; and in Naples itself councils were divided, and chaotic confusion seemed about to become the order of the day. It was clear that Garibaldi could fight, but could not govern; and the only hope of the moderate Liberals was in the intervention of Piedmont. Addresses were hastily got up and despatched to Victor Emmanuel, praying him to take possession of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and certainly, if ever there was a case in which, if the act was to be done at all, 't were well it were done quickly,' it was now. But how could this be? The King of Sardinia was at peace with the King of Naples, and there was no cause or pretext for war. How, then, could Victor Emmanuel invade the dominions of Francis II., and give orders to his army to attack an ally in the agony of conflict with insurrection? We have seen that Lord John Russell solves the difficulty by quoting a passage from Vattel, and saying that the insurrection was just. Count Cavour has added other precedents to the solitary one which Lord John Russell's industry had discovered in Vattel; but he uses them for the purpose of showing, not that the conduct of

Sardinia

Sardinia was consistent with international law, as Lord John Russell would have us believe, but that she sinned in good company, and could plead examples of its *violation*. In his letter to Count de Launay, the Sardinian Minister at Berlin, dated November 9, in which he vindicates the policy of his Government, he triumphantly asks :—

‘Did not France and England, when they lent aid to insurgent Flanders, *trample international law under foot*? Was not this said law broken by Louis XIV. when he assisted the Hungarian insurrection—by the States General when they supported William of Orange against James II.—by Louis XVI., who so nobly contributed to the liberation of the United States of America—by Christian Europe, who delivered Greece from the Ottoman domination?’

Victor Emmanuel, however, cared little for precedents or the opinions of jurists; but he cared much to be King of Italy. Emboldened by the success of his invasion of the Papal States, and relying upon the passive attitude of the Great Powers, he avowed himself the leader of the national movement, and assumed the responsibility of its guidance. In an address from Ancona to the people of Southern Italy, on the 9th of October, he said :—

‘All Italy has feared that, under the shade of a glorious popularity, of a classic probity, there was a faction clustering which was ready to sacrifice the immediate triumph of the nation to the chimeras of its own ambitious fanaticism. All the Italians have applied to me to avert this danger. It was my duty to do so, because in the existing state of things it would not be moderation, it would not be wisdom, but weakness and imprudence, if I did not assume with a firm hand the direction of the national movement for which I am responsible before Europe.’

And he added,—‘In Europe my policy will not be without its use, by reconciling the progress of peoples with the stability of monarchs.’ It certainly did not reconcile the progress of the people of the Two Sicilies with the stability of the throne of the Bourbons; nor if Hungary breaks out into insurrection is it likely to reconcile the progress of the Hungarians with the stability of the Austrian monarchy. If, indeed, it means that despotic governments are to take warning, and that their best chance of averting revolt is to give their subjects a constitution, we are disposed to a certain extent to agree with the assertion. But bitter experience has proved that constitutions cannot be safely extemporized, and that when this is attempted the result too often is disastrous failure. The rest may be soon told. Immediately after his address from Ancona, King Victor Emmanuel, without any declaration of war, and while the Neapolitan ambassador was still at Turin, gave orders to his

his army to cross the frontier into the Abruzzi, and it advanced in the direction of Capua. The leading columns came into collision with the royalist troops on the heights of Macerone, near Isernia, and defeated them, compelling them to retire upon Capua. Garibaldi advanced with a body of volunteers to meet the King, and on the 26th of October their first interview took place, between Teano and Speranzano.

In the mean time the question of annexation to Piedmont had been put to the vote, and the result was an overwhelming majority in its favour.* The King entered Naples on the 7th of November, amidst the clamorous applause of the populace, and immediately visited the cathedral, where St. Januarius did not refuse to recognise the successful monarch, and his blood liquefied in the most orthodox manner. Two days afterwards Garibaldi quitted Naples for his solitary home in the Island of Caprera, having first issued a proclamation, in which he called upon the Italians to be ready with a million of men in arms in March, 1861.

Thus, then, the great drama has been accomplished; and Victor Emmanuel may be hailed in the words of Banquo:—

‘Thou hast it now, King, Cawdor, Glamis, all.’

We will not continue the quotation, for we have no wish to use hard language, although we have felt bound to express our opinion of the conduct of Sardinia in the ambitious game that she has played. If the rules of international law—which are the safeguard of the weak against the strong—are to be set aside, and one State is to be allowed to act as Sardinia has done, and to determine in what way the government of another is to be carried on, we confess that we cannot see without alarm the consequences to which such a doctrine must lead. It is no answer to say that a government is bad, and therefore ought to be overthrown. The question, as we have already said, is not as to the right of subjects to resist, but the right of a stranger to interfere. But then it is alleged that Sardinia is not a stranger, because she is Italian; and that this gives her a title, which makes the case exceptional. We doubt, however, whether even this principle is large enough to satisfy those who are ready to defend interference in Italy. They take the broader ground of sympathy with oppression, and the duty of freemen to assist those who are struggling to be free. *Homo sum, humani nihil à me alienum puto*, is their political motto; and this of course transcends all difference of country and distinction of race. With such reasoners it is of no use to

* The numbers we believe were—Yes, 1,302,064; No, 10,312.

argue. They may plead the authority of Vattel and Lord John Russell, but they will be denounced by the great majority of thinking men as the plagues and pests of kingdoms; and when their enterprise fails, and they are captured, they will be dealt with, not as prisoners of war, but as pirates and buccaneers. But the doctrine of nationalities is more plausible. The geographical position of Italy, cut off by the sea and the Alps, the boundaries of nature, from the rest of Europe, is apt to suggest the idea that its different territories were rather the provinces of one kingdom than independent states. History declares the contrary; and an attentive examination of the strongly marked natural boundaries between many of the Italian States will tend to explain their history. Unless we are prepared to ignore the past, and construct a theory about Italy instead of accepting facts, we must admit that Italian unity is a thing which, except perhaps under the pressure of Roman domination, the world has hitherto never seen. If so, and if nationality is to be pressed as the argument to justify Sardinia, we ask where it is to stop? The Ionian Islands very possibly, if left to themselves, would declare for 'annexation' to Greece. Is England, however, prepared to surrender them? Is she prepared to give up Gibraltar to Spain, and Malta to Italy? Nay, foreign nations may ask with what consistency she holds India in fee—that mighty Peninsula of the East, with the Himalayas for its Alps, and the Indian Ocean for its Mediterranean and Adriatic?

But whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the mode in which the new kingdom of Italy has been formed, there can be amongst ourselves but one wish and hope for its success. Constitutional government in place of tyranny, temperate liberty in place of coercion, and freedom of conscience in place of bigotry and intolerance, are blessings which it must be the ardent desire of Englishmen to see extended amongst the nations of Europe, and the best minds of Italy have long yearned for the enjoyment of them. England has no interest in the maintenance of despotism, and she never was a party to any Holy Alliance against the liberties of peoples. If it is found possible to form into one strong whole the petty states into which Italy has been divided, and to work out satisfactorily the problem of giving representative institutions to the people without making the national parliament the arena of faction and intrigue, and endangering the monarchy, we shall unfeignedly rejoice in the result. *Within her own limits*, hitherto, Sardinia has done well. From the time when, in 1848, Charles Albert gave his subjects a constitution, and proclaimed *lo Statuto* as the charter of their liberties, the Government has steadily pursued the path of progress

gress and improvement. We watched with interest the struggle between the King and the Pope—so strangely like that which seven centuries ago was fought in this country between Henry II. and Becket, and which Canon Robertson has lately described with admirable impartiality*—and we applauded the courage with which the pretensions of the clergy were resisted and they were forced to yield to the supremacy of the law. It was indeed a task of no ordinary difficulty to break through the slavish traditions of the past, and, in spite of the thunders of Rome, to establish independence of the Vatican without ceasing to belong to the great Catholic communion. The domestic policy of Count Cavour has been chiefly modelled on the example of England, where he long resided, and not only studied but wrote upon questions that interest ourselves.† From England he learnt the doctrines of free-trade, which have been applied in Piedmont to a considerable extent; and even in the conduct of business in the Sardinian Chamber, when he wants a precedent or an authority, he takes care to fortify himself with the example of the British Parliament. It is impossible to travel in Piedmont without being struck by the signs of material wealth and happiness which are seen in the execution of public works, the active industry of the population, their contented aspect, and the manly yet respectful independence of their manner. There are, however, many drawbacks, not the least of which are a bigoted priest-party, and an impetuous democratic faction; and the success of the Government cannot be considered perfectly secure. Nevertheless it aims at being a good Government, and we think that to some other parts of Italy, if not to the whole, the extension of such a Government would be great gain. Indeed we have heard that a change for the better has already taken place in the Legations, and in other parts of Central Italy annexed to Piedmont; that railways are in course of construction, commerce is springing up, and life and activity taking the place of apathy and misery.

We must not, however, shut our eyes to the fact that there are immense difficulties in the way, and that many disturbing forces will be at work to mar the success of the experiment. With the exception of England, the Great Powers of Europe will look coldly on the new Italian kingdom. But, independently of danger from without, the internal organization of the new territories will be no easy task. The first difficulty will be Naples, that kingdom which Victor Emmanuel has so prematurely grasped. Assuming that he is permitted to obtain full

* 'Becket: a Biography.' London, 1859.

† He wrote, for instance, an essay, *Sur l'Etat actuel de l'Irlande et son Avenir.*

possession

possession of the country, it will be necessary to enforce at Naples and throughout Calabria, with stern severity, obedience to the law. In this process, according to the latest accounts, not even a beginning has been made. For some time Victor Emmanuel's possession of the Two Sicilies will be little different from a military occupation; for, to say nothing of the work to be done at Gaëta, a large force, which Sardinia can very ill spare, must be spread over the country, whether in the shape of the regular army or the mobilised battalions of the National Guards of Turin, Milan, Brescia, Genoa, and Florence—to preserve order and put down 'reactionary' attempts. The pressure of the tax-gatherer will be also felt, and men will find out that the blessings of a constitutional government are not to be enjoyed without paying for them. It is doubtful whether the masses were desirous of the changes which have taken place. We observe that Mr. Petre, in his despatch,* says that the Neapolitan population at large was tranquil, or, at least, apathetic, even when everything like free speech or thought was instantly put down. But besides all this, when the momentary and by no means universal feeling in favour of Victor Emmanuel has passed away, there will arise a jealous suspicion that Naples is treated as an appanage of Sardinia, and does not obtain her fair share in the administration of the government. The inhabitants of Calabria are very different from the inhabitants of Tuscany and Piedmont. They are a mixed race, consisting of descendants from Greeks, Normans, Germans, French and Spaniards, besides the original settlers, and, long accustomed to the rule of a corrupt and despotic government, are little fitted to exercise the rights of freemen or give fair play to the action of representative institutions. They will require for many years firm and energetic control, and it is not difficult to see that many elements of discontent will be rife amongst them. The soldiers of the disbanded regiments of the Royalist army have also been turned adrift in the country, and will cause no little trouble, both as brigands and conspirators. Nor can it be without a sigh that the Neapolitans will see their unrivalled city sink from the dignity of the capital of a kingdom to the position of a provincial town. Moreover, Sicily has always shown the utmost jealousy of being incorporated with Naples, and has in former years struggled for independence. It remains to be seen how far the island will be content to surrender this idea, and to become a mere province of the Italian kingdom. We mention these things not because we

* 'A Century of Despotism,' p. 220.

have any sympathy with the Government which has fallen, but because they are difficulties which it is foolish to ignore. Our anxious hope is, that they may be overcome, and that the more than questionable policy of Victor Emmanuel in the mode in which he has hastened to add so largely to his dominions may not prove hereafter a source of weakness and danger to himself.

But there are other more immediate perils to be met. The King of Italy has to face the questions of Venetia and Rome. When Garibaldi quitted Naples in November and retired to his Patmos at Caprera, he left as a legacy to the new Government the battle-cry of 'a million of men and muskets in March.' The creed of the great mass of the Italians is, that without Rome and Venice there is no Italy, and that to abandon them to their present fate is to be guilty of the worst treason to the cause of nationality. It is clear that no considerations except those of prudence would deter Count Cavour from attacking Venetia; but he knows, that if Sardinia is the first assailant of Austria, she need expect no assistance from France; and he is too sagacious a politician not to foresee the tremendous risks that would be run in a single-handed contest with a great military Power. Prudence, however, and foresight are not qualities which find favour with the multitude in respect of questions which are embraced by it with the fervour of sentiment and passion; nor is it likely that the youth of Italy will listen to such counsels when what they believe to be the fated moment has arrived and Garibaldi calls them to arms. How, then, will the Government be able to restrain them after the example it has set and the encouragement it has given? The Mazzinian party is actively at work, and it will not be difficult to persuade a fickle and indolent people that they have gained little by revolution but a change of masters, and that the best use they can make of successful insurrection is to establish a republic. But, above all, there is a very great likelihood that Garibaldi himself, if he thinks the King backward in the cause of Italian unity, will join with Mazzini and set up a republic at Naples, when the lamentable tragedy of 1848 is sure to be repeated.

Count Cavour seems to hope for a peaceful solution of the difficulty as regards Venetia from the force and pressure of public opinion. In the speech he delivered in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, in October, when the *projet de loi* was to authorise the King to accept the annexation of those provinces of Central and Southern Italy in which the population, by universal suffrage, manifested a wish to form part of the constitutional monarchy of Sardinia, he said:—

'We are asked, how then will you solve the Venetian question? In

In a very simple manner, by changing the opinion of Europe. But how? The opinion of Europe will change, because the opposition we now meet exists not only in the Governments, but, we must avow it, also in a great part of the population, even liberal, of Europe.'

Opinion alone, in the sense in which Count Cavour uses the word, will not be sufficient. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that a voluntary surrender will be made without an equivalent; and which amongst the nations in Europe is entitled to ask Austria to make the sacrifice? They have no right to call upon her to give up Venetia, which she holds by the title of treaty and the possession of more than sixty years; but, if she chooses, she may sell it; and this is the scheme which finds favour with many who have no wish to hurt her pride or cripple her power. They say that the province imparts no real strength to her empire under the conditions by which alone it can in future be held, and that it is, in fact, a drain upon her resources and a chronic ulcer in her side. What Austria wants in her present impoverished condition, is money, and here she has an admirable opportunity of filling her exhausted coffers. They say that to reconcile the inhabitants of Venice to the yoke of Austria, after the events of the past year, is a moral impossibility, and that nothing but the presence of an enormous military force can prevent disaffection from bursting into revolt. The time seems to have gone by when any amount of concession or reform would be of the least avail; and so long as Venetia is politically separated from the rest of Italy, it will be a constant source of expense, trouble, and danger to the empire. Certainly, if this be so, no civilized government can desire to hold part of its dominions on such a tenure. On the other hand, it is urged that the possession of Venetia is necessary for the defence of Austria as a German Power, and that the Quadrilateral is that which protects her southern frontier from invasion. To this it might perhaps be replied, that on the south she will always have the mighty barrier of the Rhaetian Alps, and that it is as easy to prevent them from being turned by constructing a line of fortresses on the north-east of Venice as it is by the existence of the Quadrilateral on the west. That Austria should be strong, and should present a firm and massive bulwark against Russia on one side and against France on the other, is very important for the peace and safety of Europe, and, naturally, is not much desired by France, who would be glad to see the dissolution of the only Continental Power which can at present oppose any effectual barrier to her encroachments. The *value* of Austria is great, however moderate her *merit* may be. She has lately evinced a desire to conciliate the provinces north of the Alps which own her

her sway, and we hope that she may yet succeed in retrieving the affections of Hungary, which her enemies are striving to rend from her, and in giving new life and spirit to her German States. But her position is at this moment highly precarious.

We turn now to Rome. In the same speech which we have last quoted of Count Cavour's, he carried with him the rapturous applause of the Chamber when he said—

‘During the last twelve years the polestar of King Victor Emmanuel has been the principle of national independence. What will this star be with respect to Rome? Our star, gentlemen, will direct us to look upon the Eternal City, upon which five-and-twenty centuries have accumulated all glorious memories, as destined to become the splendid capital of our Italian kingdom.’

Very possibly Rome, notwithstanding many disadvantages, may be deemed (as Turin is not) a desirable capital to complete the decorations of the new Italian kingdom; although it may be doubted whether any capital, in the ordinary sense, is desirable at present for a combination of States hitherto very jealous of each other, and each of them accustomed to regard its own capital as the centre of all that is desirable in life. It has been suggested that Bologna, which is in a central position, might be adopted as a sort of Italian Washington for the meeting of the Parliament. But if Rome is indispensable, what is to become of the Pope and his Government? We have seen that the view of the French Emperor was, and perhaps still is, that there should be an *ager Romanus* consecrated to his dominion, within which he should preserve the rights of a temporal prince. But we know that the patrimony of St. Peter will submit to the Pope and the College of Cardinals only so long as it is garrisoned by France. If the French troops were withdrawn, the population of Rome would rise *en masse* and proclaim their union with the rest of Italy. Victor Emmanuel would neither wish nor dare to say to the Romans that they alone of the Italians shall remain subject to a government which they detest, and, in the new state of things that has arisen, we hold it to be impossible for Piedmont to guarantee any kind of temporal sovereignty to the Pope. The French Emperor, again, has no imaginable right to mark out the limits within which the struggle for a national existence is there to be confined. He has assumed the part of patron and protector of the Pope—and, availing himself of this character, he acts in Italy as if France were an Italian Power. He says to the advancing wave of constitutional monarchy, ‘Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther;’ and nothing can be more irritating and humiliating to a people than the way in which the

the inhabitants of the Roman territory are coerced into obedience by the presence of the French.

In some places, where Piedmontese troops have marched into a town, and been hailed with enthusiastic joy by the inhabitants as their deliverers, they have been obliged to retire to avoid a collision with the advancing French, who have extended their occupation as far as Terracina on the south. Indeed, there is no definite limit to which that occupation is now confined, and at any moment French soldiers may be poured into Umbria, or the Marches, for the purpose of restoring them to the Pope, with as good reason as the territory around Rome is now held by them in subjection to him. But it is not only the Pope who is patronised by the Emperor. The King of Naples confesses his obligations to him. While professing absolute neutrality in the struggle in Southern Italy, Napoleon III. continues to make his presence there felt, and his wishes obeyed. French men-of-war ride at anchor in the harbour of Gaëta, and the Sardinian fleet is not permitted to bombard or even to blockade the fortress by sea, which a Sardinian army has invested, and is attacking by land. We are not therefore surprised at the gratitude expressed by M. Casella, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Gaëta, in a note addressed by him on the 12th of November to the Neapolitan Ambassadors at foreign Courts. While Russia, Austria, and England stand aloof, France under a Napoleon shows sympathy and friendship to a dynasty of Bourbons! Well might M. Casella tender him thanks for so seasonable an intervention, which stayed the downfall of the monarchy, and gave Francis II. one chance more in the chapter of accidents.

‘The Emperor of the French,’ he said, ‘alone (and it is for us a duty of justice and gratitude to openly acknowledge it) set the generous example of a disposition to put an end to this state of universal apathy. Loyal and monarchical England ventured to reproach him bitterly for it, while the other Cabinets merely allowed him to bear the whole risk of the magnanimous enterprise he contemplated. The sending of the French squadron into the waters of Gaëta, and the fraternal reception given by the soldiers of France to the faithful and valiant remnant of the Royal troops on the Pontifical territory, are facts which will ever remain graven on the heart of the King our Sovereign, and far exceed the protestations of friendship offered to His Majesty by the rest of Europe.’

The truth is, that France has never really favoured, and never can favour, the rise of a great and independent Italian Kingdom, which should assume its due place in the councils of Europe, and be a formidable rival to France itself, in those waters which she would fain call her own. France has always striven
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with Spain and Austria for influence and dominion in Italy: she hoped to play this game again in appropriating Tuscany; and being disappointed in that quarter, she seems to be prolonging the agony of Southern Italy with a view to throw things into confusion and to prevent the new King from consolidating his power. Thereby, peradventure, Naples may, in some way, pass into her hands, or come under a French ruler. She never wants a plausible pretext for interference. At Rome the excuse is the protection of the Pope; in Syria, the protection of the Christians. But in reality nobody imagines that the motive of French intervention in Italy is to uphold the temporal Government of the Holy See, or that the object of pouring troops into Syria is to protect the Maronites and punish the Druses. Syria lies too close to Turkey and to Egypt not to explain the readiness with which France seizes the opportunity of planting her foot there, and the pertinacity with which she augments her army of occupation. How long will it be before we hear of the revival of the plan of 1841, for placing Syria under the Pasha of Egypt or some other nominee of France? What means the persistence with which she clings to that which, in any other than a political aspect, must be confessed to be an enormous blunder, the project of the Suez Canal? Is it in the interest of peaceful commerce, or with a view to keep a force there under the guise of engineers and workmen, to be employed when the opportunity arises for the occupation of Egypt? Again, why should France, which has little or no commerce in the Red Sea, or beyond it, be taking up a position within the Straits of Babelmandeb? Algeria itself is a vast military establishment, scarcely to be called a colony; costly and burdensome to the nation, but a nursery of soldiers—a means of extending French influence to Tunis and Morocco, and not likely to be relinquished while a dream exists of the possibility of converting the Mediterranean into a French lake. Spain, known to be so deeply influenced by France, has recently been suspected of designs on the Straits, wholly inconsistent with her promise to England, made at the commencement of the late war with Morocco. Already twice since the cession of Savoy and the occupation of the neutralised districts of Chablais and Faucigny, France has had quarrels with Switzerland for real or imaginary affronts to her flag; and we know what uneasiness is felt throughout the Confederation at the proximity of so ambitious and restless a neighbour. Well might the Emperor say to Count Persigny, in his letter of the 25th of July, that ‘affairs appeared to him to be complicated, thanks to the mistrust excited everywhere since the war in Italy,’ and it was not without reason that he volunteered to attempt an apology for his policy with the view of removing that mistrust.

trust. We are struck with the applicability of a description given of France by a traveller two centuries ago to France of the present day. He says, 'It is manifest the chief designs of the King of France are by a constant war, not only to keep the unquiet spirit of his own people in action abroad, and, by being still armed, to awe the commonalty and draw what treasures he pleases from them, but to make conquests upon the House of Austria as time and accidents afford best opportunities; but it is conceived his principal aim is at Flanders and some parts of Germany.*'

No doubt the Emperor of the French is our ally, and has lately given tokens of his friendship, not only in committing his fair Empress to our gallantry, but in abolishing that passport system which is so detested in England and so injurious to French interests. No doubt also he is willing to be on good terms with his own people, for he has initiated institutions by which, if really carried into effect, he and they may at least hear each other's voices, and have some chance of understanding each other. But, nevertheless, the mistrust which he complains of has not died away.* We hear of renewed warlike preparations in France—more extensive, it is said, than in 1859—of a most formidable revolutionary combination in Hungary—of Sardinian ships laden with munitions of war for the Magyars stopped at the mouth of the Danube, but not until supplies of arms and artillery had been introduced into the countries lying on the banks of that river.

But to return to the Kingdom of Italy: will this great name become a reality, and '*Inesperata floruit*' be written in its history, or will the dismal saying be verified, that 'the dry wood will not sprout'? What are the forces that have caused its rise? Has France made it, and can France undo it, or is there, at length, after so tame and so protracted a submission to foreign masters, a revival of the ancient hardihood that made Rome the mistress of Italy and of the world? We know that Piedmont is being drained of men, but we do not hear of any great levies in other parts of Italy. And if the men of Italy have the right qualities, is there any common ground upon which they can meet, and, with all the wisdom and resolution of which they are capable, take counsel together for the whole of Italy? Will that which has never existed as a really homogeneous and consentient nation become such now? Piedmont, we fear, will look down upon Naples, and Naples consider the Piedmontese as foreign invaders: indeed, the Government of Naples (even if France should cease to intervene at Gaëta) will

* Sir Thomas Hanmer's '*Account of France in 1648.*'

be the great difficulty. Lombardy, again, will grudge the heavy taxes of Piedmont, and Tuscany may be disposed to look back upon the quiet days of the Grand Dukes. If all these states can be permanently connected as one nation, in that nation will many elements of greatness be combined. It will have the fine genius of the Italians, endless physical advantages of climate, soil, and situation, and the ennobling memory of great deeds. But the process of amalgamation, to be successful, must be conducted in a cautious and conservative spirit; not by insisting upon centralisation and uniformity in all things—which is opposed to the spirit and habits of the Italian people, and hostile to true liberty everywhere—but by maintaining and extending the admirable municipal institutions which most of the Italian States already possess, and of which they are justly proud, and by taking care that the hand of the Government shall not be too much felt in details. Everything that is done by a Government for a people which the people are ready and willing to do for themselves, hurts their self-love, injures their capacity for exertion, and tends to alienate them from the ruling power. There are certain functions which Piedmont can best perform for Italy. The army and the diplomacy and the national policy of Italy must be governed and conducted by the central authority, but all the domestic institutions of the different States need not be mechanically remodelled after the fashion of Piedmont. The more haste that is made to effect a fusion, the less chance there is of a firm and lasting combination. Such a combination of the different Italian States, if not wholly impossible, can only be accomplished very gradually, and by the most patient and skilful statesmanship. For the happiness of the human race we wish that such statesmanship may be found. Our hopes would be stronger than they are, if recent events would permit us to attribute to the new rulers of Italy that high sense of honour and of public morality, which affords a better qualification for command than the most consummate adroitness in council or courage in the field. Assuredly our hopes will become faint indeed, if the new nation, instead of entering the circle of the European Powers in peace and goodwill, shall employ itself in extending agitation and conspiracy, and strive, in subservience to the ambition of France, to effect its own immediate object by kindling a general war, from which, whoever may be her new masters, Italy will certainly not emerge independent. We earnestly trust that those to whom the safety of England is committed will henceforth carefully avoid compromising the name and credit of this country, as Lord John Russell has done, by giving a sanction to enterprises with which we have no concern, and the

the ultimate results of which it is impossible to foresee; and that our course will be one of even and impartial amity towards all who desire our friendship, but of firm and vigilant defensive preparation against those who may seek to injure us, either by direct attack or by breaking up the great European system, which, while it was respected, secured so many years of peace and prosperity to all.

ART. VI.—1. *The Natural History of Dogs.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hamilton Smith. (Naturalist's Library.) 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1839.

2. *Choice Notes from 'Notes and Queries: Folk-lore.* London, 1859.

‘ON n’a dans la vie qu’un chien,’ writes M. Alphonse Karr, ‘comme on n’a qu’un amour.’ Those who are sufficiently hardened to dispute the second proposition will probably extend their scepticism to the first; but there is a sense in which it is undoubtedly true that a man may have but one dog belonging to him, although he must perhaps, first of all, become a hero. Sir Tristrem may have possessed many a ‘good greyhound’ besides Hodain; but only Hodain’s name has floated down the stream of tradition and romance in close association with that of his master. The canine ‘following’ of Sir Walter Scott was throughout his life an extensive one. The names of many good creatures are preserved in Lockhart’s delightful pages; but it is only Maida whose figure is really familiar to us, and who, ‘der leiblung hund von Walter Scott,’ appears on the lids of German snuff-boxes, and on the image-trays of wandering Italians. Certain dogs are thus raised into celebrity by the side of their masters; and a long catalogue of such canine worthies might easily be recorded, whose merits appear to us to have been somewhat neglected, and to whom we propose to dedicate our present labours. Numberless are the excellent and virtuous animals whose good deeds are celebrated in collections of canine anecdotes, and in essays on canine instinct. We say not a word in their dispraise. They may possibly have been better members of society than many of the dogs whose names have been sung by poets and recorded in history; but with them we are little concerned at present. The wheel of Fortune may be as capricious in its revolutions, and the trump of Fame send forth its blasts with as uncertain justice in the world of canine society, as in that of mortal men. Dogs, like their masters, may sometimes be elevated into heroes with but slender reason. Many a

terrier and many a hound whose lives are passed in obscure retirement may be as worthy as Bran or Hodain :—

‘We trust we have within this realm
Five hundred good as they ;’

but ‘*carent vate sacro*.’ No poet has sung them, and no historian has chronicled their deeds. Their virtue must remain its own reward. Our business is with those dogs who, with whatever justice, have attained the summit of renown : though we propose, whilst glancing on our way at the history of the race—a subject which has been laboriously discussed by Colonel Hamilton Smith in the book whose title is placed at the head of this article—to dwell at greater length on what in effect is too closely connected with that history to be altogether separated from it—the position of the canine race in the mysterious world of ‘folk-lore.’

Whilst animals ‘*feræ naturæ*’—the true ‘wild deer’ of forest and mountain—take their places in this shadowy region in accordance with their most conspicuous qualities, and are represented as either entirely good or entirely bad—ill-omened or the reverse—it is remarkable that the domesticated animals, and especially the horse and the dog, which, in all ages, have been the close companions of man, are made, both in legend and romance, to partake as it were of the mixed nature of man himself, and appear sometimes in close connection with the hosts of evil, and at others, not less conspicuously, as supporters of all that is good. Between such a demon steed as carried off the Witch of Berkeley, and the snow-white charger on which St. Iago sometimes appeared at the head of the Spanish chivalry, it would not be difficult to trace the connecting links of a long chain, toward the centre of which we should place the Phouka of Ireland—the sea-horse, half-mischievous, half-playful, occupying the same place in animal folk-lore that the mischievous elves themselves do in the world of spirits. In the same manner the cat descends from the Egyptian divinity—the moon-eyed Pasht or Bubastis, through the ingenious friend of M. de Carabas, and the worthy companion of Whittington, to Ruterkin—the sable familiar who disported himself among the strawberry-beds of old Agnes Flower, the famous witch of Suffolk. But as, of all domestic animals, the dog has always been most closely the friend and companion of man, it is in his history, and in the folk-lore connected with him, that the greatest variations occur, and that the two characters may be most distinctly traced.

Throughout the East, where the dog wanders in troops, neglected and savage, his name has been a term of reproach from
very

very early, if not the earliest times. We are all familiar with this application of it in the Sacred Writings; in which, indeed, the dog is always regarded as an animal mysteriously unclean. The worst points of canine nature are brought into strong relief among the packs of gaunt, wolf-like hounds which prowl through the streets and under the walls of every Eastern city, and 'make night hideous' with their howling. Thus encountered, the dog is in truth no very attractive creature; and seems fully entitled to the unenviable position he occupies in Oriental metaphor. Yet the nobler qualities of the dog—his fidelity and sagacity—must have been recognized from the first. In all the Indo-European languages, his name, like those of the cow, the sheep, and the horse, belongs to the most primitive class of roots; a sufficient proof that he must have been one of the domesticated animals of the great Aryan family in that primeval period before the dispersion of its several branches, and the consequent formation of new dialects. There is, indeed, one very ancient story which occurs under slightly varying forms in the folk-lore of the most widely separated countries and races, and which, in all probability, belonged in its original shape to the same remote period. This is the story which, in its Welsh version, records the services and unhappy end of the faithful hound Gelert; whose last 'bed'—'beth Gelert'—may be seen in the shape of a long green mound by the traveller who descends the vale of Gwynant in Caernarvonshire. Mr. Dasent, in the very interesting introduction prefixed to his collection of Norse legends, has pointed out (as, indeed, Douce in his Shakspearian notes had done before him) the great antiquity of the story of Gelert; and has traced it upwards through the Latin '*Gesta Romanorum*,' the Arabic original of the '*Seven Wise Masters*,' and Bidpai's fables, to the *Hitopadesa* and the *Pancha-Tantra*. We fear, however, that it is not possible to insist on this story in proof of the primitive recognition of canine virtue; since, although a dog is its hero in all its western forms, he is not found in the two most ancient versions. In the *Hitopadesa*, the infant's guardian, whose own life falls a sacrifice to his fidelity, is an otter: in the *Pancha-Tantra*, a mangouete.* With a passing recognition of Gelert, therefore, as one of the best and worthiest of his race, we must be content to find our earliest proof that canine merit and canine society were duly appreciated in the East, in those models of favourite dogs—the ancient pets of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon—which are frequently brought

* It should be remarked that, in both these versions of the story, the assailant of the child is a serpent: in the Welsh legend it is a wolf which is destroyed by Gelert. The primitive story has thus been fully adapted to the condition of the country in which it is found.

to light during the excavations of the Assyrian palaces. Some of these from the hunting-palace of Esarhaddon at Nineveh may be seen in the British Museum ; and show us a large-headed dog of the St. Bernard character, with the tail curled upwards over its back. A collar of leaves, or of leather or metal wrought into the form of leaves, is sometimes about the neck ; and the name of the dog, generally a word indicative of its hunting prowess, is inscribed on the model. Such were the old-world hounds whom the king delighted to honour : the earliest existing illustrations of canine favouritism ; unless, indeed, we are prepared to accept as a portrait of a still more primitive pet the rough Isle of Skye terrier which lies curled up at the feet of Adam and Eve in Breughel's delightful representation of Paradise, now in the Academy at Brussels.

The contrast between ancient Egypt, where the dog was everywhere admitted as a household companion, and modern, where the Moslem prejudice against him is in full operation, and where to salute your enemy as 'a Jew's dog,' the lowest canine caste, is the very climax of insult, is sufficiently marked. But even the Mahomedans, whilst they shrink from his touch as defilement, are compelled to recognize the courage and fidelity of the dog. He, moreover, is lifted into the region of the supernatural by no less an authority than the Korân. Three animals, and only three, are admitted to share the joys and the repose of Mahommed's paradise :—the camel on which the Prophet rode during his famous flight from Mecca ; the ass of Balaam ; and Kitmer, the dog of the Seven Sleepers, who with his masters entered the cave in which year after year they lay wrapped in mysterious slumber, who fell asleep with them, and who, with them, was at last raised to receive the reward of his care and fidelity. The Mahommedan legend asserts* that,

* Korân, chap. xviii. 'The Cave.' The Christian tradition, from which Mahommed borrowed his version, will be found, with some very graphic details, in the 'Aurea Legenda' of Jacques de Voragine. According to it, the sleepers were Christian youths of Ephesus, who fled to the cave to avoid the persecution of the Emperor Decius. Their dog is a purely Arabian addition. It is perhaps worth remarking that another tradition of Ephesus asserted that St. John the Evangelist, who was buried there, was only asleep in the tomb which he had prepared for himself ; and that the earth above his grave moved with his respiration. (Augustine, Tract. in Joann.)

The story of the Seven Sleepers was localized in more than one country. Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. i. 4) asserts that the 'Seven Sleepers of Germany' lie in a cave under a lofty rock on the sea-shore. Their dress is Roman, and continues uninjured by time. The arms and hands of one who wished to steal their clothes withered away. (So the Caliph Mo'awiyah sent men into the cave at Ephesus, who were struck dead by a burning wind.) 'Fortasse,' concludes Paulus Diaconus, 'horum quandoque (quia non aliter nisi Christiani esse putantur), gentes illæ prædicatione salvandæ sunt.'

as the seven youths were on their way to the cavern in which they intended to take refuge from their heathen persecutor, they passed Kitmer, and attempted to drive him away; upon which 'God caused him to speak: and he said, "I love those who are dear unto God; go to sleep, therefore, and I will guard you."' So Kitmer 'stretched forth his forelegs in the mouth of the cave,' and during his sleep of three hundred years turned himself from side to side like his masters, 'lest their lying so long on the ground should consume their flesh.' The utmost stretch of covetousness is expressed in the East by a saying that the miser 'would not throw a bone to the dog of the Seven Sleepers;' whose name, written on letters which have to cross the sea, acts as a talisman to preserve them from miscarriage. The especial rewards prepared for Kitmer in the paradise of the Prophet are unfortunately not recorded; but it is satisfactory to know that this good creature, before disappearing from the region of middle earth, had taken measures for leaving a progeny behind him, by which his size and his virtues are still represented. According to Turkish tradition, Kitmer was a 'Samsûn,' or shepherd's dog, as large as an ass. His direct descendants are greatly prized by the wandering races of Turkestan and the great pasture steppes of Central Asia; and Evliya Effendi, the Turkish traveller of the seventeenth century, asserts that, in the three days' procession of trades which passed before the Sultan at Constantinople, Kitmer's representatives, 'of the size of asses, and fierce as lions from Africa,' were led along 'in double or triple chains,' covered with trappings of rich cloth, and wearing silver collars and 'neck-rings.' 'They assail,' says Evliya, 'not only the wolves which enter the stables and folds, but dragons also . . . they go into the fire . . . and chase the eagle in the air, and the crocodile in the river. They perform everything they are told to perform; and if bid to do so, will bring down a man from horseback, however stout a fellow he may be.' 'The shepherds,' he concludes, 'look on them as their companions and brethren, and do not object to eat out of the same dish with them.'

'The Greeks,' says Mr. Ruskin, in his most recent volume, 'seem hardly to have done justice to the dog. My pleasure in the entire *Odyssey* is diminished because Ulysses gives not a word of kindness nor of regret to Argus.' Not a word: but had the ingenious author of '*Modern Painters*' forgotten what he did give him?—

* Travels of Evliya Effendi (trans. by Von Hammer for the Oriental Translation Fund), vol. i. p. 145.

‘ . . . αὐτὰρ ὁ νόσφιν ἰδὼν ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ
 Πεία λαθὼν Εὐμαίων . . . ’

‘Odysseus saw, and turned aside

To wipe away the tear ;

From Eumæus he chose his grief to hide. . . . ’ *

The pathos of the scene is, in our judgment, greatly deepened by the fact that Odysseus could not possibly give his well-remembered hound ‘a word of kindness or regret,’ without the risk of his own instant recognition by Eumæus. There is no ‘chose to hide’ in the original. The son of Laertes had, in fact, no choice in the matter. The dog, it is true, is but rarely noticed, and seldom favourably, by the later Greeks ; but this one picture—the most ancient canine portrait in literature—is also perhaps the finest. Certainly the entire passage is one of the most touching in Homer. ‘The words, too, are so calm and still—they seem to grow faint and fainter ;—each foot of the verse falls as if it were counting out the last respirations ; and in effect we witness that last slight and fluttering breath with which life is yielded up :—

“ Ἄργον ὃ αὖ κατὰ Μοῖρ ἔλαβεν μέλαρος θανάτοιο
 Αὐτίκ’ ἰδόντ’ Ὀδυσῆα ἑικοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ.” †

Dr. Maginn, who gave a translation of this famous passage among his ‘Homeric Ballads,’ compares with it, of course greatly to Southey’s disadvantage, the lines from ‘Roderick’ which describe the recognition of the repentant Gothic king by his hound Theron. The hound Theron and the man Roderick, we may admit to be far inferior to the hound Argus and the man Odysseus. But we cannot allow that canine instinct is always instantaneous, and that Southey’s picture of the dog eying his master ‘long and wistfully’ is, therefore, a false one. No one who has been accustomed to good canine society will doubt that this gradual recognition is quite as true and as natural as the immediate discovery of the shepherd of the people by Argus, ‘ὥς ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐγγὺς εἶντα ;’ although the latter may possibly indicate a stronger and more noble nature.

Passing from the old world of Southern Europe to the fresh and free life of the North, we find ourselves at once in the company of those stately deerhounds which rank with the noblest and most intelligent of dogs, and which a Welsh triad classes among the three ‘signs of a gentleman’—the other two being his horse and his hawk. Sir Walter delighted to point out how Maida—the most famous of all these dogs, although his descent was

* Maginn’s *Homeric Ballads*. ‘The Dog Argus.’

† Gladstone’s ‘*Homer*,’ iii. 410.

scarcely irreproachable—would station himself, in the pursuit of game or on the look-out for it, just at those points of the landscape where his figure ‘told’ most picturesquely; suddenly appearing at the entrance of some narrow glen, or ‘detaching’ himself against the sky on the crest of some long ridge of heather. It is indeed impossible to imagine a creature more completely in harmony with the hunting-grounds of the old North—deep forests, with their endless ‘shade of melancholy boughs’—grey trackless moorlands—or long mountain ranges, with their glens, and torrents, and precipices; and the picture of King Arthur’s hunt over the heaths of Tintagel, or among the woods of Caerlion, would scarcely have been complete had the romance-writers failed to supply the ‘clear-faced king’ with such a follower as Cavall—the ‘hound of deepest mouth,’ for whose baying, as the Laureate tells us, Guenever listened as she halted with Geraint on the knoll above the water of Usk. Very famous was Cavall, and numberless his deeds of ‘derring do’ in pursuit of wolf, boar, and red deer. Whilst hunting the ‘wild boar of Troynt,’ Cavall left the print of his paw on a certain rock, which afterwards became as famous throughout Breconshire as St. Mildred’s footprint in the Isle of Thanet, or the hoofmark of Mahommed’s camel at Mecca. King Arthur caused a heap of stones to be piled about the rock—itsself a loose fragment;—for, said the legend, if it was carried off to any distance, it was sure to be found in its old place on the following morning. One of the Breconshire mountains, near the little town of Rhayader Gwy, is still known as ‘Carn Cavall;’ and Lady Charlotte Guest, in illustration of the remarkable ‘Mabinogi’ of Killwch and Olwen, which preserves the full story of the boar of Troynt, has engraved a stone from one of the cairns with which the summit of the mountain is covered, marked by an oval indentation so closely resembling the print of a dog’s paw as to compel every worthy student of romance to recognize it as a relic of King Arthur’s hound.* Whether Cavall himself was subsequently laid to rest under this cairn, or whether he followed his master to the enchanted Isle of Avalon, is left uncertain. At any rate he was not less worthy of admission to an ‘equal sky’ with his lord than Gorban, the white hound of the Welsh bard Ummad, who, in the lament which he poured forth for his old companion in the chase, declares that they would meet again, dog and master, ‘on the clouds of their rest.’

Memorials of a different character occur in various parts of Scotland, of a hound whose reputation is second to none in the

* Mabinogion, vol. ii. p. 360.

whole catalogue of canine worthies,—Bran, the companion of Fingal, and himself deserving of a place among the Fingalian heroes. Bran must have been a troublesome hound, and in size must have far exceeded the gigantic Kitmer, if such very substantial stakes as those which are known as ‘Bran’s Pillars’ were indeed necessary for keeping him in order. The best known of these is the isolated mass of rock on the sea-shore near Dunolly Castle, to which Fingal is said to have tied up Bran during his own fight with a chief of the ‘black Danes.’ ‘White-breasted Bran’ was the best of the ‘nine great dogs’ and the ‘nine smaller game-starting dogs’ which always accompanied Fingal on his hunting expeditions. The ‘surly strength of Luath’—another of Fingal’s dogs—is duly celebrated in Gaelic tradition, but he was not so perfect or so graceful as Bran:—

‘With his hind leg like a hook or bent bow,
His breast like that of a garron (hunting pony),
His ear like a leaf,’—

a description which raises before us the image of a dear old friend, whose unblemished ‘descent might have entitled him to an Augsburg canonry or an All Souls fellowship; and who, for anything we can tell, is now luxuriating in a canine Elysium with Bran himself, and Luath, and Maida. Light lie the earth above thee, and sweet fall the sunshine through the larches on thy grave, Oscar, ‘fleet foot in the correi!’

The final disappearance of Bran from this earthly stage is surrounded with at least as great mystery as that of Cavall. An Irish legend—for Bran, like the rest of the Fingalians, belongs as much to Ireland as to Scotland—asserts that, having chased a snow-white hart for many hours, Bran sprang after it into a small lake in the county Clare. The deer vanished on touching the water. A beautiful lady appeared in its stead, laid her hand on the dog’s head, and submerged him for ever. The cliff from which he sprang is still called ‘Craig-a-Bran,’ and the district ‘Tiarnach Bran’—the lordship of Bran.* On the other hand, ‘Cairn Bran’ is pointed out in Glen Loth in Sutherlandshire; and the Highland tradition bears that he died and was buried there after a severe fight with Thorp, the dog of a Sutherland chief, whose heart Fingal himself tore out in revenge.† Of this legend, however, there is a very curious Irish version, which runs as follows: During the struggle between the Irish

* ‘Choice Notes from ‘Notes and Queries,’ Folk-lore, p. 103. ‘Legends of the County Clare.’

† Scrope’s ‘Deerstalking.’

Fingalians and the host of 'Lochlyn,' a battle on one occasion continued so long, and the combatants were so nearly equal, that both sides at last agreed to abide by the issue of a fight between Bran and a famous 'cir dubh,' or black hound, belonging to the king of the Northmen. The name of this hound, in accordance with an old Northern belief, which reappears in many different shapes, was carefully concealed, and until it should be discovered he was destined to remain invincible. The dogs fought on the top of a great rock in Connaught till they tore the very stone under their feet into powdery fragments, and trampled it again so hard that it became rock once more. The fight had lasted for some hours, and the 'cir dubh' had nearly gained the victory, when Bald-headed Conal, who alone of all the Fingalians knew the secret of the black dog's strength, turning his face eastward and biting his thumb (a ceremony which he would but rarely perform, but which endowed him with the gift of divination), made a sudden exclamation of encouragement to Bran, the first word of which was the black hound's name, who at once lost his strength and his victory.*

That the Northern deerhound—and most of all that variety which seems to have attained its greatest perfection in Ireland and Scotland—was especially valued by the Vikings, and that a more than ordinary sagacity was attributed to it, appears from numerous passages in the Sagas, those picturesque narratives which enable us to realise with such minute accuracy the wild life of the early Icelandic colonists in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In them the 'Irish' hound, as he is usually called, appears as the companion of the Olafs, and Einars, and Kiarantans, in their 'hofs' at the head of the rocky fiord or among the desolate inland mosses—sometimes even on the decks of their

* A curious example of the superstition which forbade the naming of a combatant during the fight occurs in 'Ribolt and Guldberg,' the Danish duplicate or original of the fine old Scottish ballad of the 'Douglas Tragedy.' Guldberg is cautioned not to name her lover whilst he is struggling with her father and her brothers. She does so, however; and at that moment Ribolt receives his death-wound. The caution has dropped out of the Scottish ballad; but it is worth noticing that the hero's death-wound is received to all appearance at the same instant as in the Danish version, immediately after Lady Margaret has called on him by name to 'hold his hand'—

'She held his steed in her milk-white hand,
And never shed one tear
Until that she saw her seven brethren fa',
And her father hard fighting, who loved her so dear.
"O hold your hand, Lord William," she said,
For your strokes they are wondrous sair:
True lovers I can get many a ane,
But a father I can never get mair,"'

'sea-

'sea-dragons —just as we have seen him in close attendance on the great heroes of Celtic tradition :—

"I will give thee," said Olaf Paa (the peacock) to Gunnar, whose story is recorded in the saga of Nial's Burning, "three things: a golden bracelet; a kirtle which belonged to Myrkiartan, King of Ireland; and a dog which I got in the same country. He is huge of limb, and for a follower equal to an able man. Moreover, he hath man's wit, and will bark at thine enemies, but never at thy friends. And he will see by each man's face whether he be ill or well disposed toward thee. And he will lay down his life for thee. Samr is his name." Then he said to the hound, "From this day follow thou Gunnar, and help him what thou canst." So the hound went to Gunnar, and lay down at his feet, and fawned upon him.'

Samr could not prevent the murder of Gunnar; but when Gizur attacked his master at Hlidarend, the dog did his best. Gizur and his party advanced along a beaten way on the top of the fence that surrounded the 'town,'—the true old Northern name for the house with its attendant outbuildings and enclosures. There they halted; and Thorkel the bond went nearer to the house. The dog lay watching on the low roof; 'and,' continues the narrative, 'it chanced that he and Thorkel jumped at the same moment into the court in front. Instantly he flew at Thorkel, seized him, and so tore him that he died. But Onund of Trollaskog smote Samr on the head with his axe, so that it pierced the brain; and the dog, with a great and wonderful cry, fell dead on the ground.'

The touches which show us Samr are but few; yet he was evidently a worthy companion of Gunnar, himself one of the best among the rough old Icelanders, and we are sorry for that axe-stroke of Onund's. As good a hound as Samr was Vigr or Viki, the dog of Olaf Tryggvason, that grim Norwegian seaking who first attempted to introduce Christianity at the point of the sword among the bonders of the seaboard and uplands. The Scallds and the compilers of Olaf's saga have invested his last battle with something of the same mysterious character which belongs to the fatal fight of King Arthur at Camlan. Olaf, so went the common belief, did not fall during the battle, but was conveyed away in the midst of the strife to some unknown region, whence, like the British King, he is to return in the hour of his country's greatest need. Throughout the battle, Vigr, a hound which Olaf had carried off whilst pillaging on the coast of Ireland, had been lying under the great mast in front of the ship, in the place always assigned to the chief fighters. After Olaf's disappearance, Einar Thambaskelfir, the King's principal

principal 'hirdman,' or follower, going up to the dog, exclaimed, 'O Vigr, we have lost your master!' and Vigr, springing up as if seized with sudden grief, leaped overboard and swam to land. There, says the saga, he crouched himself on the top of a green hillock that overlooked the bay; refusing to eat, although food was brought to him in plenty, and although he drove away from it other dogs and birds of prey; and there, at last, voluntarily starved to death, Vigr's limbs stiffened into their last repose. He had been the constant companion of Olaf ever since he had been carried off from the Irish coast; and on one occasion had the honour of steering the King's 'Dragon,' the long ship, with its rude carvings and lines of gold and azure, in which Olaf threaded the deep, gloomy fiords, and narrow passages between the islands. Olaf was sailing home to Nidaros, after destroying the statue of Freyr, and asked Thorarinn the Icclander to steer for him, but Thorarinn declared that Vigr could steer better; so the King, holding Vigr's paws, helped him to manage the rudder; and the 'Dragon' got safely home.

Samr and Vigr are but ordinary hounds after all, compared with the wonderful dog Sauer, made, says old Snorro, King of Drontheim, by Eystein of the Uplands. 'He was gifted with three men's wisdom; and when he barked, he spoke one word and barked two. A collar and chain of gold and silver were made for him; and his courtiers carried him in their hands when the weather or ways were foul.' Whether Sauer—who in spite of his attentive courtiers was at last torn to pieces by wolves—belonged to the great Northern hounds, or, as seems more probable, shared the niceness and the refinement of the Gallic Fretillons and Tontons, must remain uncertain; nor do we see our way much more clearly toward an elucidation of the important questions: How far he was connected with the 'three-footed dog of Norroway,' of whom mention is made in the old 'Complaynt of Scotland;' and, how far he was entitled to call cousin with the royal dog of the Ethiopian Ptoembarii, whose voice and action were carefully interpreted by a select body of priests. Sauer, however, it is sufficiently clear, was no better than a heathen hound; and he leads us, appropriately enough, into the company of those 'dogs of darkness' which figure so extensively in mediæval folk-lore and tradition.

A trace of ancient heathendom may, perhaps, be recognised in certain mystic animals which figure in later romance; such as the black dog with red ears which, according to the Breton ballad, always accompanied the enchanter Merlin; and the wonderful 'whelp' which King Triamour of Wales bestowed upon Sir Tristrem:—

What

in Monmouthshire.' Mr. Jones, who implicitly believes the wonders he describes, tells us that, 'before the light of the Gospel prevailed, there were in Carmarthenshire and elsewhere often heard before burials, what by some were called *Cwn Annwn* (dogs of hell); by others *Cwn bendith eu Mamau* (dogs of the fairies); and by some *Cwn wybir* (sky dogs). The nearer they were to man the less their voice was—like that of small beetles (beagles?); and the farther, the louder; and sometimes like the voice of a great hound sounding among them, like that of a bloodhound,—a deep hollow voice.' Their hunt was frequently in the air—hence their name of 'sky dogs:' and, says Mr. Jones, 'I have heard say that these spiritual hunting dogs have been heard to pass by the eaves of several houses before the death of some one in the family.' 'An acquaintance of mine,' he continues, 'a man perfectly firm to tell the truth, being out at night, heard a hunting in the air, and as if they overtook something which they hunted after, and, being overtaken, made a miserable cry amongst them, and seemed to escape; but overtaken again, made the same dismal cry; and again escaped, and followed after till out of hearing.' In the air the *Cwn wybir* seems to have been invisible; but when on 'middle earth,' either singly or in packs, they could make themselves seen as well as heard,—witness the following story from Mr. Jones's spiritual portfolio:—

'Mr. D. W., of Pembrokeshire, a religious man, and far from fear and superstition, gave me the following account:—That as he was travelling by himself through a field called the Cot-moor, where two stones are set up, called the "Devil's Nags," at some distance from each other, where evil spirits are said to haunt, and trouble passengers, he was thrown over the hedge, and was never well afterwards. Mr. W. went with a strong fighting mastiff dog with him; but suddenly he saw another mastiff dog coming towards him. He thought to set his own dog at it; but his dog seemed to be much frightened, and would not go near it. Mr. W. then stooped down to take up a stone, thinking to throw at it; but suddenly there came a fire round it, so that he could perceive it had a white tail, and a white snip down his nose, and saw his teeth grinning at him. He then knew it was one of the infernal dogs of hell; one of those kind of dogs against which David prayeth in Ps. xxii. 20, "Deliver my soul from the power of the dog."'

To the famous superstition of the wild hunter and his train—to which both the *Cwn Annwn* and the wish-hounds belong, which is found in different forms throughout Europe, and which is certainly a relic of the older heathendom—a darker character was, no doubt, given by the monastic imagination which presided over the growth of so much mediæval folk-lore. When the hermit retired to his solitary cell, 'in desertis,' 'in eremis,'
high

high up among the boulders of the mountain side, in the depths of the pathless forest, or among the ivy-grown ruins of some Roman town or tower long desolate and abandoned, he carried with him a horror of the world he had left behind; all the ordinary pleasures and pursuits of which were, in his eyes, tainted by the spirit of the 'enemy.' In his remote solitude, and under the influence of all the strange and mysterious sounds of the forest and the mountain, his mind would naturally recur to the wild legends which had been familiar to his childhood; and the chase, the grand recreation of the feudal baron, would thus become connected with those older beliefs that filled the woods with unearthly terror—the yelling of hounds, the clattering of horse-hoofs, the howls and cries of the 'wild hunt of Odin,' as, among shattered limbs and shivering branches, it swept onward through the storm. The 'Maisne Hellequin,' a remarkable form of the wild hunter's legend, common to the great woods of northern France and Alsace, was evidently the result of some such union of the popular creed with a true monk's hatred of the wild life and recreations of the world he had abandoned. The 'maisne' or 'household' of the evil knight Hellequin was a great company of knights and barons, whose number was constantly on the increase, and who were condemned, as the punishment of ill deeds done in the body, to wander perpetually through forests and solitary places until Doomsday. Here they were frequently encountered, following the chase as when alive; but their horses and their dogs were demons in animal form, and the most wicked among them was compelled to take the place of the hunted animal. They hunted, too, in the armour they had worn in life; but helmet, sword, and hauberk had all become of such intolerable weight that no ordinary mortal could so much as lift them. Their punishment was a very fitting one, thought the fierce old Jesuit Delrio; and the words of the prophet apply to it—'Juxta illud propheticum—"descenderunt in infernum cum armis suis."' (Ezech.) 'They went down into the grave with their weapons.'

The dog of the Maisne Hellequin has sunk into an actual demon. His form is indeed constantly assumed by the evil spirits which figure in monastic legends, as well as by the familiar imps of witch and wizard; and there is more than one curious story in which a troublesome 'revenant,' whose nature and intentions were apparently none of the best, is transformed into a hound, and in that shape compelled to undertake some task of endless labour, by which, as is well known to all students of the supernatural, a ghost may be laid as effectually as if he had been transported to the depths of the Red Sea. But we are
detaining

detaining our readers in no very good company, although we trust that, like ourselves, they will be inclined to protest against this unworthy treatment of our old favourites. At all events they will not refuse to join in the regrets of Cuddy, one of the rustics in Ford's gloomy play of the 'Witch of Edmonton,' who thus apostrophizes the 'familiar' of Mother Demdike. 'Tom,' the familiar, is himself by no means a dumb dog:—

'Cuddy. Certainly, Tom, I begin to pity thee.

Dog. Pity me? For what?

Cuddy. Were it not possible for thee to become an honest dog yet? 'Tis a base life that you lead, Tom; to serve witches—to kill innocent children—to kill harmless cattle—to destroy corn, fruit, and so forth. 'Twere better yet to be a butcher, and kill for yourself.'

'Every black must have its white,' however. All dogs were not fiends.' For if there were solitary monks and hermits who looked on the chase as a thing of evil, and helped to fling an ominous shadow over the hounds that led it, there was many a bishop and lordly abbot who loved well 'to see his hawk fly and his greyhound run,' and who could appreciate their noble qualities as well as Sir Tristrem himself. Accordingly, whatever may have been the case with the dogs of the under-world, such ordinary mortal hounds as figure in mediæval history and romance lay by no means under the ban of the church or its ministers. They rejoiced indeed, like their masters, in the powerful protection of St. Eustace or St. Hubert; unless they happened to be of that white race which was dedicated to St. Roche, great numbers of which were solemnly blessed before his altar on the day of his festival.

Both St. Eustace and St. Hubert were famous hunters. Both were miraculously converted by snow-white stags, which they followed far into the depths of the forest, and which, suddenly turning on their pursuers, displayed the crucifix between their horns. In Southern Europe St. Eustace is the great patron of the chase. In the North it is St. Hubert who presides, not only over the chase, but over the more important guilds of archers and crossbowmen. The wide extent of his ancient reputation is evident from the number of churches in which the story of his conversion is told in wall-painting, in wood-carving, or in stained glass; but it was his own shrine, in the midst of the beech-woods of the Ardennes, that was the great object of reverence with every true servant of St. Hubert. The Benedictine abbey which contained it was founded on the very spot where the stag had halted, and on which the saint had passed seven years in the profoundest solitude. At the expiration of that time he went to Rome, where he was consecrated by Pope Sergius I.

to

to the vacant bishopric of Maestricht; and it was during this ceremony that the famous stole, still one of the great treasures of the church of St. Hubert, was brought through the air to the Pope by the hands of an angel. St. Hubert removed the seat of his bishopric to Liège, and is said to have laboured earnestly among the half-heathen population of Brabant and the Campine. St. Peter himself, according to the legend, bestowed on him a golden key, which conveyed with it unusual power over evil and unclean spirits; a power which was proved by St. Hubert's cure of a madman who had entered a church, and whom he sent, calm and in his right mind, to recall the flying congregation. It was from this especial power, and from St. Hubert's former connection with the chase, that his aid came to be invoked, as it still is, in all cases of canine madness.

The death of St. Hubert is said to have occurred (the date is more than doubtful) in the year 727. Nearly a century afterwards, his remains, which had been duly enshrined, were removed, by permission of Walrand, Bishop of Liège, to the house of Benedictines which had long before been founded on the place of his penitence, which had fallen into ruin, and which was now solemnly restored. With the possession of the relics of the hunter-saint the house assumed his name, and the Abbey of St. Hubert became one of the most famous places of pilgrimage throughout the North of France and over all the great forest districts watered by the Meuse and the Moselle.*

The festival of St. Hubert is the 2nd of November, and it is on that day that the stranger who wishes to see his church at its best, or to moralise, as befits every traveller 'now he is in Arden,' upon the sundry changes of the world, should find his way over the wide-spreading heath toward the towers of his ancient monastery. The powerful Lord Abbot, whose feudal

* Some relics of St. Hubert, said to have been removed from his shrine at the time of its translation from Liège, form the chief treasure of the church of Limé, not far from Soissons. Neither man nor beast, says the local tradition, has ever been attacked by 'rage' (hydrophobia) within the limits of the Commune. A grand pilgrimage is made to the church of Limé on the 2nd of November; when the following rhyme—half charm, half prayer—is recited:—

'Saint Hubert glorieux,
Dieu me soit amoureux;
Trois choses me défend:
De la nuit du serpent;
Mauvais loup, mauvais chien,
Mauvaises bêtes enragées
Ne puissent m'approcher,
Me voir, ne me toucher,
Non plus qu'étoile au ciel.'

The windows of the neighbouring church of Ferté-Milon are filled with very fine stained glass of the Renaissance period, representing the legend of St. Hubert.

rights

rights extended over all the surrounding country, and who ranked as first peer of the Duchy of Bouillon, has, indeed, disappeared, and what remains of his abbey has become the chief prison for the province of Luxembourg; but on the festival of the saint the church is still thronged by crowds of pilgrims who assemble from all parts to obtain a blessing on themselves and on their dogs, and to receive the small cakes of bread which, blessed on the altars of St. Hubert or St. Roche, and duly distributed among the hounds, are believed to be effectual for averting canine madness from the kennel during the ensuing year. The tomb or shrine of St. Hubert himself is in the crypt of the church, and his body, according to the popular belief, not only remains perfect within it, but his beard and his nails still grow, like those of the Emperor Barbarossa in the well-known legend. The miraculous stole, of white silk, with rich 'orphrays,' is said to have been taken from the saint's body when his shrine was opened on its removal to the abbey in the ninth century. It now reposes on the high altar of the upper church, and, in spite of the constant withdrawal of portions of its fabric, is believed to remain entirely perfect and undiminished. It is the efficacy of this stole which is chiefly relied upon by persons who have either reason to fear an access of hydrophobia, or are actually suffering from it.

Such a patient proceeds with as little delay as possible to the Abbey-church, where, in the midst of a solemn service, a slight incision is made in his forehead, into which are laid one or two threads of the miraculous stole. The head is then tightly bandaged, in which condition it must remain until the close of the 'neuvaine,' or nine days of religious observance, which are at once commenced. On each of these days the patient must confess and communicate. He may eat pork, fish—but only such as have scales, herring or carp, for example—hard eggs, and bread; but whatever he eats must be cold. His drink must be pure water, or wine and water. The cup or glass he uses must be set aside for himself; and he must not, on any account, stoop to drink at springs or rivers. The sheets of his bed must be exquisitely white and clean. He must not comb his hair for a period of forty days, counting from the beginning of the 'neuvaine.' On the tenth day after the incision the bandage round the head is carefully removed by a priest, who must burn it, and throw the ashes into the piscina of the sacristy. The person who recovers after this treatment has, it is asserted, the power of arresting the progress of the disorder in others, and of granting them 'delays' until they are themselves enabled to reach the shrine of St. Hubert. In accordance with an old and curious

belief, it was also said that the descendants of St. Hubert had the power of at once healing all persons suffering from canine madness by a simple imposition of hands. In 1649 a certain George Hubert, attached to the household of Louis XIV., received letters patent authorising him, 'de part le Roi,' to perform in this manner whatever cures lay in his power; and we believe that more than one family in our own country, asserting its descent from the Saint of the Ardennes, still lays claim to some such privilege.*

It is not, perhaps, impossible that in some old-fashioned village church in Luxembourg or among the Vosges a true mass of St. Hubert—at which the keepers and foresters attended with their hounds, and blew the 'fanfare de St. Hubert' on their hunting horns at the moment of consecration—might still be heard on his fête-day. We doubt, however, if one of the famous hounds—

'The dogs of black St. Hubert's breed,
Unmatched for courage, strength, and speed,'

could now be anywhere discovered. All hunting dogs were under St. Hubert's protection: but the abbots watched with especial care over a breed of hounds which, according to the tradition, were descended from the dogs who had followed the saint himself on the day of his mysterious conversion. Thoroughbred hounds of this race were jet black—'mighty of body, with legges somewhat low and short'—bloodhounds rather than greyhounds. They were in great request throughout France and the Low Countries. The Dukes of Burgundy ranked them among the chief treasures of their enormous hunting establishments; and three couples of them, together with half a dozen falcons from their eyries on the Meuse, were annually sent by the abbots of St. Hubert as a present to the French monarchs. A race of pure white dogs, possessing the same characteristics, was originally dedicated to St. Roche; upon whose altars a white hound, holding in its mouth the cake which, like that of St. Hubert, was thought to avert madness from the kennel, is frequently sculptured. This breed is said to have been brought from the East. It soon became confused, however, with the older race; and both black and white hounds were called indifferently

* The descendants of St. Paul and of St. Catherine were said to be distinguished by similar powers. 'Many use to boast,' says Reginald Scot, 'that they are of St. Paul's race and kindred, showing upon their bodies the prints of serpents, which, as the papists affirm, was incident to all them of St. Paul's stock. Marry, they say withal, that all his kinsfolks can handle serpents or any poison without danger.' Others had a Catherine-wheel on their bodies, 'and say they are kin to St. Catherine; they could carry coals in their hands, dip their heads into scalding liquor, and go into ovens.' *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xiii. chap. xv.

'chiens de St. Hubert.' It is 'Souillart le Blond'—a white dog of this breed—from whose epitaph we learn its many virtues. Souillart, who in life had been attached to the French court, was a dog of letters. 'Dits' and 'Mémoires,' unhappily no longer existing, are attributed to him, and were perhaps as authentic as one-half of the 'Mémoires pour servir' with which we have been so liberally supplied by our lively neighbours. His epitaph, written by himself, survives; and in spite of the distrust with which such things are naturally regarded, we may venture to believe that this one does not lie:—

'Je suys Souillart le Blond, et le beau chien courant,
De mon temps le millez, et le mieulx pour chassant;
Du bon chien Saint Hubert, qui Souillart avoit nom
Fuz fils et héritier, qui eult si grand renom.

* * * * *

J'ai creu, craint, et aymé sur tous aultres mon maistre
Autant que fist onc chien n'est possible d'estre.
Maintz plaisirs lui ay faictz en plusieurs grands deffaulx
Où il c'estait trouvé par pluyes et par grand chaulx.
Droit chien bault ay esté de ceulx que-loe Phebus
Et croy qu'après ma mort il n'en demeurera nulz
S'il n'est de mes enfans, dont j'ay eu vingt et deux,
Qui par toutes forestz prenaient les cerfz tous seulz.'

The admirers of the 'noble science' are bound, at all events, to listen respectfully to the catalogue of the perfections of this 'beau chien courant.' There is reason to believe that the existing race of fox-hounds is derived from a cross between the white dogs of St. Hubert (which, by the way, were nearly identical with the old English 'talbots') and an Italian 'brachet,' the offspring of which, called 'chiens greffiers,' were especial favourites of Louis XII., and 'united all the good qualities of the other running dogs, without their defects.'

The dogs which figure in mediæval romance are, for the most part, hounds of some description. Such was Hodain; whose name, although the romance to which he belongs is beyond all doubt the property of the 'old gentil Bretons,' seems to be mysteriously related to that of the great Saxon deity. Whilst passing over the sea from Ireland with Sir Tristrem and La belle Ysonde, Hodain licked the cup which had contained the 'drink of might' by which the lovers were so unhappily united. He shared the effects of the potion, and attached himself to the fortunes of the pair, for whose sake he busied himself, together with Peticru, the wonderful particoloured 'whelp,' which Tris-

* Col. C. H. Smith, 'Hist. of Dogs,' vol. ii. p. 111.

trem sent from Wales to Ysonde, in pulling down many a noble stag, when the lovers, in their cavern in the forest—

‘hadde no wines wat,
No ale that was old,
Nor no good meat they ate :’

a statement from which we may conclude that the fair queen of Cornwall was scarcely so successful a cook as Hodain was a provider. The hound's fidelity and attachment are conspicuous throughout the romance. When Tristrem arrived at the castle of Tintagel disguised as a fool, with his hair cropped and his face blackened, Hodain recognised and fawned upon him, whilst Ysonde herself was more than doubtful; and when the bodies of the unhappy lovers were brought to Cornwall to be buried, Hodain left the wood, without turning aside to chase the stags with which it abounded, and ran straight to the chapel, into which he was admitted by Pernus, the squire of Tristrem, who watched his corpse. ‘Illec,’ in the words of the prose romance, ‘demeurent Pernus et Heudene sans boire et sans manger; et quant ils avoyent fait leur dueil sur Tristan, ilz alloyent sur la Roynne Yseult.’ Hodain and Peticru—

‘Two houndes mirie made,
Fairer might none be,’—

were figured, with ‘sweet Ysonde’ and other personages of the romance, on the dais of the stately hall which the giant Beliagog constructed for Sir Tristrem; and we may still admire their graceful forms on many of those delicately-carved ivory caskets which once adorned the bower of some white-handed Yolande or Isabelle, and are now jealously preserved among the choicest treasures of the antiquary.

The special attachment of Hodain to Tristrem and Ysonde was the result of his having shared the ‘drink of might’ with them; but the loving devotion of a hound to his master—itself one of the most human of his qualities, and that from which much of his noblest nature is developed—has been duly honoured by the ‘makers’ of romance. The well-known story of the dog of Montargis seems to belong to the stock of primitive Aryan tradition. In France, according to Mr. Dasent, it first occurs as told of Sibylla, a fabulous wife of Charlemagne; but, he adds, ‘it is at any rate as old as the time of Plutarch, who relates it as an anecdote of canine sagacity in the days of Pyrrhus.’* A dog that revenges his master appears in Hesiod; and it is not impossible that a still more primitive version may one day be dis-

* Norse Popular Tales, Introd. p. xxx.

covered, as in the case of Gelert, among the stores of Oriental learning. Meanwhile the story, in different forms, may be traced throughout mediæval and later romance—the last and best appropriation of it having been that made by Sir Walter in the ‘Talisman.’ The hound himself is finely painted in the romance of ‘Sir Triamour’—otherwise of little value. The king of Arragon, deceived by the false representations of his wicked steward, Marrock, banishes his queen, whom he intrusts to the guidance of an old knight named Sir Roger, the master of a greyhound of uncommon size and fierceness:—

‘So forth they went, in number three,
Sir Roger, the queen, and the greyhound truly:
Wo worth the wicked treason!’

Marrock, with a company of eighteen associates, lays wait for the little party in a forest through which they were to pass. Here he attacks them; but the old knight, assisted by the hound, who ‘full bitterly gan bite,’ succeeds in killing fourteen of his assailants. Marrock, however, attacking him from behind, runs him through with his spear. During the confusion the queen escapes into the forest. Marrock searches for her in vain; but after he has retreated she reappears, finds her horse, and endeavours to persuade the hound to accompany her. He will not leave his master’s body:—

‘She said, “Sir Roger, now thou art dead,
Who shall now the right way lead?
For thou may’st speak no more!”
Right on the ground there as he lay dead
She kissed him, ere she from him yede;
God wot, her heart was sore:
What for sorrow and for dread,
Fast away she ’gan her speed,
She wist not whither ne where.
The good greyhound for weal ne wo
Would not fro the knight go;
But lay and licked his wound.
He weened to have healed him again,
And thereto he did his pain;
Lo! such love is in a hound.’

He scrapes a pit for the dead body, covers it with moss and leaves, and guards it faithfully for seven long years.* Every day

* Bochart asserts in the ‘Hierozoicon’ that a dog which had followed his master’s bier to the grave three years before was still (1660) remaining on the spot. ‘A similar case,’ says Colonel Hamilton Smith, ‘occurred in the last half-century, at Lisle; where the admiration of the neighbourhood caused a hut to be built for the dog, upon the grave of his master, and food to be brought him. The faithful creature resided on the spot for nine years, when he died.’—Vol. ii. p. 87.

he provides his own meat in the forest; but at last he has to wander farther for game, and at the close of the seventh year, whilst the king of Arragon is keeping high festival at Christmas, the greyhound suddenly appears in the hall, makes the round of the tables, and retires. On his doing this a second time, the king recognizes him, and orders that on his next visit he should be carefully watched and followed. The dog returns on the third day of the festival. The traitor Marrock is in the hall, and the greyhound, springing on the murderer of his master—

‘Toke the steward by the throat,
 And asunder he it bote;
 But then he would not bide:
 Forth to the grave he ran,
 There followed him many a man,
 Some on horse and some beside.
 And when he came where his master was,
 He laid him down upon the grass,
 And barked at the men again.’

The body is, of course, sought for and found. It is buried with due solemnity, and the faithful dog soon afterwards expires on the tomb which is raised over it. The body of the steward Marrock, after being dragged through the town, is hanged on a gibbet. For the rest of the story—how the queen was restored to her husband, and how her son Sir Triamour became the preserver of his father’s life and kingdom—we must refer our readers to the romance itself, an abstract of which will be found in the collection of George Ellis.*

We regret much that the romance-writer has not supplied us with the name of Sir Roger’s greyhound; and this the more, because we fancy we have discovered a connection between this traditional dog, who revenges his master, and a good creature whose auspicious name and whose patient endurance of many sufferings are well known to all our readers. What is known of Mr. Punch’s dog—

‘Tobias, tan jocoso, de los canes grande Can?’

What is his history? Who were his ancestors? How came he by that elevation in the world which, however honourable, is attended by more than the usual amount of those pains and penalties which accompany greatness? Mr Punch, as we know, came to us from Italy: but did not the Venetians themselves import him from the remoter shores of the Levant? At any rate, he is well known there. ‘Karagoz’ is the Turkish Punch. ‘Haji Aivad’

* It has been printed at full length for the Percy Society, ed. Halliwell, 1846.

is his more prudent companion, the 'Pantaloön' of the West. Under the Seljukid dynasty, whose capital was Broussa, Haji Aivad is said to have been a messenger between that place and Mecca, where he was at last killed by the Arabs, who buried him at Honain. His dog remained with the murderers and accompanied them to Damascus, where he used to place himself at the feet, and pull the clothes, of passengers in the streets and bazaars; and having thus attracted their notice, he would fling himself upon the Arabs, barking and biting. The Arabs were consequently seized and searched. Haji Aivad's effects were found among their baggage, his sling, hatchet, bloody dress, and letter-bag; and his murderers, thus convicted, 'were hanged in file on the place Sunanieh, whilst the dog placed himself under them and breathed his life out.'* The story is told by the gossiping Evliya Effendi, who adds that Haji Aivad's ancestors were known by the name of Afeli-oghli, and famous for their great dogs—pointers (Zaghar), 'so that it is even now a proverb, "What! are you yelling like Afeli-oghli's pointers?"' Is it not possible that the excellent Toby may be remotely descended from these famous dogs, one of whom, we are led to conclude, was the avenger of Haji Aivad's murder?

In making his hound the constant companion and most faithful follower of the knight, the romance-writer, like a modern novelist, was only painting from the real life before him. Indeed, so constant a recreation was the chase, that, even when passing from middle earth to the shadowy realms of faërie, the 'makers' could not conceive of the great personages of that underworld as otherwise employed or attended. When the Queen of Fairy came riding down by the Eildon tree, to meet True Thomas, a pair of brachet-hounds ran gallantly by her side; and when Sir Orpheo penetrated to the dismal land of Pluto, in search of his lost love, Dame Heurodys—

'Then oft he saw, hym beside,
In the hot summer-tide,
The King of Fairy and his rout,
Come to hunt all about,
With shoutyng and horns blowyng,
And houndys grete crying.'

The true knight, like Gaston de Foix, who named his best dogs after the heroes of romance—Brute, Tristan, Roland, and Hector of Troy—'loved hounds of all beasts, both winter and summer;' and his love was occasionally returned by a devotion

* Travels of Evliya Effendi, vol. i. pt. 2. p. 243. Bochart, in the Hierozoicon, p. 682, quotes from Alzakin a somewhat similar story, the scene of which is laid in Ispahan,

as remarkable as any that is recorded in romance. Giraldus tells us of a greyhound (*leporarius*) which belonged to the Welch chieftain Owen ap Caradoc, and which received seven severe wounds from lances and arrows in defending his master.* He was afterwards brought to the English King Henry II., and enjoyed, let us hope, more consideration and more honour for his noble daring than fell to the lot of his unhappy prince. The well-known story of the desertion of Richard II. by his dog Mathe, who, as Froissart asserts, during the King's first interview with Bolingbroke at Flint left his master, to whom he had hitherto been strongly attached, to fawn on and remain in the service of the usurper, should rather perhaps be regarded as a 'sad story of the fate of kings' than as an example of infidelity in the most constant and devoted of animals. At any rate, half-blind, flea-bitten Argus, and King Roderick's Theron, may be set against the unfaithful Mathe, who seems to have been one of the great Irish deerhounds. There was an old belief that these dogs had the power of recognising persons of royal or noble birth, to whom, however fierce otherwise, they would submit themselves in all gentleness. Mathe was thus supposed to have acknowledged by his caresses the true heir to the crown in the King's 'fair cousin of Lancaster.' The story, however, belongs, in all probability, to that class of wide-spread early traditions of which Gelert and the dog of Montargis have already been quoted as examples. It is found elsewhere, and is told of other animals than dogs—among the rest, of the ermine which became the emblem of Brittany, and which figures in the arms of its Dukes.†

The famous dogs of the Knights of Rhodes, which could tell a Turk from a Christian by the smell and treated him accordingly, were '*Anglici canes*'—English mastiffs. The race seems to have been held in much honour in the south of Europe. They were said to be descended from the well-trained dogs of the knight who fought with and killed the great dragon of Rhodes, a story which is familiar to us all from the poem of Schiller and the outline illustrations of Moritz Retsch. Is it a brace of these dogs whose portraits look out upon us from the picture of Veronese, thus 'copied' for us by Mr. Ruskin?—

'Two mighty brindled mastiffs; and beyond them, darkness. You scarcely see them at first, against the gloomy green. No other sky for them, poor things! They are grey themselves, spotted with black

* G. Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, p. 842.

† The story will be found in Dom Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne*. We have unfortunately mislaid our own reference, and are unable at present to consult the good Benedictine's ponderous folios.

all over; their multitudinous doggish vices may not be washed out of them, are ingrain of nature. Strong thewed and sinewed, however, no blame on them as far as bodily strength may reach; their heads coal-black, with drooping ears and fierce eyes, bloodshot a little. Wildest of beasts perhaps they would have been by nature. But between them stands the spirit of their human Love, dove-winged and beautiful, the resistless Greek boy, golden quivered; his glowing breast and limbs the only light upon the sky—purple and pure. He has cast his chain about the dogs' necks, and holds it in his strong right hand, leaning proudly a little back from them. They will never break loose.'

The bloodhound, however, was the great dog of the South. It was in especial favour with the Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and its savage, almost untamable, nature rendered it a fitting companion for the iron troopers of Alva, or the merciless conquerors of the New World. Indeed, both in the Low Countries and on the coasts of Mexico and Peru, these dogs took an active share in their masters' proceedings. The names of that 'admirable dog' Bezerillo, 'muy excelente perro,' and of Leoncillo, 'the little treasure,' and 'the little lion,' are recorded among those of the conquerors of Puerto Rico. They drew their rations regularly, like the soldiers; and many a wretched Indian must have been tracked by them through the dense forests and underwood. It was, we believe, a bloodhound whose tomb Evelyn saw at the foot of a colossal Jupiter in the gardens of the Doria Palace at Genoa; 'for the care of which,' he tells us, 'one of this family received of the King of Spayne five hundred crownes a-yeare during the life-time of that faithfull animal.*' The race was carefully cherished in Spain; and, besides a large hound strongly resembling the Northern Danish dog, the ancestors of which were, it has been suggested, brought to Spain by the Goths, the bloodhound frequently appears on the grand canvasses of Titian and Velasquez. These are the 'noble brown beasts,' some of which, in Mr. Ruskin's words, Velasquez has made as grand as his surly kings. The dogs of Velasquez, he remarks elsewhere, 'are sterner and more threatening than those of Veronese; as are also his kings and admirals. This fierceness in the animal increases, as the spiritual power of the artist declines.' No small allowance should be made, however, for the difference between the races—the bright, earnest Venetian, and the far gloomier and more solemn Spaniard—chiefly represented by the two great painters. The savage cruelty which marred the faith of the latter is reflected in the bloodhound on whose head the gloved hand of his master so often rests in the stately portraits of Velasquez.

* Diary, i. p. 131.

Of whatever race the artist may have thought fit to make the 'Domini canes,' the black and white dogs which represented the faithful sons of St. Dominic in their black cowls and white scapulars, there can be no doubt that a strong dash of the bloodhound ought properly to mingle with it. In one of the frescoes by Simone Memmi, which adorn the chapterhouse of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, a whole pack of the Domini canes are represented as in the act of worrying a band of wolves, under which guise such pestilent heretics as Peter Waldo and his followers are shadowed forth. The title of the Lord's dogs, however, although at once suggested by the name of St. Dominic's order,* had been appropriated long before the days of the 'frères.' 'Since,' replied the merchant Samo, who had become chief of the Slaves, to a messenger sent from King Dagobert, 'you call yourselves the servants of God, and us his dogs, recollect that what you do as profitless servants against his will, it may be given to us to avenge with bites.'† But no Slavonic dog ever bit so sore as the parti-coloured hounds of the Inquisition. How far the Earl of Wiltshire's dog was influenced by a desire to avenge the Protestant wolves we will not venture to decide. A faint apology for his conduct—ininitely worse than that of Launce's Crab, when he thrust himself into the company of three or four gentleman-like dogs under the duke's table—is, we are shocked to write it, offered by Fuller; who says that, when the English embassy reached Rome in 1530, 'they found the Pope in his grandetza proffering his toe to them, which none offered to kiss save the unmannerly spaniel (to say no worse of him) to the Earl of Wiltshire, whom the Jesuit (Father Floud) calls a Protestant dog for biting the Pope's toe; but let him tell us what religion those dogs were of that ate up Jezebel the harlot.'‡

Dr. Stanley, who saw the descendants of these dogs prowling under the walls of Jezreel, will tell us that, whatever their religion may have been, they were certainly not spaniels. Greyhounds, spaniels, and hounds are classed by Sir Philip Sidney—the first, as 'the lords;' the second, 'the gentlemen;' and the last, 'the yeomen of dogges.'§ The gentlemen, in King Charles's opinion, were the more courtly, though not for this reason the better, companions. 'Methinks,' writes Sir Philip Warwick, who was in attendance on the King at Newport, 'because it shows his dis-

* St. Dominic's mother is said to have dreamt that she brought into the world a black and white dog, with a torch in its mouth. So the Cistercians asserted that the mother of St. Bernard dreamt that she was about to produce a 'beautifully white, barking whelp.' The Cistercian habit was white.

† Aimoin, l. iv. c. 23.

‡ Church History, b. v. sec. 2, § 18.

§ Arcadia, book ii.

esteem of a common court vice, it is not unworthy the relating of him, that, one evening, his dog scraping at his door, he commanded me to let in Gypsey, whereupon I took the boldness to say, "Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than you do a spaniel." "Yes," says he, "for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much."*

However they may be classed, there is no doubt that dogs, like men, have their different ranks, or that Fortune showers her gifts among them with just as uneven a hand as she uses when busying herself with their masters:—

'Some wake to the world's wine, honey, and corn,
Whilst others, like Colchester natives, are born
To its vinegar only, and pepper.'

During the middle ages the greyhounds, as the 'lords of dogges,' came in for such stars and blue ribands as were to be enjoyed in the canine world. A certain breed of them had the privilege of appearing with their masters whenever they pleased in the presence of the great Emperor Charlemagne. As a mark of this privilege, the hound's right paw was closely shaven; a less oppressive, if less useful, distinction than the richly damasked corselets and back-plates which were fastened about the best greyhounds when about to take part in the boar-hunt; 'to defend them from the violence of the swine's tusks,' says Cavendish, who saw them armed in this manner at Compiègne.† The superb necklets of gold, set with pearls and rubies, which were constantly worn by such greyhounds of high degree as figure in the Welsh *Mabinogion*,—and before which honest Cæsar's

'Lockit, letter'd, braw brass collar,
Which show'd him gentleman and scholar,'

fades into complete insignificance,—must partly perhaps, but only partly, be placed to the score of the romancer's imagination. Very rich ancient collars exist. Many of great splendour are figured in early illuminations; and some very curious ones may occasionally be seen on the dogs which lie at the feet of monumental effigies. The collars of those on the tomb of Bishop John de Sheppey in Rochester cathedral are coloured vermilion, and small bells are hung from them at intervals. Thin circlets, possibly of gold, are about the necks of the greyhounds in the illuminations of the well-known MS. of Froissart (temp. Ric. II.), in the British Museum: and they sometimes appear wrapped in

* Mem. of Charles I., p. 365.

† Life of Wolsey, p. 527 (in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*). In the romance of 'Octavian Emperor' a lioness is thus armed, and fights by the side of Octavian in every battle.

long cloaks and housings of blue and scarlet, blazoned with lions and fleurs de lys; a magnificence which, however gratifying to canine vanity, must have been occasionally found as inconvenient as Miss Caroline's gauze hat and silk slippers, when, as the story in the 'Looking Glass' used to tell us, she insisted, thus sumptuously attired, on joining the sports of her more sensible companions. We wonder whether vanity or discomfort was the prevailing sentiment in the mind of the dog who, not many years since, attended his mistress's funeral in a long black cloak—we believe, at Worcester.

If the canine mind be indeed open to a sentiment of vanity, it must occasionally be subjected to some very serious shocks. It can be no pleasant thing for a dog of any delicacy of feeling to be reminded that the Latin prose of the unhappy candidate who fails in his matriculation trials at Exeter or Brasenose is just such as he might himself be expected to produce under similar circumstances: nor can he be much more gratified at finding his name bestowed on the scentless and unprized varieties of the rose and violet; unless indeed he remembers that the dog rose was so called because it was anciently thought to be a preservative against hydrophobia, for both dogs and men; and unless, as may very likely be the case, he shares the taste of the old whipper-in, who regretted that his dogs had no longer a chance of discovering the true scent, 'now that they stinking violets were all in flower.' It may be doubted, moreover, whether his discovery of the fact that the vessel for holding the famous purple ink with which the Byzantine Emperors used to sign their names was in the shape of a dog, and placed under the charge of a special officer, or even whether the recognition of his own form in the honoured salt-cellar which rose in the centre of the board, and which was frequently fashioned like a dog, would console a hound of sensitive mind, and of archæological tastes, for the degradation implied in the strange old penance known to antiquaries as 'cunophoria,' and imposed in some parts of Europe on the knight who had been guilty of serious crime. The penance consisted in the condemned person's walking barefooted and bare-headed, and carrying a dog across his shoulders, from the place where the crime had been committed, either across the border, into the adjoining 'county,' or to the great doors of the most important church or monastery in the district.* The most frequent

* The earliest notice of this punishment occurs in the Francic and Suevic laws—a sufficient proof of its antiquity. The noble carried a dog; the serf or unfree a saddle. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa compelled one of his most powerful counts, with ten of his companions, to walk thus in penance for a German mile, each of them carrying a dog on his shoulders.

instances of this kind of punishment occur in the chronicles of Northern Europe; but it was by no means confined to the remoter shores of the Baltic; and if our canine friend should not chance to meet with it in his researches, he would certainly come across numberless records of the hanging of dogs side by side with human malefactors,—an insult which was in especial favour when an unfortunate Jew happened to be the victim. In short, notwithstanding the protection of St. Hubert and St. Roche, and in spite of all his sagacity and faithfulness, it is certain, as Mr. Dasent has remarked after Grimm, that ‘something unclean and impure’—handed onward, no doubt, from the primitive Oriental feeling—was associated with the dog throughout the mediæval period, and still clings to him in popular tradition. His name is still as much a word of reproach as when it was bestowed on the excommunicated ‘Cagots’—‘Gothic dogs;’ and his long wailing howl is just as ominous now as when, in the great session of the Council of Florence, at which Greeks and Latins met in the vain hope of permanently arranging their theological differences, the dog of the Emperor John Palæologus ‘howled fiercely and lamentably’ throughout his master’s speech; foretoking the inutility of the Greek concessions, and the approaching conversion of St. Sophia into a Mahomedan mosque.

If our antiquarian friend belong to the nobler class—the true ‘lords’ of dogs—he will, no doubt, meet these discoveries with becoming dignity, and will pass them by with a brief reflection on human pride and ingratitude. But ‘my lady’s brach who lies by the fire’—

‘the little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart,’—

will be more disagreeably affected. These are the dogs on whom, as Mr. Ruskin tells us, Veronese and the rest of the Venetians are ‘so hard;’ exemplifying, by their means, the lowest forms of really human feeling—such as ‘conceit, gluttony, indolence, petulance.’ The little ‘curly, short-nosed, fringy-pawed things, which all Venetian ladies petted,’ are thus introduced by Veronese in two of his greatest pictures—the ‘Presentation of his own family to the Madonna,’ at Dresden, and the ‘Queen of Sheba before Solomon,’ at Turin. In the first, the dog is the ‘last link in the chain of lowering feeling’ (the others running through Veronese’s children, of different ages), and is walking away much offended; not a little wondering, as Mr. Ruskin suggests, how the Madonna could possibly have got into the house. In the second picture, whilst the Queen is overcome with emotion, her dog ‘is wholly unabashed by Solomon’s presence or anybody else’s, and stands with his forelegs well apart, right

right in front of his mistress, thinking everybody has lost their wits, and barking violently at one of the attendants, who has set down a golden vase disrespectfully near him.' The 'fringy-paws,' according to Evelyn, were carefully bred for sale in most of the Italian monasteries; and a Venetian contessa's father confessor, besides his spiritual consolation, could supply his patroness with the 'dearest little dog in the world;' and with the indispensable orange-flower water and 'cedrat,' between the preparation of which, and the breeding of lapdogs, the good fathers divided their attention. Many a fringy-paw found its way to England among other 'fashions of proud Italy,' which the Flanders galleys brought to Southampton on their homeward voyage; and it is against the devotion of the English ladies to these 'sybaritical puppies'—predecessors of the King Charleses and the Blenheim immortals by Landseer—that Harrison lifts up his voice in the curious description of England prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle:—

'They are little and prettie,' he says, 'proper and fine, and sought out far and neere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames: instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises a sillie poore shift to shun their irksome idlenesse. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they have a hole in the forepart of their heads) the better they are accepted as meet playfellows for minsing mistresses to bear in their bosomes, to keepe company withall in their chambers, to succour with sleep in bed, to nourish with meat at boord, to lie in their laps and licke their lips as they lie (like young Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so; for coarsenesse with finenesse hath no fellowship; but featesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhood enough.' *

Neither Harrison nor Mr. Ruskin, however, was privileged to see so deeply into the matter as a certain monk of Bec, who, in a vision, beheld two old ladies of his acquaintance undergoing much suffering in purgatory, the result, as they told him, of an 'immoderate love of little dogs' during their lifetime. According to this it must, we should fear, be faring badly with Justus Lipsius, the learned professor of Louvain, whose habit it was to preside at lecture attended by a whole tribe of similar pets; the portraits of three of whom—Sapphire, Mopsy, and Mopsikins—were hung up in his study with appropriate inscriptions above them from the pen of the professor himself. Indeed such followers have their inconveniences even in this upper world. Grave suspicion was more than once awakened as

* Description of England, book ii. chap. 7

to the exact nature of Lipsius' attendants; a suspicion which rose into certainty in the case of Cornelius Agrippa's little black dog 'Monsieur.' We doubt greatly whether a shadow from the same dark cloud does not, in the minds of his parishioners, hang about an eccentric Cornish clergyman who is daily attended to church by a couple of large black cats, which take their places on either side of his lectern with the utmost gravity and discretion. He is to be congratulated on living in an 'enlightened' age. The Domini Canes, we suspect, would soon have found a pretext for worrying this very remarkable pair of acolytes, and for handing over their master to the mercies of the 'secular arm.'

The Venetian fringy-paws were only a variety of the dogs of Malta—the most ancient lapdogs of the Western world—small, white, and silky; the especial pets of the great Roman ladies. 'When his favourite dog dies,' writes Theophrastus, as an illustration of the character of the 'Vain man'—'he deposits the remains in a tomb, and erects a monument over the grave, with an inscription—"Offspring of the stock of Malta." The 'Vain man' seems to have been rather anxious that the world should know of how valuable a dog he had been the possessor, than to have raised his monument from any great regret for the 'Offspring of Malta.' Every variety of motive indeed has led to the erection of canine monuments; from the Cynosema on the Thracian headland, to the 'Imago Maidæ' before the hall-door of Abbotsford; and we must leave it for some modern Theophrastus or La Bruyère to say how far human vanity is to be traced underlying or intermingling with them all. During the recent demolition of the old chapel at Exeter College, Oxford, a small brass was found with an inscription recording the loss of a favourite dog. This is probably the only instance of canine commemoration in such a place; unless we may regard as a similar record of affection the name 'Tirri,' inscribed below the dog of Dame Alicia Cassey on her brass (date 1400), in the very interesting church of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. 'Tirri' may have been a most virtuous and gifted animal, and may have rendered such inestimable services to his mistress as deserved an enduring record. Unhappily his name alone survives; whilst of another and more famous dog—who has also found a place on his master's tomb—we have the record of the services without the name. It is impossible to determine how much, not his master alone, but all Europe, owed to the spaniel whose marble effigy lies crouched at the feet of William the Silent, the great founder of the Dutch Republic, on his tomb in the church at Delft. It was this dog which saved the Prince's life by springing forward,
barking,

barking, and scratching his master's face with his paws, when, in the night attack on the camp before Mons, a band of Spanish arquebusiers were on the point of entering the tent of William. His guards and himself were in profound sleep, and there was but just time for the Prince, after the spaniel had roused him, to mount a horse which was ready saddled, and to make his escape through the darkness. His servants and attendants lost their lives. 'To his dying day,' Mr. Motley tells us, 'the Prince ever afterwards kept a spaniel of the same race in his bed-chamber.' We hope—but we are nowhere told—that the dog to whom 'free Frieze-land' and the struggling Dutch provinces were so greatly indebted, managed to save his own life in the midst of the confusion.

Whoever desires to see what amount of honour may be rendered to the race by its more ardent admirers should visit the canine necropolis at Goodwood, where the sides of a deep hollow among the shrubberies are filled with tombs and tombstones, on which the names and merits of departed favourites are duly recorded. A walk through this final resting-place of virtue ought to be full of consolation for the most snappish of fringy-paws. The tombstones of about sixty dogs still remain, we believe, on the banks of a large pond near the grotto at Oatlands. They were placed there by the Duchess of York, who supplied their epitaphs, one of which runs as follows:—

'Pepper, near this silent grotto
Thy fair virtues lie confest;
Fidelity thy constant motto;
Warmth of friendship speak the rest.'

This Pepper was, perhaps, a 'bonny terrier, and a fell chield at the vermin;' but the patriarchal Pepper of Charlie's Hope, whose 'fair virtues' remain unrecorded on the banks of his native Liddel, would have passed by the tombstone with a growl of gentle contempt. In fact, it is no easy matter to produce a good canine epitaph. One of the best we know—

'Life to the last enjoyed, here Pompey lies,'—

was placed by Hogarth on the tomb of his wife's dog, which still remains at the end of a filbert-walk in the garden of the house he occupied at Chiswick. Hogarth has appropriated the line from Churchill's 'Candidate'—no doubt far more truly applicable to Pompey than to its unfortunate inventor—which the poet chose for his own tombstone at Dover. It is curious enough that Pope was on the point of adopting the epitaph of an infinitely greater poet than Churchill for the tomb of his dog Bounce, who figures by the side of his master in Richardson's portrait

portrait at Hagley. But Pope allowed himself to be persuaded that 'O rare Bounce!' would savour of disrespect to Ben Jonson. The inscription, however, would have been at least as appropriate in the garden of the Twickenham villa as it is in the Abbey transept. Scarcely less briefly suggestive is Titania's call, 'Where's Peas-blossom?' which we once saw above the resting-place of an honest brown terrier, one of four brothers, named after the attendants of the Fairy queen; just as 'kind and courteous' as those worthy gentlemen, and just as eager to 'hop in the walks and gambol in the eyes' of their mortal mistress.

But a dog may have greatness thrust upon him by other means than an epitaph. Hogarth has introduced his own dog Crab in his portrait, and by so doing has conferred immortality on a pug who, as far as his countenance goes, would certainly seem to have been something more than a namesake of Launce's follower, 'the sourest-natured dog that lives.' Some dogs too obtain distinction under false pretences. Notwithstanding the famous anecdote of Sir Isaac Newton and his dog Diamond, we now know upon authority that 'Sir Isaac never held any communion with dogs or cats.' During Rousseau's Parisian celebrity 'his very dog,' David Hume wrote to Blair, 'which is no better than a collie, had a name and reputation.' David, we hope, was not jealous of the collie, as Goldsmith undoubtedly would have been. He might have remembered that a French literary lion has much in common with a fine lady, and that the Blenheim of a true 'belle of the ball-room' will certainly be distinguished for her sake. Ariel himself undertook the charge of Shock on that day when black omens threatened the fate of Belinda; and Shock in his turn lies embedded in the imperishable amber of Pope's verses. Even the ingratitude of a dog has occasionally brought about his commemoration. M. Karr pleasantly laments* the desertion of his companion Schütz. Schütz, it is clear, was a thorough Parisian in spite of his name. His Paris, however, is the Paris of the Boulevards and of the Café de l'Europe. He wants that air of the 'grand cour'—that soupçon of powder and patches—which lingers about Belinda's Shock or Horace Walpole's Patapan—

'so nice, whoever saw
A pearly drop on his sofa?'

or most of all about the charming Fretillon, the little dog of Madame d'Aulnoy's story, whose black eyes looked out from under his Louis Quatorze wig—who barked at the fishes as he took care of the Princess on the raft—and who, when all his

* A. Karr, *Geneviève*, t. ii.

dangers were over, would condescend to eat nothing but 'perdrix' for the rest of his life. Frederick of Prussia's Pompadour, who, as the great King declared, 'did not cost him half so much as that other Pompadour cost his brother of France,' must of course have been a true French poodle; and we fancy her long silken ears tied up with blue ribands à la Sévigné. Let us hope that her morale was under better regulation than that of her too famous namesake, and that she resembled certain 'levrettes' celebrated by Balzac in one of his novels, 'dont les mœurs avaient quelque chose de la discrétion Anglaise.'

We have more than once referred incidentally to the few dogs, and 'doggish' allusions, introduced in the plays of the great dramatist. Much indeed do we regret that they are so few; for such a dog as Launce's Crab is as completely individualized as Launce himself, and stands out quite as clearly and distinctly from the crowd of his brethren. Among the many points of marked difference between the lighter literature of England and the Continent, the manner in which the dog is introduced as one of the minor 'dramatis personæ' is especially characteristic. Poodles and lapdogs, with an occasional 'levrette,' are almost the only representatives of the canine race which figure in the yellow-wrapped 'Romans' wherewith modern Paris is content to amuse herself; nor is there much trace of a real appreciation of the more generous kinds, at least, as friends and companions, in the whole range of French literature. On the other hand, there is scarcely one great British poet, from Chaucer to Scott, who does not, more or less directly, impress us with a conviction that he was a true lover of dogs. The country life of England—the fresh, open air of its woods and downs—breathes throughout its literature. Who can doubt that Shakspeare was a sportsman? Many a time he may have roused the hart on Ingon Hill with such hounds as those of Duke Theseus of Athens.

'So flewed, so sanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-kneed, and dewlapped like Thessalian bulls:
Slow in pursuit; but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. . . .'

We may be very sure that more than one especial favourite—would we had their names to place in the most honoured niches of our canine gallery!—watched the steps of the poet with loving eyes as he paced the long garden terraces at New Place.

Something perhaps of the feeling which, according to Mr. Ruskin, led the great Venetian painters to pass by the nobler qualities of the dog in the presence of man—'subduing it, like an inferior light in presence of the sky'—may have prevented

Shakspeare

Shakspeare from giving us 'a more complete series of canine portraits. But, if we have to content ourselves with but few sketches from his master-hand, his great modern representative has raised the dog almost to the dignity of a principal personage. In the novels of Sir Walter's predecessors a dog appears now and then, and is sometimes, as in those of Fielding and Smollett, introduced happily enough. We do remember the troubles of Chowder and Mrs. Tabitha Bramble. But for the most part the canine portraits of these earlier masters are touched in but slightly, and are soon forgotten; whilst Ban and Buscar, who dashed the dew from the ladyfern by the side of Davie Gelatly; Little Wasp, who, if he was not so 'weel entered wi' the rattons,' happily escaped the mutilations to which the race of Pepper and Mustard were liable; or Juno, that type of woman-kind, who ran off with Mr. Oldbuck's buttered toast, rise before the 'mind's eye' as distinctly as Waverley, or Henry Bertram, or the Antiquary, and at once recall the whole group of characters belonging to the story in which they figure. Every shade of canine feeling—every development of canine nature, may be studied in the pages of Sir Walter. 'Wherever,' in the words of Mr. Adolphus, 'it is possible for a dog in any way to contribute to the effect of a scene, we find there the very dog that was required, in his proper place and attitude.' Happily we are not left in ignorance of the names or the natures of the dogs which attended their master in his wanderings by Tweed side or on Yarrow. Camp, whose death Sir Walter lamented as that of a friend, and the Giant Maida, who 'sleeps soundly at his master's door,' will remain in kindly connection with the greatest name in modern literature, so long as literature itself shall last.

It is in fact the gentlest nature—such an union of gentleness with high independence and perfect courage as distinguished Sir Walter, 'the very perfect gentle knight'—which will most thoroughly appreciate the noble qualities of the dog, and to which the dog in turn will be most ready to attach himself. During a time of most anxious watching and observation, Collingwood, the very ideal of an English sailor, could thus write to his wife about his Newfoundland, Bounce:—

'Bounce is my only pet now, and he is indeed a good fellow. He sleeps by the side of my cot whenever I lie in one, until near the time of tacking, and then marches off to be out of hearing of the guns, for he is not reconciled to them yet.'—(Off Cadiz, 1805.)

Bounce was present with his master at Trafalgar, in the Royal Sovereign, and seems to have been unduly elated after Colling-

wood's elevation to the peerage. In writing to his wife, after hoping that his daughters 'will not give themselves foolish airs,' the new-made Baron proceeds:—

'I am out of all patience with Bounce. The consequential airs he gives himself since he became a Right Honourable dog are insufferable. He considers it beneath his dignity to play with commoners' dogs; and, truly, thinks that he does them grace when he condescends to lift his leg against them. This, I think, is carrying the insolence of rank to the extreme; but he is a dog that does it.'

The master who could make his dog point a moral thus pleasantly must have been gentle in every sense.

To what extent the best qualities of the dog react in their turn upon the rougher classes of humanity we will not now stop to inquire; although we fully believe that his influence in this way is at times very considerable. A dog may be far from the worst of teachers; and in spite of the very ancient prejudice against him, to which we have more than once alluded, his opportunities of instruction have always been enormous, and can never diminish. In a word, our philosophy is that of the Prince of Denmark:—

'Let Hercules himself do what he may,
The cat will mew, the dog will have his day.'

ART. VII.—1. *Speech of Mr. Gladstone in making the Financial Statement, February 10, 1860.* London, 1860.

2. *Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue on the Inland Revenue.* London, 1860.

3. *Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs on the Customs.* London, 1860.

4. *Papers of the Birmingham Income-Tax Reform Association.* Birmingham, 1857.

5. *Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation, with Reference to a Property-Tax and its Exceptions.* By Charles Babbage. London, 1852.

IT is a favourite observation that home-politics have ceased to command the interest in England which belonged to them of old. The days of political passion have gone by: there is not even enough of it left to establish a visible boundary between the two parties who are struggling for the honours of the State. Domestic controversies no longer engross men, and great party contests carry with them no sympathy out of doors. Foreign convulsions absorb all the interest which people now have to spare

spare for public affairs. This is a state of things which, however indicative of national prosperity, is terribly embarrassing to public writers. An author has a difficulty in addressing himself to the topic of the day when he is conscious that any fine morning a stroke of Mr. Reuter's pen may turn the public thoughts into a totally new direction, and consign the dominant interests of yesterday to oblivion. It is a consolation to him that there is one exception to this difficulty. There is one subject that fortunately enjoys a perfect immunity from this terrible contingency—one interest that never can grow old—one set of questions to which the householder who has just paid his Christmas bills is never indifferent or callous. There is nothing certain, says the proverb, except death and taxes; and however mankind may have contrived to cultivate forgetfulness of one of these evils, no device has yet availed to banish the recollection of the other. A man may avert his eyes from a *memento mori*, but the other sort of memento is impressed quarterly on the mind by official hands, and will not be thrust aside. Although, therefore, an Austrian crash and a Turkish convulsion, a partition of Syria and an invasion of Venice, are promised as the political entertainments of the spring, besides whatever distractions New Zealand and Pekin may offer, we shall not be afraid to draw our readers' attention for a short time to subjects of a homelier character and more vulgar interest, which next session assuredly will not permit them to forget.

We do not need much preamble to introduce the question of taxation to their notice. By the time they read these lines many of them will have conned over, with a gloomy sense of helplessness, the neatly-drawn formula which conveys to them the pleasant computation of the sum that will stay for the space of three months the rapacious appetites of Schedule A and Schedule D. Probably the sight will have recalled to them the numerous occasions on which their feelings have been lacerated before this by a similar piece of paper. It will not have escaped them that the levy is higher than they have ever previously seen it in time of peace; and they will possibly recollect that precisely the same observation crossed their minds a year ago. But it is with nothing better than a dismal sense of impotence that we all watch and feel the gradual stretching of that fiscal rack. The emotions of an income-tax payer, as he contemplates the past and the probable future, can only be compared to those of the prisoner in the *Iron Shroud*, as he watched day by day the diminishing number of his windows, and the increasing narrowness of his cell. It is gaining upon him slowly and surely, eating up more and more of his income; but there is no escape for him now. Possibly he remembers

remembers a time when the income-tax was young and might have been stifled ; but it was suffered to pass then because men of honour and position solemnly engaged that it should only be a temporary tax. That opportunity has been lost. With an innocence more suitable to tender maidens than middle-aged men of business, the English tax-payers believed the promises of their Ministers, and have found them by experience to consist of much the same material as lovers' vows. However, the illusion is effectually cured now. The most frantic pledges of the most conscientious Chancellor of the Exchequer would not now induce the simplest victim of Schedule D to believe the income-tax to be on that account a whit nearer its termination. What has been before is that which will be hereafter. He has seen it again and again—always under solemn promises that it would only be provisional—imposed upon him for the purpose of relieving other classes of the community, of satisfying a new financial theory, of propitiating a noisy Lancashire school. He is now despairingly convinced that, whatever hopes may be held out to him now, there will always be some ' blessings to scatter,' some financial heroism to achieve, some very good reasons of some kind or another why the income-tax should never be remitted. As long as any indirect taxes remain by its side to be reduced, it will swallow them up gradually one by one, itself growing in bulk by a penny or twopence at each gulp, until at last it comprises all taxation in itself, and becomes the theoretical *seul impôt* after which a section of Laputan financiers sigh. That neatly-drawn formula which the householder studies with increasing consternation has a terrible capacity of growth in it. He may well think with remorse of the negligence which has allowed it to attain to proportions so embarrassing for the present and so menacing for the future.

The future of the income-tax is indeed a very ugly one to think about. It is bad enough if we augur of the future from the experience of the past ; but it is much worse if we take into account the announced wishes of those who practically shape the course of our finance. Theoretically of course the whole Cabinet is responsible for the finance proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer ; but that is a constitutional theory which only corresponds very distantly with the fact. It seems to be decided, not by the Cabinet, nor by the majority of the Cabinet, but by the stubbornest member in it. We know that the only other two members of the Cabinet who have had any experience of finance, Sir Charles Wood and Sir G. C. Lewis, have disavowed by every act and word of their past official lives the principles on which the late Budget was framed, and maintained, during the

the financial debates of the past year, a silence whose significance they took no pains to belie. The true authors of the policy to which the Cabinet, the House of Commons, and the nation have submitted with so many misgivings, are Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden. Mr. Bright boasted in the House that the French treaty was due to certain oracular utterances of his own: and other parts of the Budget, especially the repeal of the paper-duty, bore in their most obvious features unmistakable marks of Manchester paternity. The Amœbæan ode of mutual compliment maintained throughout the Session by Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, and the very different tone they both held towards Lord Palmerston, was of itself enough to show how closely they were linked together, and how lightly sat the bonds of allegiance which united them to the more constitutional portion of the Government. If they then be, as during the past year they have been, our financial rulers, our financial horoscope is not very difficult to draw. Their objects have been announced very plainly—far too plainly for the unfortunates who have just paid tenpence in the pound. They are the leaders of the crusade against indirect taxation which was the main characteristic of the recent Budget, and which shelters itself, most falsely, under the authority of the late Sir Robert Peel. Their avowed object is the destruction of Customs and Excise as a source of revenue, and the substitution in their room either of the income-tax or of some still more oppressive form of direct taxation. As might naturally be expected, this object is proclaimed with much circumlocution by Mr. Gladstone, with more distinctness and less reserve by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. We are far from meaning to imply that both have the same ultimate objects in view. They are both the sworn enemies of indirect taxation; but Mr. Gladstone is so simply because he is pursuing a financial phantom, which he believes to have been Peel's ideal. Mistaking the cautious and untheoretic spirit of his old leader's policy, as well as crediting it with a prosperity with which Stephenson had a great deal more to do than Peel, he believes that, because the remission of indirect taxation was beneficent once, it will be so under all circumstances, and at all times. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, is merely urged on by his unscrupulous devotion to the interests of a single class. To shift on to the shoulders of the owners of realised property all the burdens of the State, and to secure to the trading and manufacturing community an enjoyment of the blessings of government together with a perfect immunity from their cost, is the point towards which all his manifold agitations converge. It is not enough in his eyes that fixed property already bears a share of the national burdens extravagantly disproportionate.

proportionate.* He would prefer that it should bear all. His Liverpool speech of a year ago went to the length of proposing to lay on realised property every farthing of national expenditure. It was an object which, when once proposed, explained, what was somewhat mysterious before, the mutual connexion of his various political enterprises. It was natural that he should seek for a sweeping Reform Bill; for if the taxing power were once vested in the lower classes alone, he could do with the owners of real property much what he liked. It was natural that he should discourage all interest in foreign affairs; for it was only in the complete absence of all other objects of interest that it would be possible to fan up any sympathy for Reform. His hostility to indirect taxation, which presses, not on one interest, but on the whole community, is of course an integral part of the whole scheme. Based as that scheme is on partial interests alone, any arguments against it that rest on the claims of the whole community would be irrelevant. The contest he is waging is not a struggle of logic, but of force. What he has undertaken is not a financial controversy, but simply an attempt to 'loot' the stockholders and the landlords.

This Liverpool budget was probably one of the greatest blunders that any politician of consideration has perpetrated since Mr. Fox committed himself to the French Revolution. It woke up the propertied classes as if by magic to the danger they were running by their apathy, and to the certain ruin that awaited them if Mr. Bright's political clients ever attained to power. It undid in one unlucky night the fruit of years of industry, and exposed by a practical defeat the hollowness of the bluster by which Mr. Bright had contrived to intimidate our feeble race of politicians. But from the author of the French treaty, and the panegyrist of Mr. Gladstone, it is a valuable expression of opinion. It conveyed his formal adhesion to the doctrines of what is called the 'Financial Reform Association'—an elegant periphrasis, we understand, for the imposing personality of Mr. Robertson Gladstone. These doc-

* Land pays a land-tax amounting to more than 1,130,000*l.*, besides the interest of the enormous sums which have been applied at various times to capitalise and buy up the land-tax; a house-tax of 800,000*l.*; and rates to the amount of more than 13,000,000*l.* None of these public burdens are borne by any other kind of property except real property. In conjunction with the owner of stock, the landowner further pays the whole of the succession duty and the greater portion of the income-tax. The income-tax is intended to press equally on all; but the power of concealing their incomes, which the classes under Schedule D alone possess, in practice throws upon the other schedules far the largest proportion of the burden.

trines, as stated by him on that evening, were, that Customs and Excise were unfair taxes, which ought to be abolished, and that a tax on realised property was the only just mode of filling the Exchequer. Mr. Cobden accepts the same profession of faith with equal openness. He writes to excuse his non-attendance at the same meeting, and in doing so says—

‘There never was a moment when I felt a greater interest than at present in the realisation of your society’s programme for the substitution of direct for indirect taxation.’—(*Meeting at Liverpool, Dec. 1, 1859.*)

These quotations are a year old; but in the case of the two gentlemen concerned they may be safely taken as an exposition of their present views. Whatever else may be objected to Messrs. Cobden and Bright, no one can say of them that they are inconstant politicians. We do not feel anything of the same confidence in quoting the past speeches of Mr. Gladstone. We know that such quotations involve the assumption that he will act to-morrow as he acted yesterday; and we are well aware that it is hardly possible to lay down a more hazardous proposition. If we do refer to what he has said in previous speeches, we do so partly from habit, because it is the way in which a statesman’s future course is usually calculated, and partly because we incline to the belief that the tenacious clutch of the Manchester school will succeed where all the various parties he has yet led have failed, and—far too late, unhappily, for his usefulness or his fame—will force upon him something like steadiness of policy. But in venturing hypothetically to indicate what he might do if he were consistent with a certain portion of his proclaimed opinions, we wholly decline to commit ourselves to anything so extravagant as a confident prediction. We trust that in reference to his career many rude shocks have schooled us into a sober, resigned condition of mind, which is content to make the best of the Gladstone of to-day, without speculating too curiously on the Gladstone which the morrow may bring forth. We anticipate everything and nothing, and shall be surprised neither at what is done nor at what is left undone. He may levy all the revenue off the income-tax, and prove that it is a very Conservative measure; or he may quadruple the paper-duty, and prove that it is just what the manufacturers desire. We do not think that, after the marvellous evolutions of the last two years, either proceeding would give us any just right to wonder.

Still, it must be admitted that, while during the last four years he has been consistent on scarcely any other subject, he has been marvellously constant in his hostility to indirect taxation. He has

has never absolutely advocated its abolition, because even his powerful imagination probably refuses to reach forward to the period when, letting alone the questions of wisdom and justice, it shall be possible to forego the assistance of Customs and Excise. But still his views differ from those of his coadjutors in kind more than in degree. His tone in speaking of indirect taxation is, that it is a noxious, though perhaps an inevitable, defect in finance. He looks upon it as a thorn in the financier's side, from which he may not expect to be completely free, but against which it is his duty incessantly to struggle. Its abolition is the ideal of perfection which he holds that his finance ought to be always striving to approach, though he may never hope to reach it; and his test of the excellence or the faultiness of a budget is the extent to which it provides that indirect taxation shall be remitted. So in that fierce attack of four years ago upon Sir G. C. Lewis—which might have warned men, if too implicit a reliance on his inconsistency had not lulled them to sleep, of what his next term of office was likely to bring forth—one of his strongest charges against his present much-enduring colleague was, that he was not keen enough in his hostility to this particular species of impost.

‘It is the first time within my recollection that I have heard from the Treasury Bench proposals of the nature, spirit, and tendency of those advanced by my right hon. friend on the subject of indirect taxation. We have seen and heard many Chancellors of the Exchequer. Every one of those gentlemen, representing different parties in the State, and in different political positions, gave from that box one and the same account of the effect produced by remissions of indirect taxation. . . . I really cannot help representing to the House the position in which it is supposed to stand. I believe it has been the boast of the Liberal party in this country to associate itself especially with the remission of indirect taxation. As I have said before, it is a work in which Conservative Governments have largely shared; but the Liberal party appear to me always to have had a peculiar pride in their close identification with it. Sir, if they feel that sentiment of pride, I trust they will have an equal regard for consistency and honour in adhering stedfastly to that work.’—(*Mr. Gladstone's Speech*, Feb. 20, 1857.)

This was, no doubt, fair warning. Perhaps it would have been attended to more carefully if the same speech had not contained phrases quite as strong with reference to the abolition of the income-tax:—

‘Of this I feel convinced, that if I may assume to exist in this House of Commons the same feelings which existed four years ago—I do not mean as to questions which were the subject of party contention, but as to the duty of balancing income and expenditure—the express
pledges

pledges which were given to the country on the subject of the income-tax will be vigorously maintained. As to the person upon whom the promises made to you may be said to rest, I say the changes which have since occurred do not absolve me in honour and conscience from the duty of straining every nerve still to maintain those *promises and expectations*, of the benefit and fruit of which my colleagues and myself availed ourselves at the time.'

An impartial critic at the time comparing the passages would have said that, of the two feelings, the aversion to the income-tax was the stronger one in Mr. Gladstone's mind. The remission of indirect taxation is only recommended by 'a sentiment which has been the pride of the Liberal party:' the abolition of the income-tax is guaranteed by an 'express pledge.' The retrospect of 1860 gives us a melancholy estimate of the respective values of a sentiment and a pledge in Mr. Gladstone's eyes.

'As half the speech wi' Phœbus grace did find,
The t'other half he whistled down the wind'—

as the Baron of Bradwardine would have said. Unfortunately, the half that has been whistled down the wind is that to which the most solemn asseverations were appended. The sentiment has triumphed; the pledge is repudiated with contempt. The budget speech of 1860 was conceived wholly in the spirit of the tirade against indirect taxation, and bore very few traces of the 'promises and expectations' of which Mr. Gladstone admits that he made political capital in the year 1853. The burthen of the whole speech is an assumption that remissions of indirect taxation—no matter how the gaps they make are to be filled up—are, as such, peculiarly and specially benefits to the people, and are the essence of financial progress. They are designated as 'reforms in the tariff,' 'commercial reforms on behalf of the masses,' 'steps in advance in the career of commercial improvement;' they are the subjects of unmeasured praise for the past, of extravagant promise for the future. But there is no word to hint that the removal of the income-tax would be any step in advance, or that it presses hardly on any class of the Queen's subjects; and it would appear that the reasoning on which the increase of the income-tax last year was founded has by no means lost its efficacy for future operations of the same kind:—

'We must take it for granted that for the present we have attained to what may be called a high level of public expenditure, and that we are likely to remain on that high level for some time at least. Is that a reason, or is it not, why we should arrest the process of reforming the commercial legislation of the country? I say that it is no reason for stopping. I say more—it is a distinct reason for persevering in that process,

process, and carrying it boldly and readily to its completion. Let us, however, for a moment glance at our position. If we were in the year 1860 to hold our hands, let us consider what aspect our procedure would bear. For seven years, under the pressure of war and of increased expenditure, we had intermitted the course of improvement on which we had entered. We have now arrived at a year of unexampled financial relief as regards the charge of the public debt. If, after such a period of years, on a review of a juncture like the present, we stop in 1860, will it not be supposed that we stop for ever? In truth, if this be not a fitting opportunity to give increased effect to the beneficial principles of your legislation, I, for one, must frankly own I know not when such an opportunity will arise. But, Sir, I come now to the broader view of the truth of the case. Our high taxation is not a reason for stopping short in our commercial reforms: it is a reason why we should persevere in them. For it is by means of these reforms that we are enabled to bear high taxation. —(*Mr. Gladstone's Speech*, Feb. 10, 1860.)

This last argument will clearly be worth as much next February as it was last February. If remissions of indirect taxes enabled us to bear the heavy burden of tenpence in the pound, it is clear that a further dose of similar remissions will enable us to bear a shilling; and so on *ad infinitum* so long as there are any indirect taxes to be remitted. Very possibly the clerks and curates on whom the income-tax falls with such crushing pressure do not feel as keenly as they ought that the free admission of French silks and French gloves has 'enabled them to bear a high taxation.' But whatever the logic was worth, it will be worth as much this spring. 'A high taxation is no reason for stopping short; it is a reason why we should persevere;' and, of course, the higher it is, the more reason it is why we should persevere. We helped the income-tax payer last spring by raising his tax to tenpence and giving him cheap wine; surely we are bound to extend to him a further measure of assistance, by raising his tax to a shilling and giving him cheap tobacco. We are afraid that our future fate is pretty clear. Assuming that Mr. Gladstone executes no new and astounding pirouette, there can be no doubt as to what his financial policy next spring will be. If there be a surplus, which is unlikely, the relief will be given to the indirect tax-payer; and if there be a deficiency, which is very much more probable, it will be met by an augmented income-tax. We shall be very fortunate if we escape a repetition of the manœuvre, which it was attempted to execute last year in the case of the paper-duty, of increasing the income-tax in order to diminish the excise. With these prospects before us it may not be inopportune to review the comparative merits, or demerits, of the two great financial rivals—the income-tax on the

the one side, and indirect taxation on the other—between whom Parliament will have to make its election this year.

We owe the income-tax, as everybody knows, to Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Gladstone is very fond of trying to make out that we owe to him also the principles on which it is sought to make the income-tax perpetual. His defence of the reckless remissions of last year's budget—remissions made in face of a present deficiency and a growing expenditure—is wholly based on the alleged example of Sir Robert Peel. It was from that Minister's financial experiments that he deduced the doctrine that it is always and in all cases a benefit to the commerce of the country to substitute income-tax for duties of customs and excise. And to establish this position, he showed, by an abundance of figures, how much more rapidly the exports and resources of the country had increased between 1842 and 1853 than between 1831 and 1842. The whole of this vast prosperity he attributed to Sir Robert Peel's remissions. The progress is unquestionable. The only question is, as to its cause. Mr. Gladstone is no doubt too deeply versed in the history of Tenterden steeple not to know that an event is not always the result of that which it follows in order of time. For instance, the successful termination of the Russian war followed on Mr. Gladstone's resignation of office. But we should be very sorry to argue that the events in question had anything more than a chronological connection with each other. In the same way it is hasty to argue that, because Sir Robert Peel remitted a large amount of indirect taxation, and the country since Peel's time has enjoyed a vast prosperity, that therefore the one fact is the necessary consequence of the other. It does not seem to have occurred to him that during the period from 1842 to 1853 there were extensive discoveries of gold, and an enormous creation of railways, events which, for the rapidity and energy of their action upon commerce, have had no parallel at any former period. Surely these go for something in accounting for the prosperity of that epoch. We do not wish to deny to Sir Robert Peel the credit which is due to his sagacious measures. But to claim for them, as Mr. Gladstone has done, the whole of the nation's vast increase in wealth, when causes of such incalculable power have been at work beside them, could only have been ventured on by an advocate speaking to a very fascinated audience. Apart from such exaggeration, however, we are far from desiring to detract from the well-earned fame of Peel's finance, or to question its beneficent results. But those results are no sort of justification for an indiscriminate onslaught on indirect taxation. Peel increased the yield of the tariff, not by grandiloquent theorizing,

theorizing, but by practised and watchful husbandry. He knew how to prune a duty without stunting it, how to weed a tariff without rooting it all up. Whenever a duty was so heavy that it would yield more if its rate were lowered, he lightened it: whenever it was laid on raw material, thereby weighing on the springs of industry, he abolished it. These were cautious and moderate reforms, which have yielded abundant fruit to justify his foresight. But they constitute no sort of censure upon indirect taxation. The modern school who are now dominant in finance, and who are followers of Peel in much the same sense that the Wesleyans are followers of Wesley, triumphantly dwell upon the fact that the taxes which Peel removed were indirect taxes; and by the help of a process which in the days of Aldrich we used to call an undistributed middle, they claim Peel as the first preacher of the crusade against indirect taxation. Their argument, stripped of rhetoric, runs thus: experience has shown that the taxes which Peel removed were bad taxes; they were also indirect taxes: therefore indirect taxes are bad taxes. They might as well say, that because the Thames is a river, and the Thames stinks, therefore all rivers do so. They talk as if they had the secret of Peel's success; and they imitate, not that which was the essence, but that which was the accident of his policy. The result is the financial confusion in which we find ourselves at this moment. It is dangerous for those who have not the master's lore to try experiments with the master's spell. The Icarus of finance who tries to imitate a flight beyond his powers will only end, like his prototype, by floundering.

Peel himself was certainly never guilty of the wholesale generalizations which his professed admirers deduce from his measures. He did not condemn indirect taxation because he removed indirect taxes that were pernicious. He knew too well its value as a fiscal engine, especially in a country that bears so heavy an inherited load of debt as England. It is quite true that duties of customs and excise, even the best of them, are in some sort a hindrance to commerce. But the same stigma attaches to every tax that ever was devised. A duty on silk makes silk dear; and if a man, or a community, can only afford a certain sum to spend in silk, it is obvious enough that less silk will be bought when the duty is on than when it is off. To that extent the industry of all persons engaged in the manufacture, carriage, and sale of silk will suffer, and of course the industry of all those whom they in their turn employ. To that extent the indirect tax hinders trade. But is the direct tax more innocent? When men pay income-tax, they must save it out of something: they must retrench somewhere to provide the

means

means of paying. Suppose they retrench in silk. The silk-merchant's trade is in precisely the same case as if it was subject to a customs duty. The consumer's power of buying is equally shortened, and the trade is equally checked, whether the duty be taken out of his pocket by the collector at his house or by the tradesman across the counter in the shape of an increased price. Either way the consumer cannot buy so much as he otherwise would have done, and a long chain of industries paid by his purchases suffers in consequence. Either way, therefore, the State hinders commerce in proportion to the money it abstracts—reimbursing it, it is true, partially by its own expenditure of that money. The argument applies, of course, with equal force to whatever articles men retrench in, in order to pay their income-tax. Commercially speaking, therefore, it is all one whether the revenue be raised out of direct or out of indirect taxation, always supposing both to be applied to legitimate objects in a legitimate way. On the other hand, indirect taxes have very great political advantages, and political advantages are of incalculable importance in a country where past debts and present needs make taxes higher than in any other country in the world. It is not very easy to bring uneducated men to appreciate the varied considerations which make a high taxation necessary. On the other hand, it is very easy for a demagogue to persuade them that there is waste in an expenditure about which they know no more than what it suits his views to tell them. There is no subject on which lying and slandering are more easily applied to the purposes of agitation, and there is none which at all times and in all places stirs men's hearts so deeply. Taxation, therefore, of all kinds, and especially a high taxation, always must involve an amount of political danger which it ought to be a statesman's constant study to lessen by every means at his command. If he cannot lessen the load of taxation, he should adjust it so that it shall not gall the back that has to bear it. If he cannot relieve his people from the taxes themselves, at least he is bound to relieve them to the utmost of his power from the bitterness and irritation which they are too apt to bring in their train. He can prevent the evil from obtruding itself constantly on their eyes, and can direct its main pressure on the tough and callous parts of the body politic, sparing those that are weakly or tender. This is what he ought to do to mitigate a burden which he cannot take away; and this is precisely what is effected by a judicious system of indirect taxation.

History shows us that the only taxes which contain within themselves the seeds of political peril are the taxes from which there is no escape. Wherever political confusion has been the result

result of burdensome taxation, it has always been either an indirect tax on the bare necessities of life, or more commonly a direct demand upon the taxpayer, which has been the provocation to discontent. In England we have had disturbances at various periods of our history connected with poll-taxes, benevolences, and ship-money; the pitiless exaction of the *taille* and the feudal dues was one of the chief causes of the French revolution; and the existence of Austria is at this moment threatened by the despair of a people ground down by a land-tax and other imposts of terrible severity. In all these cases it is the inevitable tax, which cannot be escaped by any amount of self-denial, that gave to the people the courage or the despair necessary for resistance. Herein lies the political value of our system of indirect taxation. It can never excite to resistance, for, levied as it is upon luxuries, it is never a compulsory or an inevitable tax; it never comes upon a poor man in evil times to drive him to desperation by demands which he can neither satisfy nor evade; it never presents to his eyes the maddening contrast between struggling men weighed down by fiscal exactions and the sleek comfort of a bureau of tax-receivers; it never leaves in his heart the rankling feeling that he has been sold up and brought to ruin that the pittance which would have saved him might go to swell the salary of some functionary of state. If a man finds himself in such distress that he cannot afford to contribute to the revenue, the remedy, so far as indirect taxation is concerned, is absolutely in his own hands. He has nothing to do but to refrain from buying the article taxed, and then the tax, so far as he is concerned, ceases to exist. Nobody who does not wish to pay an indirect tax, need pay it, and it may therefore be fairly called a voluntary tax. It is a tax constructed with a safety-valve. The moment the severity of its pressure exceeds the pleasure given by the luxury on which it is laid, that moment it ceases to press at all; consequently there is no danger of its blowing up the political machine. But this is not its only political recommendation. It presses the heaviest on those who are at once the least worthy and the least formidable citizens of the state. The thrifty and frugal members of the community are far the most dangerous men to irritate, because they possess the strength of character which will enable them to give effect to their irritation. But it is precisely this class whom indirect taxation spares. On the other hand, it extracts a very considerable revenue from the thriftless and the self-indulgent. But these are a class whose grievances receive little sympathy, and whose habits are a fatal obstacle to the pursuit of any schemes of political disturbance. The fact that in 1859 we levied twenty-two millions and a half from

from the drinkers of intoxicating liquors alone shows what indirect taxation, properly levelled at the self-indulgent portion of the community, can do.

But even on those unlucky wights who, by no legislative act, but by the strength of their own habits and propensities, are condemned to pay these taxes, they fall more lightly than the gentlest direct tax that has ever been devised. Even while these enormous sums are being extracted from them by the Government, they do not recognise the hand that squeezes them. They only feel the tax in the form of a higher price: if it is judiciously levied, they cannot measure its exact effect upon the price, and they know that a vast number of causes go to make up a high price which have nothing to do with taxation. They are accustomed to constant fluctuations in the cost of all the commodities they buy; sometimes from causes, like depressions of trade, which are quite unaccountable to them; sometimes from causes, like the vicissitudes of weather, which are wholly beyond their control. The mass of them get into the habit of taking market-prices as accomplished facts, without caring to inquire of what elements those prices are made up. Of course this is not true of all. There are some inquiring spirits who go further, and who know accurately how much of the price is prime cost, how much is profit, and how much is tax. But this is only the case with a select few. With the mass of them, the rise in price, which may be caused by the duties of Customs and Excise, does not impress them much more than as one among many occult phenomena connected with a small tradesman's charges; and in the multitude of variable elements which go to make up the cost of an article, the consumer is very apt to forget all about the tax. How many people have an idea how much out of the price of their newspaper or their pint of beer goes to the Exchequer? Add to this the shrewd suspicion which the majority of people entertain—a suspicion loudly repudiated by economists, but not altogether unjustified by facts—that, if a duty were diminished, the traders would contrive to intercept the greatest portion of the relief, and you have an account of the feeble interest which, as a general rule, the masses of the people can be induced to take in the remission of indirect taxation.

These doctrines are old and well accredited enough, though the Manchester school absolutely ignore them. The case for indirect taxation cannot be better summed up than in the words of Adam Smith, 'not the least among the apostles of Free Trade:—

'Such taxes upon luxuries as the greater part of the duties of Customs and Excise, though they fall indifferently upon every different

species of revenue, and are paid finally or without any retribution by whoever consumes the commodities upon which they are imposed, yet they do not always fall equally or proportionably upon the revenue of every individual. As every man's humour regulates the degree of his consumption, every man contributes rather according to his humour than in proportion to his revenue: the profuse contribute more, the parsimonious less than their proper proportion. . . . Any inequality in the contribution of individuals which can arise from such taxes is much more than compensated by the very circumstance which occasions that inequality—the circumstance that every man's contribution is altogether voluntary; it being altogether in his power to consume or not to consume the commodity taxed. *Where such taxes, therefore, are properly assessed, and upon proper commodities, they are paid with less grumbling than any other.* When they are advanced by the merchant or manufacturer, the consumer, who finally pays them, soon comes to confound them with the price of the commodities, and almost forgets that he pays any tax.'—(*Wealth of Nations*, bk. ii., chap. 5, art. iv.)

These considerations are not much thought of now. Arithmetic has been exalted and statesmanship has been abased since the days when Adam Smith wrote these thoughtful words. Finance is now looked upon as a sheer matter of computation, a pure problem of account; and any notion of importing into it questions of political expediency are treated as grovelling and unscientific. The issue between the old financiers, who preferred indirect taxation, and the new school, who detest it, is in reality a question between taxes that are costly and taxes that are odious. Indirect taxes are costly in the collection: let it even be granted, for the sake of argument, that they are more depressing to commerce than the income-tax. On the other hand, the income-tax is attended with a wide-spread discontent, which only in very exceptional cases ever results from the working of Customs and Excise.* A Chancellor of the Exchequer whose views upon finance

* The general acquiescence with which our indirect taxation, as it existed up to last spring, was paid by the mass of the people—we do not speak of professional agitators—has one exception, and, so far as we know, one exception only. The hop-duty is undoubtedly intensely unpopular with the farmers who have to pay it. For years the hop-growers have been incessantly besieging Downing-street with prayers for postponements or relief, so that public disputations with a hop deputation have become a regular part of a Chancellor of the Exchequer's occupations. But it is not the ultimate tax-payer, the consumer, who complains of the duty. It is levied so awkwardly and so unjustly that the complaints come from the hop-growers, who ought properly to be wholly unaffected by it, and to occupy merely the position of agents to the Revenue, advancing the duty in the first instance, and recovering it afterwards from the consumers. But it is so contrived that half the hop-growers are ruined in the process. The tax is levied by weight, whether the hops are good or bad, dear or cheap. Of course, whenever the hops are cheapened either by a plentiful crop or by their bad quality, the growers are ruined. To make the duty still more oppressive, the Excise allows no bonding; whatever the state

finance turn wholly upon questions of profit and loss may possibly think that it will pay better to save money than to save grumbling; but a statesman who knows how powerfully financial laws influence the temper and the destiny of a people will not deal with the subject in so narrowminded a spirit. The dangers that lie before England are political, and not pecuniary. There is no fear of her wealth being drained, or of its growth being seriously impeded, by anything in her present or any recent financial code. All the great errors by which it was once deformed have been many years removed; and any loss, if such there be, which a reduction of indirect taxation can economise now, or could have economised last year, is absolutely inappreciable if considered as a deduction from the national wealth of England. A day of the nation's labour would far more than make it up; a strike on a very small scale would soon eat up the saving. Discontent upon a fiscal question is a far more palpable danger. Our public credit, our national position, and ultimately our commerce and our wealth, depend on the continued acquiescence of our people in what is undoubtedly a very heavy burden of expenditure. There are not wanting agitators who are always ready, if circumstances should favour them, to make the people feel or fancy that it is their interest to shake this burden off. Some would persuade them that the industry of one generation ought not to be fettered by the debts of another; some that an army and navy are not required for their security, and are only instruments for providing 'out-door relief to the aristocracy;' others that the rich, who sit still, ought to pay everything, and not the poor, who work. Such agitations would be an evil for which no saving in the cost of collecting revenue could compensate; and they could only gather strength if an unwise and galling method of taxation had produced a general dissatisfaction with our financial system. It is important, no doubt, that taxes should be collected cheaply, and that they should not offer, if that be possible, even the slightest impediments to trade; but it is infinitely more important that the people should be content with the Government under which they live, and that

state of the market may be, the duty must be paid by a certain day. Of course prior and up to that fatal day prices are unnaturally depressed; the planter must sell, however low the price, in order to pay his tax, and by this necessity often loses fifty per cent. upon his price. So widely does the distress which it causes spread, so many people are forced to raise money on any terms, that it has been stated that when the Excise pay-day comes in the hop counties, not only hops but even corn and cattle are reduced ten or fifteen per cent. below their ordinary price. It is a tax which only raises on the average 400,000*l.*, and might easily be replaced by an increase of the licence duty, which would fall ultimately upon the same consumer, and produce a steady instead of a fluctuating revenue.

they should be as little sensitive as can be to the burdens which all good and safe government entails.

This war against indirect taxation is bad enough, therefore, in itself as a piece of statesmanship, whatever it may be as a question of account. Unhappily Mr. Gladstone, in inaugurating this recent change of policy, has thrown it into the most pernicious form that it was possible to select. Whether he intended what he has done, or not, is impossible to say; but the effect of his last Budget has been not only to cut off a great slice from the precious residue of our indirect taxation, but also so to damage the rest as to furnish him in future years with an irresistible argument for further onslaughts. By selecting for remission all the duties—such as those on wine, silk, gloves, jewellery, watches, plate, &c.—which pressed peculiarly on the rich, he has done all that in him lay to dispel the contentment with which indirect taxes are commonly paid, and to turn the contest for the maintenance of them into a struggle between rich and poor. As the tariff stood before he revolutionised it, it contained duties of every kind. There were duties upon articles of general consumption, such as tea and sugar, which were paid in part by the poor, in part by the rich;* and there were duties upon the more expensive kinds of luxuries, which fell exclusively upon the rich. It would have been better if the number of this latter sort had been larger, for they are the least noxious kind of tax that can be devised. But at least the principle was recognised that taxes ought to be spread over a large area, so that all should share the burden, and none should be overwhelmed. It was the principle eulogised in 1857 by Sir G. C. Lewis, to whose sober and unheroic reign the City looks back with vain regrets:—

‘In proposing the modifications which I am about to do, I would bear in mind the dictum of a writer whose opinions should, I think, command some authority in this House—a writer in no degree obnoxious to the charge of being a speculative theorist, but a practical man, conversant with various branches of economy, and particularly of agricultural economy—I mean Arthur Young, whose travels in England, Ireland, and France are doubtless well known to members of this House. After pointing out what in his opinion are the principal attributes which a system of taxation ought to possess, and dwelling especially upon the importance of equality, he makes the following observations:—

‘“The mere circumstance of taxes being very numerous in order to raise a given sum is a considerable step towards equality in the burden

* According to the calculation of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, 55½ per cent. of the tea duties is paid by the upper and middle classes; 44½ per cent. by the lower.

falling on the people: if I was to define a good system of taxation, it should be that of bearing lightly upon an infinite number of points, heavily on none. In other words, that *simplicity of taxation is the greatest additional weight that can be given to taxes, and ought in every country to be scrupulously avoided.*"

'Now, Sir, that opinion, though contrary to much that we hear at the present day, seems to me full of wisdom, and to be a most useful practical guide in the arrangement of a system of taxation.'—(*Sir G. C. Lewis's Speech*, Feb. 13, 1857.)

But Mr. Gladstone contemptuously pooh-poohs the authority of Arthur Young, and of his own colleague, Sir G. C. Lewis. Simplicity of taxation, which Arthur Young condemns, is Mr. Gladstone's mania. It was the chief credit which he claimed for the Customs' legislation of the past year. He and his eulogists were accustomed to boast that the tariff had been reduced from 440 to 40 articles; and they seemed to imagine that when they had made that boast they had established a self-evident claim to the admiration of mankind. The phrase caught the public fancy, and everybody went about talking of the enormous advantages of the 'simplification of the tariff.' What those advantages were, nobody ever stooped to explain. Some people were satisfied with a dim recollection that they had heard accounts praised for simplicity, and that tariffs and accounts had some sort of connection with each other. Others looked upon tariffs as things to be learnt by heart, and concluded that the tariff which was easiest remembered was sure to be the best. Others recollected their early preference for simple over compound arithmetic, and, impressed by the recollection, instinctively assumed that simplicity must always have a fascination of its own. But all the sufferers under the various tortures applied to them by the Budget agreed to console each other with the remark, that the simplification of the tariff was a great thing. Mr. Gladstone was probably influenced in part by the abstract love of symmetry which belongs to a worshipper of the beautiful. Perhaps he was impressed with Mr. Cobden's splendid idea that Europe and America will be induced to send to London instead of to Paris for *articles de Paris*, by the advantage of only having to pay an extra freight without an extra duty. But one of the chief aims he seems to have had in view curiously illustrates the one-sided and hasty character of his mind. The simplification of the tariff has undoubtedly this one advantage, that it will make it possible to dismiss a certain number of Custom-house officers. Of course, so long as there are dutiable articles yielding a large revenue, no very great reduction will be possible. Establishments must still be maintained at all the ports, and all the searching and watching that

that was done before will have to be done still. But still something will be saved in clerks, superintendence, special officers, and the like. During the present year 2000*l.* has been economised in this way; and Sir T. Fremantle has stated that in two more years all the saving possible will have been effected. Few financiers would have thought such an economy as this any compensation for any political mischief, however slight. But the idea of saving so engrosses Mr. Gladstone's whole mind, that he cannot be brought to look on finance in any other light than as a matter of account. To him this saving is a primary and principal recommendation of his simplified tariff quite sufficient to outweigh the risk of instilling into the poor the suspicion that they are being plundered by the rich. That the tariff might be simplified, all the duties upon the luxuries of the rich have been repealed, and all the duties upon the luxuries of the poor have been retained. If there had been a wilful desire to make the most popular form of tax unpopular, it could not have been attempted with a better will. The reproach of favouring the rich is one that Mr. Bright has often tried to cast upon the system of indirect taxation, which he detests. It is no wonder that he should have enthusiastically supported a change which will give the colour of truth to his assertions. We trust that the House of Commons, which does not share his anxiety to set the poor against the rich, will not be beguiled into any further simplifications of the tariff. We even venture to hope that a practical experience of the results of simplicity will induce them, when the opportunity presents itself, to retrace a portion of their ill-considered steps. Fate may yet have in store for us some Chancellor of the Exchequer who is not infected with the Manchester craze, and who will not think himself bound either to reduce the area or to discredit the popularity of the only species of taxation which is capable, without political danger, of reaching the vast majority of the nation.

If we are anxious to preserve our indirect taxation from Mr. Gladstone's sacrilegious hands, it is not from any abstract love of revenue establishments or high-priced commodities. The merits of any impost must at best be negative. All are in themselves commercially bad; there is not one of which the injurious effect upon the national interests might not be easily traced and exposed. The utmost that can be said, even for the most innocuous, is, that it is the best among the many evils which in that respect it is at our discretion to select. This is all we venture to plead on behalf of indirect taxation. Its chief merit is the demerit of the substitutes that can be offered in its stead. If we abolish or
reduce

reduce indirect taxation, the void which it leaves must be filled up either by a reduction of expenditure or by the ever-expanding Income-tax. A little consideration of these two alternatives will convince us of the necessity of resisting any further onslaughts upon either Customs or Excise.

The reduction of expenditure need not detain us very long. There are some sanguine persons who look to this resource for relief from the numerous difficulties with which recent legislation has beset our finance. In the course of years we trust that their hopes may be realised. The mysterious policy of the unquiet spirit who now directs the movements of France, has forced every state in Europe to arm. When he has ceased to threaten, we may cease to be obliged to preserve peace by preparing for war. But neither the present aspect of affairs abroad, nor the nature of the demands that we have to satisfy at home, leaves much room for the expectation that any considerable reduction of expenditure can just now be safely made. The liabilities this country has to meet divide themselves into four branches: 1. The interest of debt; 2. The charge upon the Consolidated Fund; 3. The miscellaneous expenditure; 4. The defensive expenditure. The interest of debt is an expenditure which it is, of course, wholly out of our power to reduce. The Consolidated Fund is charged with expenses which have been judged by Parliament to be so essential that they have been put out of the reach of the annual caprices of the House of Commons. In this category are included the Civil List, the judicial and diplomatic salaries, and a certain number of pensions. On these it is obvious that very little in the way of retrenchment can be done. Parliament is pledged to the pensions and the Civil List. The diplomatic service is already paid so badly that it is with difficulty replenished; and the importance of first-rate Judges is too vital to permit of any economical experiments on their salaries. The third division, the Miscellaneous Estimates, have always been considered rather a hopeful field for the reformer's sickle. They include all the expenditure which is annually voted by the House of Commons, with the exception of that which concerns the defences of the country. The very variety of the items, including as they do everything from public buildings to Polish refugees, tempts people who have convinced themselves, by *a priori* reasoning, that there is waste somewhere, to fancy that a diligent scrutiny will find it here. But to glean where Messrs. Hume and Williams have been gleaning before, is not a very remunerative employment. Every vote has been sifted too thoroughly by men whose importance in the world depended on their ingenuity, to leave much in the way of discovery to be done. Some enthusiastic reformers,

reformers, however, at their wits' ends for a cry, determined last spring to try an exploring expedition into the Miscellaneous Estimates, and see what was to be got. They induced the House of Commons to appoint a committee, and for a whole Session the committee laboured with a willing mind to ferret out some abuse. The only abuse, however, that they even thought they had discovered—we are far from intending to endorse their opinion—was Mr. William Cowper. The whole result of their many months' labour was a recommendation that the First Commissioner of Works should be a permanent instead of a political official. As permanent chiefs generally require a higher salary in proportion than political officers of the same rank, this beginning cannot be said to open out a very brilliant future of retrenchment. The truth is, that the increase in the Miscellaneous Estimates, of which so much has been said of late years, is due not to heedless profusion, but to deliberate policy. The year 1852 has often been taken as a model year. It was selected as a standard by the late Mr. Wilson among others, who on such matters was no mean authority. A comparison of the Miscellaneous Estimates for 1860 with those for 1852 will at once explain the cause of the increase which has been so much complained of:—

			£
The sum voted in 1860 was	7,367,329
The sum voted in 1852 was	4,307,754
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Apparent increase	3,059,575
Of this was mere transfer of account	1,522,533
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True increase	1,537,042
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			£

This rise in the Estimates is accounted for by the following increase:—

			£
Education	837,156
County Courts	..	..	182,225
County Police	..	..	223,475
Probate and Divorce Courts	..	..	42,660
New Courts, Dublin	10,000
Increase of Consuls' Salaries	134,566
Submarine Telegraphs	107,000
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			1,537,082
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			£

In this list education is the great offender; then come the improvements in the administration of justice; and, lastly, come the increased facilities for commerce. The increase of consuls' pay has been adopted, after lengthened investigation, as the only means

means of preventing the private trading which is fatal to the impartiality of their official position. None of these are reforms hastily adopted, or from which the English people are likely to recede. They have been adopted under a steady conviction that their results would more than repay their cost; and, till a contrary conviction gains ground, they are not likely to be abandoned. People who rail at our growing expenditure forget that it is the nature of well-governed States to improve; and that improvement in a government, like improvements in an estate, is almost always a costly process. It is possible to govern cheaply by the simple expedient of governing badly, but efficient government implies efficient machinery: and, as Lancashire men ought to know, efficient machinery must be paid for. No doubt, as Mr. Bright is fond of reminding us, the United States are governed more cheaply than England; but we must remind him in return that the results are very different. There is nothing so inexpensive as Lynch law and Vigilance Committees. Repudiation—a stain which still rests upon several of the States—is a great relief to the public Treasury; and filibustering is infinitely cheaper than fighting according to the laws of nations and of war. But the United States are far from having arrived at the summit of cheap government. We imagine Dahomey to be as far superior to the United States in this respect as the United States are superior to England; and the more the United States recede from the system of Dahomey, and approach to that of England, the dearer will their government become. We cannot therefore share in the anticipations of those who look for any material reduction in the cost of our civil government. If it were to take place, we should regard it as a morbid rather than a healthy sign. It would prove either that the country was stationary and had ceased to improve, or that the Government had ceased to be equal to its needs. As England increases in population and activity, she can no more safely forego an increased expenditure upon government, than a railway can increase in traffic without a rise in its working expenses.

The Defensive Estimates, which form the last item in our division, at least present a greater mass for an economist to work upon. There is no concealing the fact that their increase has been very portentous, and that the burden presses heavily enough to make everybody very keenly anxious for its reduction. In 1852, the model year, they amounted to no more than 16,573,855*l.*; in 1860, including the China vote, they have passed 31,000,000*l.* The House of Commons, as a body, truly representing the resolute spirit of the nation, passes them very contentedly; but they do not escape vehement resistance
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from a few objectors both within and without its walls. And as the amount grows, perhaps the number grows of those who, on various grounds, clamour for their diminution. Some base their objections on the narrower ground, that, though our present armaments are quite necessary, it by no means follows that our present expenditure is necessary too. They say that with better stewardship we should get a great deal more for our money. The substance of the complaints we are not concerned to deny; we only doubt the possibility of applying an immediate remedy. There is no question about the abominable dishonesty which has been practised upon the Government in the matter of the rotten gunboats, or of the extreme negligence which could suffer that dishonesty to pass unchallenged. It is equally clear that there must be something unsound in a system under which shipbuilding in Government dockyards costs rather more than twice as much as it would cost under conditions precisely similar in the yards of private builders. But these are vices that will not be eradicated in a day. They are indications of some deep-seated disease, some incurable official prejudice, some reckless abuse of patronage, which a steady resistance from the higher authorities may suppress at last, but the effects of which cannot be cured at a moment's notice by the issue of an Admiralty order. And it must be remembered that whatever saving may be effected is very likely to be swallowed up by the increase of seamen's pay, which there is a growing inclination in the public mind to concede. The wastefulness of some parts of the army expenditure is equally evident, but is equally incapable of an immediate remedy. The great blot upon the Army Estimates, for instance, is the non-effective list. The number of officers in actual service is 10,371; and we are paying 3263, nearly one-third as many, for sitting at home and doing the country the honour of bearing the Queen's commission. This enormous dead weight is due, in a great measure, to a vice that infects the whole of our public administration—the constant oscillations of policy by which the House of Commons and the Government reflect the fickleness of public feeling. One year the nation is panic-struck, and is mad for more defences; another year it is seized with a fit of avarice, and is mad for wild retrenchment. Of course augmentations and reductions, each on a large scale, follow each other with startling suddenness, and a great number of those who, in the hour of panic, have been induced to devote their lives to the service of the nation, in the hour of avarice must be laid upon the shelf. A severe critic might discover something still more objectionable in the way in which these vicious changes are carried out, The officer is reduced
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upon half-pay, and murmurs loudly enough at that; but the common soldier is dismissed with the Horse-Guards' blessing, and nothing else. The contrast does not improve the temper with which the latter returns to his parish, as the recruiting-sergeant discovers to his cost when next he visits the same locality. The best proof of the monstrous size of our non-effective estimates will be found in a comparison with the same estimates in the War Expenditure of France. The French are as well served in the field as we are, and they maintain an army nearly three times as large. But their non-effective expenditure amounts for the present year to 269,648*l.*, while that of England comes to 2,134,623*l.** Such a difference as this undoubtedly implies great abuse, or at least mismanagement. But it is clearly a source of expense which no decision at the War Office can dry up. Wisely or foolishly the money is pledged, and must be paid till the pledge is cancelled by the death of the recipients. The same conclusion will be the result of a close investigation of most of the blots which any critic may hit in the Army and Navy Estimates. There is great room for improvements which, many years hence, will, no doubt, bear fruit in a palpable retrenchment. But the hopes of any large and immediate gain from them are very slender. For the last three years the War Office and the Admiralty have been under the charge of administrators drawn from both sides of the two Houses, and as able administrators as any that the political world can furnish; and it is not likely, considering the strong attractions which economy holds out to any government, that any opportunity of immediate saving should have escaped their notice.

There is indeed a school, of whom our present Chancellor of the Exchequer is at the head, who would summarily reduce our defensive estimates, not by any well-weighed economy of means, but by the simple process of dismissing a large part of our soldiers and sailors on the spot. They affect to regard as a nightmare the apprehensions with which the mass of the nation contemplate our inscrutable neighbour's dark schemes and growing power. Mr. Gladstone is, no doubt, thoroughly sincere in the trust which he reposes in the Emperor, and the contempt with which he regards the judgment of his countrymen. It is precisely to his single-mindedness, in the most literal sense of the word, that most of his political aberrations are due. His mind, with all its power, has this strange peculiarity, that his reason will not

* It must, however, be borne in mind that in France the Legion of Honour, which has endowments of its own, and does not appear on the estimates of the Minister of War, gives some assistance towards attaining a small portion of the objects which in England are charged on the non-effective vote.

work vigorously on any question in which he does not take a hearty interest; and he can only take a hearty interest in one question at one time. On any question therefore which crosses the subject of his heart, and which furnishes considerations that ought to modify his views upon that darling subject, his perceptions are blunted, and his reason will not work true. Just now the main object of all his thoughts and all his aims is the object—very laudable in itself—of retrenching the expenditure of the Exchequer. While this idea dazzles his mind, every other consideration pales beside it. The passionate parsimony of the moment distorts every fact, and inverts every probability, in order to furnish arguments that shall justify to his own conscience, and to his hearers, the course along which it drives him. It colours the medium through which all his political perceptions reach him, and dictates every conclusion to which he comes. Just as he cannot appreciate the power and the position which her colonies confer on England, because their maintenance is a drain upon the Exchequer, so he is blind to the signs of danger which have awakened all England to the necessity of self-defence, because self-defence involves expenditure. Foreign disturbances are apt to upset the best arranged finance, and therefore he looks upon them as accursed things, which a good man ought not to recognize. He ignored the Russian war until it was absolutely at his door. It came upon him like a thief in the night, and found him in sublime security, still counting over the money-bags which it was so soon to snatch away. When Russia had actually done what England went to war with her for doing, and her troops were camped on Turkish ground, he was still asking Parliament to pass projects of finance which presupposed an era of interminable peace, and executing operations upon stock which assumed that nothing was likely to happen that would lower its price. He refused to provide for the China war when it had actually begun, though he is very angry with Mr. Ellice for saying so, and thought to get rid of it by grandiloquently calling it a message of peace to the mouth of the Peiho. Experience furnishes no arguments to the mind that passion drives. He still thinks our armaments an insanity, our warlike expenditure a profligate waste. The Italian campaign has not convinced him that France loves war; or the seizure of Savoy, that the Emperor loves territory. We do not doubt that he contemplates the occupation of Syria by French troops, and of Suez by a French colony, without a moment's foreboding; and that he sees no cloud lowering on our horizon that should deter us from continuing the 'simplifications,' and the 'progresses,' and the 'reforms,' which consist of striking with barrenness

barrenness the healthiest and most teeming branches of our revenue.

It is fortunate that he has more sober colleagues, who, though they abandon the taxation to him, judge of the expenditure for themselves. There may possibly be a smaller estimate next year; but unless we listen to the wild teaching of the Manchester school, it is very difficult to see in what items the reduction is to be made. Whatever was needed for home defence last year will assuredly not be less needful this year. The success of the *Gloire* has incited us to a competition of which economy will certainly not be one of the advantages. The increasing and most just liberality of the War Office to the Volunteers involves a new and growing item of expenditure. Of the expenditure in China we can as yet know nothing. But we know that the expedition has gone further inland than it was ever anticipated it would, that the stores have been brought up with vast difficulty to Peking, that Lord Elgin talks of a large part of the army wintering at Tientsin, and that armies cost as much to bring away as to send out. Then there is the New Zealand war, which seems to be assuming a more and more hopeless character, and which, unless the mother-country speedily assist them, threatens the colonists with utter ruin. Any assistance that we may give must needs be very costly. Enthusiastic colonists, who happen to be in England, are talking of 10,000 as the number of troops that will be required, and a million and a half as the probable expenditure. All these things do not hold out much promise of retrenchment to soothe an income-tax payer's slumbers. We have not spoken of discretionary expenses, such as Harbours of Refuge, Telegraphic lines, New Postal Subventions, Increased allowances to witnesses, Increased pay for every branch of the Service, Naval, Military, and Civil; or public buildings, such as the New National Gallery, the building in Burlington Gardens, the New Foreign Office, and the additions to the British Museum. For these the demand is never silent; but we presume that under existing circumstances they will be deferred to a more convenient season. Even the Birmingham proposition of a new colony at Abbeokuta, with all the advantages of Mr. Bright's patronage, will probably have to be postponed. Without these the prospect is serious enough. There is every ground for believing that the other side of the account will not be as satisfactory as might be desired. There is not much hope of a large diminution of expenditure; but there is something very like a certainty of a large diminution of revenue. The income of 1860 was made up of all kinds of odds and ends; windfalls from abroad, balances from the year before, and anticipations from the year after, which may
serve

serve a Minister's turn for once, but cannot possibly be utilized a second time. Five quarters' income-tax cannot again be brought into the year; the malt and hop credits cannot be forestalled again; and thirteen hundred thousand pounds cannot again be taken out of the balances of the Exchequer. The Spanish debt was a godsend which will be sadly missed, and it is almost too much to hope that the Chinese indemnity will come in time to fill its place. Meanwhile the increased spirit duties have not answered the expectations that were formed of them; the hop duty has in a great measure disappeared; the consumption of wine has not perceptibly increased, so that the remissions of duty are a dead loss to the revenue; and there are seven hundred thousand pounds more of the French Treaty remissions which take effect next year. Altogether the falling away of the revenue promises to be a more formidable obstacle to the satisfactory balancing of the account than even the large estimates which seem to be inevitable.

Unless, therefore, some very unexpected succour is furnished by the Chinese indemnity, it is difficult to escape the belief that Parliament will have to provide new resources for the year that lies before us. If Mr. Gladstone has his way, they will probably be invited to find those new resources in an augmented income-tax. It will be for them to weigh carefully the whole scope and bearing of such a demand. It will be equivalent to an admission that the income-tax is to become a perpetual impost. Promises that it should cease, constantly made and constantly evaded, have hitherto beguiled Parliament into granting it from time to time, without setting itself seriously to investigate its manifold iniquities and dangers. If a fresh increase, or even a new lease of it for a length of time, is asked, that task cannot be deferred. Hitherto all objections to it have been parried with the assurance that it is only a temporary evil; and, as a temporary evil—so long as it is not aggravated—it may be necessary to submit to it yet a few years longer. But if it is permanently to become 'a mighty engine' in Mr. Gladstone's hands for pleasing his Lancashire friends, these objections must be faced and answered. They are many and various, and those which are the most weighty are not always those that are the most loudly urged. We shall not attempt to open up the thorny controversy between permanent and terminable incomes, which is the best known of all the income-tax disputes. The Long Annuitant whose income terminates in 1885, the physician whose income terminates on his death, pay their ten-pence in the pound just as much as the fundholder whose income lasts for ever. On this alleged injustice issue is joined with great vivacity, and an exuberant display of monetary

monetary learning. We do not feel called upon to enter into the lists either on one side or the other. No good purpose would be served by arguing out a question which is not likely to come up for practical decision. We will only notice in passing the contrast between the income-tax and indirect taxation which these claims and counter-claims supply. If it be, as we maintain that it is, one of the first merits of a tax that it should be paid contentedly, the income-tax must be one of the most pernicious imposts that ever were devised. The spirit-taxes and the tobacco-tax raise an enormous revenue—in the latter case, by the help of restrictions upon the farmer, which *à priori* might be thought oppressive; yet not an echo of a murmur is ever heard against them. The income-tax, even at the present rate, does not yield half as much; and yet there is no respite from the outcry that comes up from every class that lies under its pressure. There is a universal agreement among all sorts and conditions of men that it is oppressive, inquisitorial, and intolerable; and, besides this combined denunciation, each particular class has its own private grievance against the tax. The most opposite parties in the State, though the substitutes they propose for it are different, vie in their complaints of the severity with which it presses on the people. The Conservatives naturally view all direct taxation with jealousy from the special facilities for fiscal plunder that it affords. But other parties, besides the Conservative, view the inquisitorial character of the income-tax with abhorrence. Witness the following extract from an Ultra-Radical Manifesto:—

‘The essential vice of the system is, that it confides to the Government agents *Irresponsible Power* to be *secretly exercised*; therefore, any amount of extortion and oppression may be practised with impunity. The Government is always necessitous and clamorous for money. The tax-officials find favour according to the amount they can obtain. Add to these facts, that the tribunal is secret, because no man can publish his private affairs, and we have the odious machinery of despotism under which the country at this moment suffers. So well are the arbitrary powers of the Government agents understood, and so grating to the feelings of an Englishman is the Secret Tribunal, that it is a common observation among taxpayers, that they will pay any charge, right or wrong, rather than pass the ordeal. A keen Government agent understands this, and knows how to turn it to a profitable account; profitable, that is, for a time; but these practices recoil upon the Government in more ways than one.

‘Among other evils, men of business must submit to the indignity of having their affairs examined by commissioners who are sometimes their rivals in trade. Disclosures of a peculiar mode of conducting a given department of business, which skill or genius may have rendered lucrative, may put in risk the entire business income of the tradesman.

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It may throw the benefit of his ingenuity into the hands of his rivals. Solvent men sometimes have to appeal before commissioners in the same business whom they know to be insolvent. It may be said of many successful men of business, that in the course of their career they have been placed in positions of difficulty, where, if their credit were unquestioned, they could well recover from temporary embarrassments; while the disclosures of the Secret Tribunal of the Income Tax would destroy them. Who does not remember such cases in our rapidly recurring periods of panic; and who does not know that it is a matter of national importance in such periods to help every man who deserves assistance? What will be the conduct of all governments, and their agents, in a department where there can be no publicity?'*

This language is vehement enough, but it is scarcely more decisive in its censure than the words used nearly a century ago by the Aristotle of Political Economy:—

'Capitation taxes, if it is attempted to proportion them to the fortune or revenue of each contributor [the exact description of the income tax], become altogether arbitrary. The state of a man's fortune varies from day to day, and without an inquisition *more intolerable than any tax*, and renewed at least once a year, can only be guessed at. His assessment, therefore, must in most cases depend upon the good or bad humour of his assessors, and must therefore be altogether arbitrary and uncertain.'—*Wealth of Nations*, book v. ch. 2, art. 4.

Nothing shows more strikingly how the tax galls and chafes those who have to bear it than the fact that every class of taxpayer complains that he has more than his fair share of burden to support. The landowner complains that it is levied on his gross receipts, no deductions for management or repairs being allowed; and that thus he is made to pay sixteen or seventeen per cent. more than those whose property is in money. The houseowner has a like complaint to make, though his case is somewhat harder—for the net income from house property bears a still smaller proportion to the gross receipts. It has been stated that owners of small house property sometimes pay in reality more than three times the amount of the percentage which is nominally exacted from them—the revenue officers refusing to take any note either of bad debts or repairs. The grievance of the trading and professional classes we have already noticed; and if they complain that the precariousness of their incomes has not been sufficiently taken into account, the annuitant, whose income is not simply precarious, but doomed, naturally thinks that his case of hardship is stronger still.

* Papers of the Income-Tax Reform Association, 1857.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the fundholder, at whose exceptional good fortune all these murmurs are levelled, grumbles out, that, in taking back by force from its creditors so large a slice of its own debt, the State has tampered lightly with its credit. Of course, in point of abstract justice, these complaints to a certain extent neutralize each other. But this is by no means the case with the irritation which they cause. Each man only thinks of his own hardship, and does not comfort himself at all when he discovers a similar affliction in his neighbour. The grievances ought theoretically to be set off against each other; but practically they combine into one formidable aggregate of discontent.

One item of peculiar injustice indeed there is, which both fundholder and landowner have a right to urge, and which is too formidable for any set-off to make it good. As a compensation for the precariousness of their incomes, the trading and professional classes, who pay under Schedule D, enjoy a relief against which the other schedules loudly and justly murmur. This relief is very considerable in amount, if all tales be true; but it is curiously distributed. It is not given, as might be anticipated, to the deserving or to the embarrassed; it is given only to the dishonest; and the amount of relief given increases precisely in proportion to the dishonesty of the recipient. The evasions committed by those who make returns under Schedule D are a matter of mournful notoriety. Considering the temptations that are offered, it would be wonderful if they were less numerous than they are. The ease with which they can be perpetrated, the impunity and certain gain that follow them, are sufficient to overthrow the equilibrium of all but the sturdiest consciences. The very inequalities of the tax, the injustice with which it is admittedly levied, and the false promises by the help of which it has again and again been wrung from Parliament, no doubt contribute to increase the number of those who send in fraudulent returns. If it were reserved, as it ought to be, for rare and grave emergencies, when every other consideration is overborne by the necessity of a speedy supply of money, the patriotism of taxpayers would be appealed to not in vain, and in their country's need men would forget the injustices of the tax. But it is otherwise when it is exacted for the purpose of trying on financial experiments, or satisfying political allies. The indignation of the taxpayer finds vent in the silent but effective form of a curtailed return to Schedule D. Men screen their falsehood to their own minds by the excuse that it is only an unscrupulous war, fare with an unscrupulous oppressor. How far the frauds go, it is from the nature of the case, impossible to say. Every one admits them to be very large. No one can glance at the very moderate

number of the traders and professional men who, according to the returns, profess themselves to earn more than 1000*l.* a year, without coming to the conclusion that either Lancashire and the City are content with profits of the humblest order, or that wholesale falsifications are going on. Nor is there any reason to believe that they are less prevalent at the other end of the scale. Under Mr. Pitt's income-tax the limit of exemption was at first fixed at 60*l.*, but it was found necessary to lower it to 50*l.*, in consequence of the extraordinary number of people whose income, by a strange coincidence, happened to amount to 59*l.* 10*s.* It is said that the most amusing disclosures of the kind were made when the Proctors of the old Probate Court sent in their claims for compensation. At first the Treasury were quite startled at the enormous incomes of which the new law was about to rob these worthy men. Fortunately it occurred to them that another statement of the Proctors' incomes, furnished for a very different purpose, existed in the Archives of the Income-Tax Commissioners, Sir Stafford Northcote, who conducted the inquiry, has given to the world a few instances of the results of the comparison of these two sets of returns, which are highly edifying. One gentleman had returned 3000*l.* to the income-tax, having actually earned 9000*l.* A respectable firm returned 8800*l.* as their earnings in five years, having really earned 31,432*l.* Another legal worthy took a still higher flight of genius, and, having earned 2000*l.* in the year, returned 200*l.* to the income-tax, and claimed compensation of the Treasury on an income of 3000*l.* Similar revelations have occasionally been elicited in actions against railway companies upon accidents, in which the sufferer's accounts of the money value of his own powers, as given in evidence, and as afterwards ascertained by his returns under Schedule D, have presented an instructive contrast. But it is only chances like these that give us a glimpse of the systematised dishonesty which so materially lightens the weight of the income-tax upon the less scrupulous portion of the trading class. Of the aggregate loss to the revenue it is impossible to form any confident computation. Mr. M'Culloch, without giving any grounds for his calculation, assumes that more than one-half of the classes assessed under Schedule D make false returns. Other calculators, quoted by Mr. Babbage, estimate that when the income-tax was at sevenpence in the pound, Schedule D, taken as a whole, did not pay more than fourpence.

The truth is, that the frauds upon the income-tax stand in exactly the same position as smuggling, the existence of which has often been advanced as a conclusive argument against indirect taxation. We know the injury which an unchecked system

system of smuggling causes to the revenue, the injustice it inflicts upon the fair trader, and the demoralisation it spreads among all classes of the community; but it is impossible to make an accurate estimate of the extent of these results. So it is with the frauds upon the income-tax. Though nobody can give actual statistics to indicate the evils that they cause, they are as great, barring actual breaches of the peace, as were ever caused by smuggling in its palmy days. Indeed, in some respects, they are greater. They cover a wider area, and they are more incurable. Smuggling only oppressed the honest trader in a few branches of commerce, and only demoralised a few districts. The malign influence of Schedule D is more impartially distributed. It equitably spreads injustice and demoralisation over the whole of the commercial world. Not in one but in every trade the easy conscience runs unburdened in the race of competition, while the honest man runs with the clog of four per cent. round his leg. And in every trade alike the Government gives the trader the first easy lessons in lying, the first apprenticeship in cooking accounts and doctoring calculations. It is impossible not to believe that this education has had a deep influence upon the morality of commerce. Mr. Gladstone has attributed to Peel's finance all the prosperity which since Peel's time we have enjoyed. If we were inclined to apply the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* with similar rigour, we might credit Peel's income-tax with all the frightful increase of commercial dishonesty which during the last ten years has come to light. Undoubtedly it must be ranked as one among the causes of these melancholy scandals. From the false returns under Schedule D, which the system of the income-tax almost invites, to reckless accommodation-bills, fictitious dividends, forged dock-warrants, the steps are short and easy.

Unfortunately, the evil is as incurable as it is grave. It is inseparable from the income-tax itself. A well-organised preventive system and a liberal expenditure can do much to keep smuggling in check. We levy on tobacco a duty of more than its value, so that the profits of the successful smuggler must be immense; yet the vigilance of the revenue-officers has reduced this once thriving industry to a very languid and poverty-stricken condition. But this vigilance is an impossibility in the case of the income-tax. If it were carried far enough effectually to protect the revenue from fraud and the fair trader from unfair competition, it would raise a rebellion in six months. The inquisitorial proceedings of the Income-tax Commissioners are already as much as the patience of the people can bear. Their arbitrary assessments, made on the basis of gossip gathered by their pri-

vate spies, stand out in glaring and painful contrast to the spirit in which English institutions are generally worked. The following is a hostile description of their *modus operandi*, but we doubt if it is very far from the truth :—

‘These Commissioners for general purposes appoint “additional Commissioners” for special purposes. The office and duties of “additional Commissioners” should be brought prominently before the public. The existence of such officers is scarcely known, or even suspected. In so far as information can be obtained, it appears they are secret officers, selected from among the most respectable inhabitants, *whose names are carefully concealed from the public; and they are appointed to discuss the affairs of their neighbours, and to determine at what amounts their neighbours’ incomes are to be assessed.* They do not hear appeals. Here, then, is an appointment of secret inquisitors to perform duties that will not bear the light, and a perfect system of espionage is thus established. The secrecy observed as to these “additional Commissioners” speaks volumes as to the opinion of all parties concerned upon the work they have to do.’*

And yet even this system is powerless to protect the revenue, or to ensure anything like a fair distribution of the burden. It is needless to say that it cannot safely be stretched further.

But the worst has not been said of the Income-tax yet. It is galling, corrupting, grossly unjust. But these are not its gravest evils in a political point of view. It is more for the exploits of which it is capable in the future, than for those of which it has been actually guilty in the past, that it ought to be exterminated without scruple, and, as far as may be, without delay. To appreciate its real dangers, it is necessary to view it in connexion with the gradual transfer of power that has been and is taking place from the hands of the rich and educated to the hands of the uneducated and poor. The principle of exemption which has been admitted into it is of slight operation now; but with a very small development it will form, in democratic hands, the most tremendous engine for loading the rich minority with the whole taxation of the country. The Income-tax that existed during the great war went as low as incomes of 50*l*. The present Income-tax does not go below incomes of 100*l*.; and the exemptions probably include, besides a considerable number of the present electors, all those with whom the Reform Bill, recently defunct, would have swamped the constituencies. Raise the exemption only a little higher, and the overpowering majority of the electors will come within its scope. Mr. Gladstone’s undaunted spirit has contemplated even this contingency :—

* Papers of Income-Tax Reform Association, 1857.

‘I frankly

‘I frankly own that it is my opinion, especially if it should be found impracticable to adopt a plan of general reconstruction, that the House should consider in a future year, should the income tax continue at a high rate in time of peace, of some extension in some form or other of a mode of mitigation or partial relief to the lower class of incomes.’*

When this convenient arrangement shall have been accomplished, is there any one Utopian enough to doubt as to the result? The Income-tax will then undoubtedly become popular—more popular than the cleverest indirect tax that ever was devised; for the transfer of your own burden to your neighbour’s shoulders is never an unpalatable process. The exempted classes will rule the hustings, and will dictate the pledge to which every candidate must subscribe. We know, from very recent experience, the massiveness and nauseousness of the pledges which a candidate, when the competition is close, can bring himself to swallow. The exempted electors will have no difficulty in finding supple candidates to give effect to their new-born admiration of the Income-tax. There seems no reason why, if Mr. Gladstone’s idea be carried out, any limit should be put to their demands. Even the moral sense of the majority of the electors, such as it is, is not likely to present an obstacle. A bold proposition to confiscate property would probably shock even the dilute morality that prevails in an urban constituency. But the existence of an Income-tax with exemptions, opens a store-house of financial fallacies, from which anodynes could be procured in any quantities, for any slight irritation with which the electoral conscience might be afflicted. First, it would be contended that the debt had been incurred at the time the richer classes were in power, and that it was fair that those who had contracted the debt should also pay it. Throw the debt on the Income-tax, would therefore be the cry. Then it would be said, as it has been often said, that the foreign policy of the country, and the maintenance of a large defensive force, was a thing which concerned the richer classes alone; and therefore that the Income-tax might also undertake to dispose of the Army and Navy Estimates. If such a stone is once set rolling, there is no telling where it will stop. Mr. Babbage justly says:—

‘If it is thought that the danger arising from the influence of exemptions upon the votes of the constituency of the country has been overstated, it ought to be observed that this danger is the consequence of a great principle of human nature—self-interest; and that *that* self-interest acts over very large masses of the constituency,—indeed, over by far the larger portion of it, thus creating a class of persons per-

* Speech of Mr. Gladstone on the Income-Tax Bill, March 23, 1860.

manently interested in the advance of Socialism, and endowed with a power with which even now it is difficult to cope.

'No class will act constantly in opposition to its own interest. Many an elector who would scorn a bribe administered in the shape of money put *into* his pocket, would feel little scruple in giving his suffrage to that candidate who would vote for measures to prevent money being taken *out* of the voter's pocket.

'Exemptions are temptations placed before a higher class of electors than those who are open to a mere money bribe: they are calculated to obscure the just and impartial perceptions of those to whom they are applied.

* * * * *

'It is unfortunate, that by the very nature of the exemptions from the income tax, a large number of the electors of this country have a direct pecuniary interest in preferring its augmentation to any other mode of taxation. In consequence of these unjust and unstatesman-like exemptions, numbers of electors will urge their representatives to pledge themselves to oppose all other taxes:—and the ultimate result might be, that the wealthy would be unjustly plundered,—capital be driven from the land, and at last the ruined fortunes of the rich would be accompanied by the absolute starvation of the poor.' *

This passage was written before the semi-exemption of incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* had been introduced. Its argument of course applies to any state of things in which, whether by the increase of the exemption or the lowering of the suffrage, a majority of the electors consists of persons upon whom the Income-tax does not press. To what extent Mr. Gladstone intends to carry the relief of the poorer incomes which he has promised, it is impossible to guess. But whether the change which is contemplated in that direction be great or small, we know that the majority of the House of Commons are pledged to another change, which will have a precisely similar effect. A Reform Bill which should recruit the constituencies with large contingents from the class that is absolutely exempt, will operate precisely in the same manner as if the limit of exemption was raised. These pledges were happily evaded during the past Session, and we hope they may now be considered as historical. But we never know what shifts of fortune may await us, or how much pressure the Parliamentary dislike of a Reform Bill can withstand. Every year that the Income-tax lasts is a fresh risk. If the exempted classes come to power and find the Income-tax still in operation, it will be an evil day for the classes they supersede.

Duties of Customs and Excise, like all other taxes, may have

* Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation, pp. 10, 19.

their evils. They may be costly in the collection, and they may have a slight tendency to hinder trade. But at least they are politically safe. Their worst evils are blessings compared to the oppression and the danger of the Income-tax. Mr. Gladstone has special reasons for his novel affection for this impost. He would gladly keep it as an engine to torment and terrify the nation into the reductions of expenditure which he desires. His notion of the duty of a Minister is so to frame his measures as to excite agitations that shall drive his successor to abandon the policy he himself is driven to pursue. He legislates purposely to create discontent, in order that discontent may re-act on legislation. It is a reckless, and scarcely a loyal policy: but it is one that at least the House of Commons can have no motives to adopt. They do not wish to apply a thumb-screw to themselves; or to play the perilous game of fanning agitation, in order that it may put a force upon their own deliberations. Experience must have convinced them that the farce of calling the Income-tax provisional cannot go on much longer. The decision must soon be taken whether the Income-tax is to be exceptional or permanent; and that decision will greatly depend on the attitude they adopt this year. They must be beguiled by no further chimæras of heroic finance into increasing its burden. They must not trust that its mere odiousness will destroy it, or that Chancellors of the Exchequer will ever spontaneously dispense with so convenient a substitute for statesmanship. It is demoralizing, inquisitorial, intolerable; so inherently unfair that statesmen have abandoned in despair the hope of making it equitable; dangerous to the stability of the State if levied impartially over the whole nation, fatal to the rights of property if confined to the more wealthy few. But, in spite of all this, unless a blow be struck at it right early, this generation will not see its end. Its very demerits give it a certain value in the eyes of the Minister whose thankless task it is to find *rem, quocunque modo rem*. If he be lazy, its fatal simplicity relieves him from all trouble; if he be hard pressed, it supplies abundant funds wherewith to purchase the support of this or that class-interest by the remission of other taxes; if he be bidding high for mob support, it is impossible for ingenuity to devise a more trenchant implement of confiscation. It will not be parted with by the Minister until the House of Commons shows a steady determination to shake off the burden, and to give a tardy reality to the pledges by which the English people were originally cajoled into accepting so pernicious and perilous a tax.

ART. VIII.—*Essays and Reviews*. London, 1860.

1. *The Education of the World*. By F. Temple, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School.
2. *Bunsen's Biblical Researches*. By Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal, Lampeter College.
3. *On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity*. By Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry, Oxford.
4. *The National Church*. By H. B. Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton.
5. *On the Mosaic Cosmogony*. By C. W. Goodwin, M.A.
6. *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688—1750*. By Mark Pattison, B.D.
7. *On the Interpretation of Scripture*. By Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford.

THE volume, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, has met with a circulation, and excited a measure of remark, which appear to us to be far greater than it would naturally have obtained by its mere literary merits. There is in truth in the volume nothing which is really new, and little which having been said before is said here with any new power, or with any great additions, either by way of amplification, illustration, or research.

With the exception of the last Essay, we think the mere literary character of the volume below what we should have been led to expect from the names of the several essayists. Especially does this apply to the contribution of Dr. Temple, with which the volume opens. There is really nothing in it but the working out, with often a pleasant fancifulness, and oftener still something of the prolixity into which the writer of allegory is so apt to be betrayed, of a rather forced similitude between the growth and progress of the race of men and that of the individual man from infancy to age.

To what, then, is to be attributed the degree of interest which this volume has excited? Not certainly, we think, to its subject; for, well-suited as its speculations may be to the metaphysical mind of Germany, with its insatiable appetite for mystical inquiries into history, philosophy, science, morals, or religion, they are certainly not of a class which has commonly attracted many English readers. What, then, is it which has secured a reading, and in some degree an attentive reading, in many quarters for this volume? In answer to this question, we gladly admit that we believe its first recommendation, especially to the young men amongst whom they live, is the apparent earnestness of character, piety of spirit, and high moral object

set before them by the most distinguished of its writers. No one, however deeply-rooted may be his contrary conclusions, or however plainly he may mark the presence of other tones,—of a certain sense of disappointment and concealed bitterness, can read Mr. Jowett's Essay upon the Interpretation of Scripture without feeling the full power of those influences acting on his own spirit. But the sense of this, and the estimate of what must be the effect of such words upon young, ardent, and unsuspicious minds, especially if the teacher is one who has been exalted in their eyes by what they deem persecution, and if he stoops to sympathise with their difficulties and think their thoughts, all this only makes it the more imperative though the more painful duty of those who believe that infidelity, if not Atheism, is the end to which this teaching inevitably tends, to speak without reserve their opinion, and to endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to mark its tendency as well as to expose its fallacy. It is in this spirit we approach this task; for truth is dearer than Plato; and here are at stake truths more precious far than any which Plato could have endangered.

But besides the interest with which these qualities of its authors may have invested this volume, we say, and we say it with pain, that we believe that the attention it has obtained is largely due to the position of its writers. It is not so much the 'what' as the 'who says it' which has excited such a general attention. It is with these speculations as to so great a degree it was with the jokes of Sydney Smith, which perpetually derived a peculiar piquancy from their utterer being a clergyman. There was about them just enough, if not of irreligiousness, yet of violation of professional fitness, to give them from clerical lips a peculiar sting. So we believe it to be here: if only certain professors of University College, London, had put forth the suggestions contained in this volume, it would not, with one or two marked exceptions, have been found to possess either the depth, or the originality, or the power, or the liveliness which could have prevented its falling still-born from the press. It has been read, because to all it is new and startling—to some delightful, and to others shocking—that men holding such posts should advocate such doctrines; that the clerical head of one of our great schools, recently elected by a body of staid Conservative noblemen and country gentlemen, and a Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majesty, two professors in our famous University of Oxford, one of whom is also tutor of one of our most distinguished colleges; the Vice-Principal of the College at Lampeter for training the clergy of the Principality; and a country clergyman, famed in his day for special efforts on behalf of orthodoxy;—that such

such as these should be the putters forth of doctrines which seem at least to be altogether incompatible with the Bible and the Christian Faith as the Church of England has hitherto received it—this has been a paradox, so rare and so startling as to wake up for the time the English mind to the distasteful subject of a set of sceptical metaphysical speculations regarding many long-received fundamental truths. How far the book deserves the suspicion to which it owes its success we propose now to examine; and in entering upon this inquiry we are compelled by its peculiar form and profession to determine, first, how far it is to be considered as a whole for which all its writers are jointly responsible.

The writers claim—and claim as a right which, when urged, cannot be withheld—that they should be tried on the contrary principle. ‘It will,’ they say, ‘readily be understood that the authors of the ensuing Essays are responsible for their respective articles only. They have written in entire independence of each other, and without concert or comparison.’ To a certain extent we admit the claim; but to a certain extent only. For the object and intention of the volume as a whole they are all clearly responsible. So far, indeed, in spite of the disclaimer we have quoted, they seem themselves to allow; for they add the expression of their hope that it ‘will be received as an attempt to illustrate the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth from a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language and from traditional methods of treatment.’ Here, so far as the purpose or attempt goes, they admit a unity from which joint responsibility cannot be severed. We would not press this common liability too far, but it must extend to the common action of the firm. Any one who undertook to unite in the ‘free handling’ of such subjects in a common volume, made himself responsible for the common effect of all the essays as a whole. If he entered on such a co-partnership without first ascertaining how far the ‘freedom’ of the hands he united with his own would reach, he would have evinced a levity and unconcern from which we honestly believe that many of these writers are altogether free. But even if this were so, still the common responsibility could not be disputed. A criminal levity in entering upon partnership does not destroy the joint liability of an ill-assorted firm.

It is, moreover, in this case, of less importance to fix the exact limits of joint responsibility, because any one writer could seek to exonerate himself from the charges to which through it he might be exposed, only by showing that his own contributions differed essentially from the rest in aim and purpose, and so, in point

point of fact, ought not to be there. Now, no such defence has been attempted; none such could, we think, succeed. The same purpose is before every writer; the same general tone of writing pervades the whole book; the free handling of most sacred subjects, the free insinuation of doubts, the freedom of assertion, the free endeavour to defend some shadowy ghost of Christianity by yielding up all that has hitherto been thought its substance, is everywhere present. True the several Essays have their several objects, as the several limbs of a body have their several actions and uses, but all minister to the common life and purposes of the whole. The several writers have their several tones of feeling and of speaking. The pleasing but feeble religious tones of Dr. Temple and the earnest and often loving and plaintive utterances of Mr. Jowett are somewhat rudely contrasted with the scarcely-veiled Atheism of Mr. Baden Powell, with the open scepticism and laxity of Mr. Wilson, and the daring flippancy of Dr. Williams; but all combine in the great common lines of thought which pervade the whole volume and make it what it is, whether that whole be taken merely as the abandonment of the Church's ancient position of certainty and truth, or the attempt to occupy a new one free from certain difficulties to which, in these writers' estimate, that old one was exposed.

Upon this point we are convinced that the verdict of the English public will be unanimous and clear. With great and admitted individual differences, marking most clearly different intellectual and still more different spiritual developments, the book must be taken as a whole, and, if condemned, it must condemn every writer in it who does not, by some after act, visibly separate himself from the fellowship of opinions to which he is here committed. As to one of these writers, at least, we give this deliberate judgment with the deepest pain. The English Church needs in her posts of trust such men as his past career has made us believe Dr. Temple to be. We lament with the deepest sorrow the presence of his name amongst these essayists. There is undoubtedly language in *his* Essay which, standing as it does amongst the others, must be construed in connection with them, and which, when so construed, contains the germ of their developed errors. Yet the Essay itself, as a whole, is different in tone from those around it, and contains nowhere any direct statement of such sophistries or scepticisms as abound throughout the rest. We cannot but hope that Dr. Temple has himself been shocked to find what the edifice is to which he has been led unconsciously to furnish the portal. If this be so, as we trust it is, the least atonement he can make to the Church, upon the

the members of which he has brought suspicion, is that he should, with the manly openness which we believe marks his character, disclaim his agreement with the views with which he is here connected. But this is far from all. Important as it is, for obvious reasons affecting themselves and their position in the Church, to fix the real responsibility of the different authors of this volume, if, as we maintain, all are really responsible for the doctrines maintained by each, there is yet another, and, if possible, a more important motive for noticing the essential sameness of view which, under their apparent differences, pervades these Essays. For this throws great light upon their real meaning and on the legitimate conclusion of their mode of argument. In dealing with such writers this assistance is invaluable; for one chief difficulty of our task is to know where they themselves really mean to stop in their speculations. The authors deal largely—we might almost say wantonly—in suggestions of doubt and insinuations of unbelief; there is too often mingled with the beauty and attractiveness of the better parts of their writings, an uncertainty and ambiguity in their expressions, a haziness and indefiniteness, if not about their own conceptions, yet certainly about their expression of them; and in one, at least, there is a perfect mastery of the questionable art of making his meaning obscure. Hence the reader of their speculations continually finds himself in a thick fog of words. Through this the commonest objects of his daily life look out upon him with a grotesque and startling novelty of form which he only gradually discovers to arise solely from the indistinctness with which they are but partially revealed; and if for a moment the mist melts, the chimeras which seemed to have gathered round him turn again into the most harmless and familiar groups of domestic animals. To attempt to grapple with the meaning of these passages is like grasping at a nebulosity or seizing upon a sepia. Either there is nothing in the closed hand, or the evading substance suddenly conceals itself in its congeneric inky obscurity. Now, in dealing with a system of belief which is often thus darkly intimated, it is a great advantage to lay hold of those who have carried out the farthest their own views; for from them may best be learned the drift and ultimate conclusion of the common propositions. For this reason we shall cite freely, as interpreting the whole system, the words of those of the band who seem to us the most to have mastered the teaching of their school, and shall try to extract from their propositions what is its real scope and value.

The first of these is Dr. Rowland Williams, Vice-Principal and Hebrew Professor of St. David's College, Lampeter. Dr. Williams

Williams contributes his Essay in the form of a Review of the *Biblical Researches* of the late Baron Bunsen. There are peculiar advantages in the form thus adopted; for when any proposition is to be advanced which would be too startling from his own mouth, it can thus be stated either as what the Baron has advanced, or as what the Baron would allow to be the natural consequence of his view; or if something freer even than the German rationalizer's teaching must be hazarded, the deficiency can be marked as one which the essayist would fain have seen supplied, not for the satisfaction of his own view, but for the full glory of his friend; in whom, as it is, he has now to lament the presence of 'some specialties of Lutheranism,' some want 'of perfect consistency' (p. 53); or whom he has to rebuke by the gentle reproach that on too many points 'his scepticism does not outrun the suspicions often betrayed in our popular mind,' or by the friendly hint 'that it provokes a smile to observe the zeal with which our critic vindicates the personality of Jonah' (p. 77). By such literary arts as these the essayist, sheltering himself behind the burly lay figure whose limbs he moves at will, can put forward his utmost fancies through another's mouth. We will illustrate what we mean in a single instance. Baron Bunsen maintains, with Holy Scripture, the common origin of man from an ancestral pair. Dr. Williams, we gather, agrees with Mr. Wilson, the writer of the fourth Essay, that 'the descent of all mankind from Adam and Eve is rather a form of narrative into which, in early ages, tradition would easily throw itself spontaneously, than an undoubted historical fact' (p. 201). Such a weakness as Baron Bunsen shows for so antique an idea as the common parentage of the human race, if exhibited by an orthodox divine, would probably have roused up that scornful invective which is never very far absent from the pen of the Vice-Principal of Lampeter; but in the congenial Baron it is thus characteristically dismissed: 'He could not have vindicated the unity of mankind if he had not asked for a vast extension of time, whether his petition of 20,000 years be granted or not;' whilst the reader is reminded a little further on, that 'we are bid to notice in the half-ideal, half-traditional notices of the beginnings of our race, compiled in *Genesis*, the recurrence of barely consistent genealogies' (p. 56).

Without great care the reader of suggestive remarks of this kind might easily be led into the mistake of attributing to Dr. Williams as his own view what he is merely describing as the tenets of another. But we do not believe that we have been betrayed into such an error, or that we in any degree misrepresent him when we describe Dr. Williams's theory to be much
of

of the following kind:—He deems the established view of 'Revelation' to be 'a repressive idea,' which is put over against conscience as an adversary, which represents 'Almighty God as having trained mankind by a faith to whose miraculous tests their pride must bow,' and which 'involves so signal a departure from the channels which His Providence ordained, that comparative distrust of them ever afterwards becomes a duty' (p. 52). This established idea then of Revelation is, of course, not to be maintained; nor indeed, it is intimated, could it be, even if we would consent to 'bow' our souls to its 'repression.' For 'these questions of miraculous interference do not turn merely upon our conception of physical law as unbroken, or of the Divine Will as all-pervading, but they include also inquiries into evidence,' the verdict of which it is plainly intimated would be against us (p. 51). Miracles, that is to say, are first impossible under the law of physical order, and because they are 'incompatible with the all-pervading presence of the Divine Will;' and, further, the alleged proof of their occurrence breaks down.

But the received Scriptures plainly assert their presence, both in direct exceptional acts and in a whole system of prophecy, of which the distinctive feature is an ever-present miraculous element. How, then, is the evidence of Holy Scripture to be set aside? For this we have several canons provided:—(1.) 'Criticism' will help us to 'reduce the strangeness of the past into harmony with the present' (p. 50). And this is to be largely applied; for 'we cannot encourage a remorseless criticism of Gentile writing and escape its contagion when we approach Jewish annals' (p. 51); or, as Dr. Jowett, with a tenderer spirit towards those who hold the ancient faith, words it:—'Criticism has far more power than it formerly had. Whether the habit of mind which has been formed in classical studies will not go on to Scripture; whether Scripture can be made an exception to other ancient writings now that the nature of both is better understood; whether, in the fuller light of history and science, the ideas of the last century will hold out—these are questions,' &c. (p. 430). The result of this remorseless application of criticism (as to the conduct of the experiment we must say something hereafter) is summed up by the Vice-Principal in a few pregnant words. 'On the side of external criticism,' we are told, 'we find the evidences of our canonical books and of the patristic authors nearest them are sufficient to prove illustration in outward act of principles perpetually true, but *not adequate* to guarantee narratives inherently incredible, or precepts evidently wrong' (p. 83); and with such 'incredible narratives' and such 'evidently wrong precepts'

precepts' we find afterwards that the Bible abounds. Criticism, therefore, is to act here as a universal solvent. A vast deal of Scripture, and especially its prophecies so far as they are predictive, so tried breaks down altogether; and 'the few cases' which remain 'tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching inquiry' (p. 70). Being left, then, thus at large by the action of the first canon, we are prepared for the introduction of the second. This, too, is a general favourite with our Essayists. It is thus stated by Dr. Williams:— 'Hence we are obliged to assume in ourselves a verifying faculty, not unlike the discretion which a mathematician would use in weighing a treatise on geometry, or the liberty which a musician would reserve in reporting a law of harmony' (p. 83). Here we have arrived at the great principle of this school. The idea of this 'verifying faculty'—this power of each man of settling what is and what is not true in the Inspired Record—is THE idea of the whole volume, the connecting-link between all its writers.

Thus Dr. Temple, with the mystical and varying fancy which characterises his often beautiful but somewhat feeble contribution to this volume, tells us that the form of the Bible releases us from considering it as an 'outer law' either of doctrine or of practice to which we owe 'subjection.' The 'doctrinal parts are cast in an historical form, and are best studied by considering them as records of the time at which they were written, and as conveying to us the highest and greatest religious life of that time' (p. 44). Does Dr. Temple really hold what these words, if they have any meaning, must necessarily imply, that no doctrinal statement of Scripture commands our 'subjection' to its verity, or need, because we find it there, be true?—or that its appearance in Scripture may only be the 'historical record' of what was, but has passed away? How then on this view is it possible to know whether any doctrine, the very highest as it has long been thought, such for example as the divinity of our blessed Lord or the personality of the Holy Ghost, is true, or whether, on the other hand, it is only the record of a past religious life? Merely, is the reply, by our own internal consciousness, by the 'verifying faculty': for we are 'to use the Bible not to override but to evoke the voice of conscience' (p. 44). To avoid its being to us in anything 'a yoke of subjection' we are 'by virtue of the principle of private judgment to put conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it never can be a duty to disobey' (p. 45). Thus 'conscience,' aided by 'private judgment,' that is to say, every man's own private conviction of what befits God and what befits himself, is for
every

every man to override the Bible, and the 'verifying faculty' of the theologian is to have in weighing God's Revelation the discretion of a mathematician who is weighing a treatise on geometry. This is our possession, it seems, because, as he tells us again, 'At this time, in the maturity of man's powers, the great lever which moves the world is knowledge, the great force is the intellect' (p. 48). Strange that one used to the government even of boys should be, as it seems to us, so utterly misled by words and speculations! The conscience deciding for every man upon the truth of doctrine and the historical value of facts! and that, because 'intellect is the force which moves the world,' therefore conscience, which certainly has no direct connexion whatever with mere intellect, being 'evoked by Scripture,' is to sit in final and irreversible judgment upon the truth of that by which it has been evoked. Many good men are infinitely above their own theories; we trust earnestly, and we believe, that the Head Master of Rugby is above the theories of the essayist Dr. Temple, or we should tremble, not only for the faith, but for the morals of his pupils, who, if he were consistent with his own principles, would be taught to substitute at will for the letter of the Divine command so shifting and uncertain an arbiter. Strange again it is that such a man should not perceive to what conclusions such a theory as this must inevitably lead. For such a power of dealing with the Bible as he here proposes, and which is the same power as is named by Dr. Rowland Williams 'the verifying faculty,' must belong to the most highly developed intellect of the age. What is to become of people who are below this mark? gifted with less than the highest natural power, or the highest cultivation? Is not the tendency of the theory to subject mankind to a sort of intellectual hierarchy? But all this by the way: our object here was only to show that, so far as we may gather his views from this Essay, Dr. Temple thoroughly symbolises with Dr. Williams in what we maintain is the keystone of this whole theory; for by this reasoning, instead of subjecting man, as to his faith and duty, to an external revelation, he subjects the revelation itself to man's internal consciousness.

So, as is clearly implied throughout his Essay, did Professor Baden Powell; especially when he speaks of 'the palpable contradictions disclosed by astronomical discovery with the letter of Scripture' (p. 129); so, in language which it is painful to quote, does the Rev. Henry Bristow Wilson, when he says the meaning of the Sixth Article of the English Church may be 'expressed thus:—The Word of God is contained in Scripture, whence it does not follow that it is co-extensive with it' (p. 176).

... 'Those

... 'Those who are able to do so ought to lead the less educated to distinguish between the different kinds of words which it contains, between the dark patches of human passion and error which form a partial crust upon it, and the bright centre of spiritual truth within' (p. 177). To such a faculty Mr. Goodwin, in fact, appeals, when, as to the special subject of his own Essay, he recommends, for the credit of other parts of God's Word, 'the frank recognition of the erroneous views of nature which it contains' (p. 211). Not other appears to be the view of Mr. Pattison, who, in his Historical Essay, speaks of the belief, that 'Reason, aided by spiritual illumination, performs the subordinate function of recognizing the supreme authority of the Church and of the Bible respectively' as a 'hardy but irrational assertion,' from acknowledging the authority of the first of which the Reformation—of the second, 'time, learned controversy, and abatement of zeal, drove the Protestants generally' (p. 328). The same principle runs all through Mr. Jowett's Essay. 'What remains,' he says in it, 'may be comprised in a few precepts, or rather in the expansion of a single one—*Interpret the Scripture like any other book*' (p. 377). All is, as he says, involved in this rule: mystical meanings—the prophetic character of types—the double meaning of many prophecies—propositions hitherto received with reverent submission, because, on matters beyond our experience, they have been believed to speak the revealed Wisdom of God—all depart together. But the need and the room left for the play of 'the verifying faculty' is indeed large. The Bible, in fact, according to these writers, abounds in statements which render such a faculty absolutely necessary to its true interpretation. For it contains 'attributions to the Divine Being of actions at variance with that higher revelation which He has given of Himself in the Gospel'—it exhibits 'imperfect and opposite aspects of the truth'—'variations of fact and inaccuracies of language. For these are all found in Scripture' (p. 347). Nor, according to this writer, need the interpreter have any scruple or reserve in the free and critical employment of his 'verifying faculty.' There is no reason why he should not treat 'Scripture like any other book.*' It can plead no ground for exemption. 'There is no foundation in the Gospels or Epistles for any supernatural views of inspiration. There is no appearance in their writings that the Evangelists or Apostles had any inward gift, or were subject to any power, external to them, different from that of preaching or teaching, which they daily exercised; nor do they anywhere lead us to suppose that they were free from error or infirmity.

* See on this subject Dr. Robert Scott's University Sermons, pp. 253, 4; 325-9; 344, 5. London, 1860.

St. Paul writes like a Christian teacher . . . hesitating in difficult cases, and more than once correcting himself—corrected too by the course of events, &c. (pp. 345, 346).

Here then is the great principle of the essayists. Holy Scripture is like any other good book. 'It is,' says Dr. Williams, 'before all things the written voice of'—do any of our readers still expect him to say God? No, but of—'the congregation.' The sacred writers acknowledge themselves men of like passions with ourselves, and we are promised illumination from 'the Spirit which dwelt in them.' The opposite and abandoned theory he somewhat quaintly but very indicatively defines as that which 'prefers thinking the sacred writers passionless machines, and calling Luther and Milton uninspired' (p. 78). 'Scripture,' re-echoes Mr. Jowett, 'is to be read like any other book,' not only, as we have seen, because it embodies the same errors as other books, but also because it is not to be held to have meanings deeper at least in kind than they possess. For 'it is not,' he thinks, 'a useful lesson for the young student to apply to Scripture principles which he would hesitate to apply to other books; to make formal reconcilements of discrepancies which he would not think of reconciling in ordinary history; to divide simple words into double meanings,' &c. (p. 428); and again, 'The apprehension of the original meaning of Scripture is inconsistent with the reception of a typical or conventional one. The time will come when educated men will be no more able to believe that the words "Out of Egypt have I called my Son" (Matt. ii. 15, Hosea xi. 1) were intended by the prophet to refer to the return of Joseph and Mary from Egypt than,' &c. (p. 418).

This then is the great principle of their Hermeneutics; and, this once admitted, the least reflection will enable any one to see how far it may extend. Yet there is something beyond even this. By what Mr. Wilson calls 'the application of ideology to the interpretation of Scripture' (p. 200), the already well-nigh unlimited power of explaining away the letter of the Word of God is increased to the uttermost. Mr. Wilson's very words upon this subject are well worth noticing:—

'The application of ideology to the interpretation of Scripture, to the doctrines of Christianity, to the formularies of the Church, may undoubtedly be carried to an excess—may be pushed so far as to leave in the sacred records no historical residue whatever. On the other side, there is the excess of a dull and unpainstaking acquiescence, satisfied with accepting in an unquestioning spirit, and as if they were literally facts, all particulars of a wonderful history, because in some sense it is from God. Between these extremes lie infinite degrees of rational and irrational interpretation.

'It will be observed that the ideal method is applicable in two ways,
both

both to giving account of the origin of parts of Scripture and also in explanation of Scripture. It is thus either critical or exegetical.

'An example of the critical ideology carried to excess is that of Strauss, which resolves into an ideal the whole of the historical and doctrinal person of Jesus. . . . But it by no means follows, because Strauss has substituted a mere shadow for the Jesus of the Evangelists, and has frequently descended to a minute captiousness in details, that there are not traits in the scriptural person of Jesus which are better explained by referring them to an ideal than an historical origin; and without falling into fanciful exegetics there are parts of Scripture more usefully interpreted ideologically than in any other manner—as, for instance, the history of the temptation of Jesus by Satan, and accounts of demoniacal possessions. And liberty must be left to all as to the extent in which they apply the principle' (pp. 200, 201).

Now, is it possible that anything can be more utterly indefinite, or, at the same time, more self-contradictory than this? For, if liberty must be left to all to apply the principle to any extent they please—and, if the principle is true, undoubtedly such liberty must be left—what legitimate limit is there as to its application? If the Temptation may be explained away, why not the Incarnation? if the casting out of devils, why not any other recorded fact of the life or ministry of our Lord? and, if liberty must be left to all, why is Strauss to be blamed for using that universal liberty, and 'resolving into an ideal the whole of the historical and doctrinal person of Jesus'? Why is Strauss's resolution an excess? or where and by what authority short of his extreme view would Mr. Wilson himself stop? or at what point of the process? and by what right could he consistently with his own canon call on any other speculator to stay the ideologizing process?

Here then we have the critical and exegetical rule, as it seems, in its completeness. There is but one point further needful to enable our readers to judge of its full power, and that is to show them not what might be, even according to our essayists, its abuse, but what is actually its use in their own hands.

To begin then at the beginning. The Mosaic narrative of the Creation becomes 'the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton, promulgated in all good faith as the best and most probable account that could be then given of God's universe;' and to the objection that, 'taking this view of the case, the writer asserts solemnly and unhesitatingly that for which he must have known that he had no authority,' it is replied as a sufficient answer that the objection 'arises only from our modest habit of thought and from the modesty of assertion which the spirit of true science has taught us' (p. 252).

Surely it is scarcely possible to employ words which more
s 2 completely

completely shut out the notion of every kind and degree of inspiration than this supposition of the speculation of a Hebrew Descartes, justified (1) from the charge of the moral guilt of falsehood by the allegation that he but partook of an unscientific immodesty of assertion, which was the universal tendency of his age.

Take next the history of the first beginning of our race upon this earth, and see how it is dealt with:—

‘Some may consider the descent of all mankind from Adam and Eve as an undoubted historical fact; others may rather perceive in that relation a form of narrative into which in early ages tradition would easily throw itself spontaneously. Each race naturally—necessarily when races are isolated—supposes itself to be sprung from a single pair, and to be the first or the only one of races. *Among a particular people this historical representation became the concrete expression of a great moral truth, of the brotherhood of all human beings, of their community, as in other things so also in suffering and in frailty, in physical pains and in moral corruption; and the force, grandeur, and reality of these ideas are not a whit impaired in the abstract, nor indeed the truth of the concrete history as their representation, even though mankind should have been placed upon the earth in many pairs at once or in distinct centres of creation.*’—(p. 201.)

Now let us clearly understand how large a part of all revelation is swept away by this one ideological interpretation. First, there is of course the whole narrative of the Creation: with this must go every vestige of the Temptation, the Fall, and its consequences to the race; for with the ‘many pairs at once,’ and the ‘distinct centres of creation,’ all of these are absolutely irreconcilable. So the coming in of sickness, disease, and death as the consequence of sin, are resolved into the legendary history of their origin, which belongs to all separate tribes, but which (how is not explained) becomes amongst the Hebrews the concrete expression of the truth that corruption and suffering are found, in fact, to cleave to man’s nature. This is no slight resolution of Scripture into legend; and yet how much more than this is implicitly sacrificed! what place is there for the Incarnation, as that mighty central event is spoken of in Scripture, if the gathering of the race into one ancestral head is blotted out?—what becomes of the whole argument and revelation which is summed up in the blessed words, ‘For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive’? All surely pass away together amidst the mists of this rationalizing ideology.

This is no single instance of the way in which, over and above the direct destruction of the value of the Sacred record, the greatest truths are incidentally sacrificed in this volume. Thus, for instance, in Dr. Temple’s laboured similitude between the youth and

and maturity of the individual and the race, in like manner, the first creation of man in God's image, the loss of that image by the fall, the Incarnation, and the restoration of that image through it to the race of men, are all implicitly but inevitably excluded from the history of our race. For by the first necessities of this figure, as it is propounded in this Essay, man, the reclaimed savage, is raised mainly by intellectual processes inherited from age to age by successive generations, until, from the feebleness in which he was created, 'the colossal man' at last passes to his slowly developed maturity of greatness. There is no room here for the Incarnation and Redemption. Such a break in the identity of the colossal man is fatal to the whole figure, which sets before us one gradual progress from original weakness to developed might—the very opposite conception from that of Christianity, in which we have man created as the son of God—beginning with glorious communings with his Maker, then falling to a low estate, and then lifted up again by the marvel of Redemption, through the Incarnation of the Lord and the atoning sacrifice which as man He offered for man, and the communication of himself through the Church to the race whose nature He had taken into union with his own Divine Personality.

But we must proceed with our examination of the amount of our supposed Revelation with which the essayists are ready to part.

We have dismissed at present the well-intentioned fables of the 'Hebrew Descartes.' We have a world which has existed with the human race, proceeding probably from various centres, and slowly struggling through the infantile weakness of their immature beginning, for an almost endless series of years. At the end of this long vista, as the eye ranges doubtfully up its dreary length over the shapes of unknown men, beginning to rise out of an almost, or perhaps absolutely, irrational existence into a slowly-developed humanity, is there at last seen clear and visible the august form of a Personal Creator? If we understand Mr. Baden Powell's words aright, there is none. For he tells us (misrepresenting, as we hold, utterly the meaning of that true philosopher, Professor Owen)—

'It is now acknowledged, under the high sanction of the name of Owen,* that "creation" is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production: and it has been the unangwered and unanswerable argument of another reasoner, that new species *must* have originated *either* out of the inorganic elements *or* out of previously organised forms; *either* development *or* spontaneous generation *must*

* British Association Address, 1850.

be true; while a work has now appeared which must soon bring about an entire revolution of opinion in favour of the grand principle of the *self-evolving powers of nature*.—(p. 130.)

These words, 'the self-evolving powers of nature,' convey no meaning to our mind if they do not intentionally resolve the notion of a Personal Creator into the misty hieroglyphic of the Atheist. Unhappily this passage does not stand alone:—

'The particular case of *miracles*,' he tells us, 'as such, is one specially bearing on purely *physical* contemplations, and on which no general moral principles, no common rules of evidence or logical technicalities can enable us to form a correct judgment. It is not a question which can be decided by a few trite and commonplace generalities as to the moral government of the world and the belief in the Divine Omnipotence, or as to the validity of human testimony or the limits of human experience. It involves and is essentially built upon those grand conceptions of the order of nature, those comprehensive elements of all physical knowledge, *those ultimate ideas of universal causation*, which can only be familiar to those thoroughly versed in cosmical philosophy in its widest sense. In an age of physical research like the present all highly cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects have learned to recognise the impossibility of any modifications whatever in the existing conditions of material agents unless through the invariable operation of a series of eternally-impressed consequences following in some necessary chain of orderly connexion.'—(p. 133.)

And again, deriding the notion of 'moral laws controlling physical,' he speaks of 'the universal self-sustaining and self-evolving powers which pervade all nature' (p. 134). Whilst, as we have said, we must maintain the joint responsibility of all the writers of this volume for its whole effect, and whilst it is impossible to separate from that whole effect the influence of these extreme assertions, yet we trust and believe that more than one of the Essayists would start back from such inferences from their common theory. Whether these inferences are not the legitimate and even necessary consequences of their theory we will examine presently; for the present it is our object to ascertain how far they themselves carry consciously their own principle of remodelling the common creed of Christendom.

We pass on then from the earliest records of our world and of our race to the immediately succeeding period. These are dealt with chiefly by Dr. Williams, who, sometimes following, sometimes outstripping Baron Bunsen, finds, with the Baron, our Deluge taking its place among geological phenomena, no longer a disturbance of law from which science shrinks (p. 456); relegates with him the early history of man to 'half-ideal, half-traditional notices of the beginning of our race compiled in
Genesis'

Genesis' (p. 56), and 'the long lives of the first patriarchs to the domain of legend or of symbolical cycle' (p. 57); and suggests, with a regret that it had escaped the German critic, 'the puzzling circumstance that the etymology of some of the earlier names seems strained to suit the present form of the narrative.'

The inspired records of the earlier period having been thus summarily evaporated into legend or symbols, we come to the time of Abraham, with which we are told that Bunsen reasonably conceives the historic period to begin (p. 57). But even into what we might suppose would be an age of greater fixedness and certainty, legend and symbol accompany us still. They are ever at hand, ready to be summoned up to explain away any miraculous interposition, whether it be 'the passage of the Red Sea,' which is sublimed unto 'the latitude of poetry;' or the spoiling of the Egyptians and the conquest of Canaan, as to which we are told that 'there are signs *even in the Bible* of a struggle conducted by human means;' or the slaying of the first-born, as to which it is suggested that 'the avenger may have been the Bedouin host, akin nearly to Jethro and more remotely to Israel' (p. 50). This last is surely a remarkable instance of the ideologic power. For it were almost a greater miracle that a 'Bedouin host' could have slain all the first-born in Egypt, or that slaying them they should have spared the rest, than to believe the simple record of Scripture that He in whose hands are the issues of life and of death should have walked in that night of terror as an avenger through the doomed land.

There is one other instance of this treatment of Holy Writ on which we must for a few moments stay our readers. If there be one fact in the Old Testament which reappears oftener than another in the Sacred Volume, on which in every sort of connexion more, so to speak, hangs than another, it is the great trial of Abraham's faith in the command given him by God Himself to stretch forth his hand and slay the beloved son of his old age, the seed so long waited for, the heir and centre of so many promises. All this, however, is set aside; set aside too as hardly deserving a formal abrogation, but by a mere passing notice, as of some unquestionable and unquestioned verity. 'When,' we are told, 'the fierce ritual of Syria, with the awe of a Divine voice, bade Abraham slay his son, he did not reflect that he had no perfect theory of the Absolute to justify him in departing from traditional Revelation, but trusted that the FATHER, whose voice from heaven he heard, at heart was better pleased with mercy than sacrifice: and this trust was his righteousness.' For a 'response to principles of reason and right is a truer

truer sign of faith than such deference to a supposed external authority as would quench these principles themselves' (p. 61).

After this, no further example seems to us necessary to exhibit the degree to which the principle of the verifying faculty is applied by Dr. Rowland Williams to get rid of any inconvenient facts recorded in the Scripture, or to substitute almost silently a different theory for its foundation-principles. The notion that *faith* consists in 'principles of reason and right,' and in disobedience to God's external authority, in order that we may by that disobedience more completely obey what we consider our own reason, can hardly be exceeded. But there is another class of miracle, the presence of which is so intertwined with the whole text of Scripture, that a few words are needful as to the mode in which it is treated. It is to the miraculous element in the prophecies of Holy Scripture that we here allude.

The prophet's office, according to these writers, was that of a preacher of righteousness. In this sense the prophets were to their contemporaries 'Witnesses of the Divine Government.' This of course no one denies. Their very name implies so much. But in denying them the power of miracle and of prediction, the essayists rob them of their credentials with their contemporaries, and reduce them for all ages to the level of ordinary moralists. According to these writers, the moral power of their writings is fearfully interfered with by dwelling upon their supposed 'predictive' character. No scorn can be too withering for those who believe in such a faculty as pervading these writings. The belief that their words expressed, as a supernatural sign of their Divine mission, so much of that which lay always open to the Divine foreknowledge as God saw fit to impart by them to men, is described as the 'modern' tale that 'history is expressed by the prophets in a riddle which requires only a key to it' (p. 64). No writer who has advocated this escapes Dr. Williams's lash, administered, often both in the text and notes, in words which we do not think it becoming to quote. Suffice it to mention two by way of example. Of Bishop Butler, then, we are told that he 'foresaw the possibility that every prophecy in the Old Testament might have its elucidation in contemporaneous history' (as Dr. Williams gives no reference, we cannot say to which of Bishop Butler's words he alludes, or examine the faithfulness of their application); 'but literature was not his strong point, and he turned aside, endeavouring to limit it, from an unwelcome idea' (p. 65).

Our readers may form in fancy some idea of the critic's own skill in his art when he can lightly dismiss this venerable name with such a sneer. Butler turning away from an unwelcome idea! the philosopher whose whole life was a calm taking into
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his grand system of every possible consideration which by way of allowance checked or interfered with other parts of it, that he might certainly reach that truth which must of necessity be the combination of all,—his turning from an unwelcome idea is like suggesting that Sir Isaac Newton was on the edge of some great mathematical discovery, which he missed through the unwelcome apprehension of its interfering with his Principia. In like manner 'Davison of Oriel' is dismissed with the sneering assertion that 'with admirable skill he threw his argument into a series as it were of hypothetical syllogisms, with only the defect that his minor premiss can hardly in a single instance be proved; yet the stress which he lays on the moral element of prophecy atones for his sophistry as regards the predictive.'—(p. 66.)

The canons by which all prophecy is explained away are mainly these, and they are repeated at large through the whole volume:—1. That Scripture can have but one meaning, so that a second application of a prophetic utterance, or the idea of its being intended to convey 'a double meaning,' is simply absurd. 2. That if therefore the prophet's language can be applied to any event which occurred during the prophet's lifetime, it must be limited to this contemporary event. 3. That, unless the prophet who uttered the prediction himself consciously intended in uttering it the remotest sense it is supposed to bear, it is trifling with language to call it prophecy, the fact being that he who so applies the prophecy 'stands behind' the prophet and palters with his words.—(p. 72.)

Having laid down these principles, criticism comes in, and reasons are given for supposing that even as to their first sense these utterances were no predictions, but moral, poetical, and historical effusions upon events past or passing at the time. Sometimes the theory is worked out into detail, as it is by Dr. Williams: sometimes it is simply assumed as incapable of doubt, and merely reasoned from as universally admitted. Thus Mr. Jowett, amongst his complaints of the misinterpretation which the Scriptures have undergone from not being treated as any other book would be, remarks quite incidentally of the prophecy of Cyrus, Isaiah xlv. 1,—'The mention of a name later than the supposed age of the prophet is not allowed, as in other writings, to be taken in evidence of the date.'—(p. 343.) We know not that we could point to such an instance as this in the writings of any other author of any credit. Of course Mr. Jowett knows as well as we do the distinction between history and prophecy, and that the mention in any document of the name of one who was unborn at the time fixed as the date of the writing, would be

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at once a complete disproof of its accuracy as a history of the past, and a proof of its accuracy as a prediction of the future. Of course he also remembers that the point he has to *prove* is that this passage is history and is not prediction; and his mode of proving is this: he assumes that it is a history of the past, advancing as a charge against the believers of Revelation, that they do not, as they would in any other history, reject the genuineness of the passage because it embalms a future name in a past history. This audacious, for we cannot use a weaker word, assumption of what he has to prove, pervades his Essay. He has, for instance, for his purpose to prove that Holy Scripture is in kind like other books, and he pretends to do so by inveighing against those who treat it differently; as if it was not transparently the same logical error, if God be speaking directly through it, to assume that it has no more meaning or prescience than another book, as it would be to presume that it had these characteristics if it were the mere work of man. Such a liberty of assuming as proved the matter he has to prove, would of itself be destructive of the philosophic character of any writer upon any subject.

We shall hereafter show what weight we think should be given both to these canons and to the criticism which points their application. For the present our purpose is to see the limits which this mode of dealing with prophecy reaches in these writers' hands. One or two sentences may well express it. 'The book of Daniel contains no predictions except by analogy and type' (p. 76). 'When so vast an induction,' we are told, 'on the destructive side has been gone through, it avails little that some passages may be doubtful, one perhaps in Zechariah and one in Isaiah capable of being made directly Messianic, and a chapter possibly in Deuteronomy foreshadowing the final fall of Jerusalem. Even these few cases, the remnant of so much confident rhetoric, tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching inquiry' (p. 70). We know how little store our writers set by any seeming authorisation of any passages in the Old Testament by their quotation or adoption in the New, through their solution that 'many narratives of marvels and catastrophes in the Old Testament are referred to in the New as emblems without either denying or attesting their literal truth, such as the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire from heaven, and the Noachian Deluge' (p. 201). And yet, even bearing this in mind, we cannot forbear, in order to fix the exact measure of deflection which the essayists have reached, to put here in the sharpest contrast to these speculations the very words of Him who on the evening of the Resurrection-day joined his mysterious

terious companionship to two of his first disciples, and upbraided their slowness to apply to what they had just witnessed this condemned double sense of the ancient Scriptures, in the appeal, 'O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in *all the Scriptures* the things concerning himself.* Surely a contrast can hardly be conceived more perfect than that which exists between such an opening of the Scriptures and the theory of our essayists.

Nor is this treatment confined in any degree to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The New Testament is subjected to the same handling. This we have already seen in stating their doctrine of its non-inspiration, and we may therefore be very brief in our further description of it. The Evangelists, according to them, give us, at best, the report of ordinary bystanders, or perhaps the gathered rumours of the time, 'like many others whose writings have not been preserved to us;' and the result is in accordance with the simple profession and style in which they describe themselves; there is no appearance, that is to say, of insincerity or want of faith, but neither is there perfect accuracy or agreement, 'these disagreements being instances of the differences which arose in the traditions of the earliest ages respecting the history of our Lord.† On this hint Mr. Wilson improves with the remark, drawn from the supposed discrepancies in the aspects of the Saviour as presented to us in the three first Gospels, and in the writings of St. Paul and St. John, that 'at any rate there were current in the Primitive Church very distinct Christologies' (p. 179); and Dr. Williams repeats and apparently agrees with Baron Bunsen's explanation of 'the numerous traces characteristic of a traditional narrative in the three first Gospels' by the suggestion that 'they are three divergent forms of a once oral tradition;' whilst Mr. Jowett tells us that it is 'most probable that the tradition on which the three first Gospels were based was at first preserved orally, and slowly put together and written in the three forms which it assumed at a very early period, those forms being in some places perhaps modified by experience' (p. 370). From this origin he argues, to the utter destruction of all notion of inspiration, that dissimilarities arose between them.

Again, it is suggested to us that the four Gospels need not be supposed to be 'entirely the composition of the persons whose names they bear,' or to be 'without any admixture of legendary matter or embellishment in their narratives;' whilst

* St. Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 27.

† Jowett, p. 346.

it is hinted further that 'the remarkable unison of the three first Gospels, when they recite the Lord's words, notwithstanding their discrepancies in some matters of fact, compels us to think that they embody more exact traditions of what he actually said than the fourth does, as to which there is no proof that St. John gives his voucher as an eye and ear-witness of all which is related in it.'* Not, indeed, so far as we can gather from his words, that, if it had this voucher, it would possess any peculiar weight with Mr. Wilson, for he esteems the Apostle a man of rather contracted habits of thought: 'The horizon which St. John's view embraced was much narrower than St. Paul's.'

'Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'

To reconcile us, however, to this presence of 'legendary matter' in what we had hitherto received as 'the Word of God,' we are taught by Mr. Wilson of how little real importance such a substitution is:—

'We do not apply the term "untrue" to parable, fable, or proverb, although their words correspond with ideas, not with material facts. As little should we do so when narratives have been the spontaneous product of true ideas, and are capable of reproducing them. . . . For relations which may repose on doubtful grounds as matters of history, and as history be incapable of being ascertained or verified, may yet be equally suggestive of true ideas with facts absolutely certain. The spiritual signification is the same of the Transfiguration, of opening blind eyes, of causing the tongue of the stammerer to speak plainly, of feeding multitudes with bread in the wilderness, of cleansing leprosy, whatever links may be deficient in the traditional record of particular events. Or let us suppose one to be uncertain whether Our Lord were born of the house and lineage of David or of the tribe of Levi, and even to be driven to conclude that the genealogies of Him have little historic value; nevertheless, *in idea* Jesus is both son of David and son of Aaron. . . . So again the incarnation (sic) of the Divine Immanuel remains, although the angelic appearances which heralded it in the narratives of the Evangelists may be of ideal origin, according to the conceptions of former days.'—(pp. 202, 203.)

Little can be added to this; and yet something is added when Mr. Jowett tells us that 'we cannot readily determine how much of the words of *our Lord* or of St. Paul is to be attributed to Oriental modes of speech,' for that 'expressions which would be regarded as rhetorical exaggeration in the Western world are the natural vehicles of thought to an Eastern people.'

Here we think we may stop this most distasteful part of our duty, the showing from their own words what the theory of the Essayists as to the Holy Scripture really is. We believe that it

* Wilson, p. 161.

may be summed briefly up with the view that the Bible comprises within itself,—embedded in the crust of earlier legends, oral traditions, poetical licences, and endless parables,—a certain residuum, which may be considered, in a certain sense, as the record of a revelation; whilst what is legend, and what the more noble residuum, must be determined for himself by every man; for that in this adult age of humanity every one who will, may possess the needful intellectual power by his own inherent ‘verifying faculty;’ yet that there are certain broad lines which may be taken for granted by all, and without, or on the sceptical side of which, only, the verifying faculty can reasonably act; that these lines necessarily exclude from the Revelation all the earlier and much of the later history of the Old Testament; all miracles, whether in the Old or New Testament, as things contrary alike to the unbroken order of causes and effects, the universality of which modern science has now established, and also really incompatible with all pure Theism; that prophecy, in the sense of prediction, whether secular or Messianic, must likewise be abandoned, and be read only for its moral instruction; finally, that this residuum of Scripture is not to be regarded as in any peculiar sense the result of God’s presence, or of any special inspiration of His Spirit; that it is the record of the religious life of past ages; that it is of the most valuable quality when it may be considered as the ‘voice of the congregation,’ since that which is written by individuals is always liable to be injured by the infirmities which its writers are the first to admit, or, as in the case of the writings especially of St. John, to be cramped and distorted by the narrowness of his own mind and his deficiency in the true spirit of Love.

This, we believe, is a fair and a tolerably complete statement of the views they have laid down concerning Holy Scripture, and, after reviewing it carefully, we think that no man will be astonished by the admission of Mr. Wilson, that ‘the ideologian may sometimes be thought sceptical’ (p. 203); or that, as to its authority as to matters either of belief or of practice, Mr. Jowett should tell us that it is not ‘easy to say what is the meaning of proving a doctrine from Scripture.’ For ‘when we demand logical equivalents and similarity of circumstances; when we balance adverse statements, St. James and St. Paul, the New Testament with the Old, it will be hard to demonstrate from Scripture any complete system either of doctrine or practice.’ (p. 367.)

From this treatment of Holy Scripture it would not be difficult to prognosticate how the doctrines of the Church would be handled. If they do these things in the green tree, what will they

they not do in the dry? But whatever may be our readers' expectations on this subject, they will, we believe, be exceeded by the reality. The definite dogmatic teaching of the Church is the object of the essayists' peculiar animosity. 'The career of dogmatism in the Church,' Dr. Temple tells us, 'was in many ways similar to the hasty generalizations of early manhood.' 'It belongs to a later epoch to see "the law within the law" which absorbs such statements into something higher than themselves At the Reformation an entirely new lesson commenced—the lesson of toleration. Toleration is the very opposite of dogmatism. Its tendency is to modify the early dogmatism by substituting the spirit for the letter, and practical religion for precise definitions of truth.' We will not pause upon these words now, because to do so would lead us from our main purpose here, and yet we must call special attention, even in passing, to their want of philosophy and want of truth. For they imply, if they mean anything, that precision in holding the true doctrines of revelation is in some measure opposite to practical religion. Whereas the one must be built upon the other. The whole central idea of Christianity is that it is a revelation of God's truth, which is not a philosophical abstraction capable of leading men away from holy living, but is the very power of God unto salvation, which, brought home and applied by the covenanted aid of the Holy Spirit, is the efficient cause of the Church's holiness—the central power of attraction which holds in its own separate orbit every reconciled Christian will. Such, however, is not, it seems, Dr. Temple's view; and so he laments the imperfection with which, even so far, this lesson of toleration has been learned; that it is too often timid, too often rash, sometimes sacrificing valuable religious elements, sometimes fearing its own plainest conclusions. 'The recurrence to the Bible,' and so 'to the childhood and youth of the world, has of course retarded the acquisition of that toleration which is the chief philosophical and religious lesson of modern days' (pp. 41, 43, 46). Every one of Dr. Temple's suggestions for dissolving in a general halo of goodness all distinct doctrinal truth, Mr. Jowett takes up and carries further. It is specially as to what he does hold as true in Christian doctrine that we find the oppressive presence of that mistiness of which we at first complained. His general notion seems to be that we are under a 'progressive revelation' (p. 348); that 'a world of understanding comes in between Scripture and the Nicene or Athanasian Creed;' that the language of the creeds is therefore incommensurable with Scripture. 'That it had a truth suited to its age,' and that 'its technical expressions have sunk deep into the heart
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of the human race; but that 'it is not,' therefore, 'the less unfitted to be the medium by the help of which Scripture is to be explained.' For that 'the greatest difficulties would be introduced into the Gospels by the attempt to identify them (quære, to represent them as agreeing?) with the Creeds. We should have to suppose that our Lord was and was not tempted, that when he prayed to his Father he prayed to himself . . . How could he have said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" These simple and touching words have to be taken out of their natural meaning and connexion to be made the theme of apologetic discourses if we insist on reconciling them with the distinctions of later ages' (p. 355). Still he does not discard the creeds—'They are acknowledged to be a part of Christianity' (p. 353). A record, we suppose he means, of one phase of the Christian mind. 'Nor can it be said that any heterodox formula makes a nearer approach to a simple and Scriptural rule of faith' (p. 353). A strangely liberal concession surely to his own Church to be made by one of her clergy—and this is repeated as to the special heterodoxy of the Socinian. For we are told that 'the substitution of the Unitarian rule of faith would not be more favourable than the orthodox to the interpretation' (p. 357). Again, in words which have the same sound, it is hinted to us 'that, when maintaining the *Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity*, we do not readily recall the verse "Of that hour,"' &c. (Mark xiii. 32).

It is this remarkable indifference to all doctrine which is everywhere apparent in the writings of Mr. Jowett. He looks 'backward with a kind of amazement at the minuteness of theological distinctions, and at their permanence. It is, perhaps, true that the decision of the Council of Nicæa was the greatest misfortune that ever befel the Christian world; yet a different decision would have been a greater misfortune. . . . A veil was on the human understanding in the great controversies which absorbed the Church in earlier ages; the clouds, which the combatants themselves raised, intercepted the view.'—(p. 420, 421.) His hope for the future is, that 'these distinctions of theology are beginning to fade away.'—(p. 421.) 'The lessons of Scripture,' he thinks, 'may have a nearer way to the hearts of the poor when disengaged from theological formulas.'—(p. 424.) 'The truths of Scripture, again, would have greater reality if divested of the scholastic form in which theology has cast them. The universal and spiritual aspects of Scripture might be more brought forward to the exclusion of. . . . exaggerated statements of doctrines which seem to be at variance with morality.'—(p. 420.) Those of our readers who are acquainted with Mr. Jowett's other works will

will see at a glance what these immoral doctrines are ; they will understand that the cardinal doctrine of the Atonement, with all which it involves, and all which flows from it, is this exaggerated statement of doctrine from which Mr. Jowett would set us free.

If we turn to his more outspoken brethren, the selfsame abandonment of all Christian doctrine meets us without the aid of that softening haze of Christian sentiment in which Mr. Jowett has involved it. Mr. Wilson tells us boldly,—‘It is a stifling of the true Christian life, both in the individual and in the Church, to require of many men a unanimity in speculative doctrine which is unattainable, and a uniformity of historical belief which can never exist.’—(p. 204, 205.) And up to what fundamental parts of the whole Christian revelation he would carry this licence of doctrinal speculation, the following pregnant words sufficiently inform us :—‘Forms of expression, partly derived from modern modes of thought on metaphysical subjects, partly suggested by a better acquaintance than heretofore with the unsettled state of Christian opinion in the immediately post-apostolic age, may be adopted with respect to the doctrines enumerated in the first five Articles, without directly contradicting, impugning, or refusing assent to them, but passing by the side of them, as with respect to humanifying of the Divine Word, and to the Divine personalities.’—(p. 185, 186.)

So much as to the great objective truths of the Christian revelation. Can any humble believer in them feel any astonishment that this apparent absence of all fixed and definite views as to God’s revelation of Himself should be accompanied by an equal indefiniteness as to the eternal future of mankind ? Yet what words can be sadder from the lips of one who must so often have met the mourner at his churchyard-gate with those words of calm unfathomable power and beauty, ‘I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord,’ than those with which Mr. Wilson’s essay terminates ? where, after having dwelt in thought on the doubtful struggle between good and evil, he closes all his speculation with the words, —‘We must . . . entertain a hope that there shall be found after the great adjudication receptacles suitable for those who shall be infants, not as to years of terrestrial life, but as to spiritual development—nurseries, as it were, and seed-grounds, where the undeveloped may grow up under new conditions, the stunted may become strong, and the perverted be restored. And when the Christian Church in all its branches shall have fulfilled its sublunary office, and its Founder shall have surrendered His kingdom to the Great Father—all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent, *to repose or*
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be quickened into higher life in the ages to come according to His will' (p. 206). Can the knell of all Christian truth sound more distinctly or more mournfully than this? 'The peace with God through Jesus Christ our Lord,'—the way opened into the Holiest through the blood of Jesus—the 'entering with boldness'—the sure hope of the 'resurrection of the body' and of 'life everlasting'—changed into the dreamy possibility of 'a repose in the bosom of the Universal Parent' (p. 206)—the poor Buddhist dream of re-absorption into the Infinite, of the drop of life peacefully swallowed up into unconsciousness in the slumbering ocean of being. Here, alas! as in Mr. Jowett's Essay, there is an absolute lack of all perception of what sin is, and so of what atonement is—a dreamy vagueness of pantheistic pietism, which is but the shallow water leading on to a profounder and darker atheism. Nor, if we turn to Dr. Rowland Williams, shall we find any improvement of tone as to the greatest realities of Christian doctrine. As in the pages of Dr. Temple, Mr. Jowett, and Mr. Wilson, that fixing of the expression of Christian doctrine in creeds and symbols which the rise of various heresies forced upon the Church is represented as the up-growth of the doctrine itself, and as its deflection at the same time from the purer standard of the Gospels. But in Dr. Williams's pages the picture is at once freer, darker, and more intense. Free we might indeed expect to find it in one who, as he intimates, with his great master Bunsen, 'believes St. Paul,' when stating Christian doctrine, 'because he understands him reasonably' (p. 83). The reasonableness of this belief being one which sublimates into symbol and poetry the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, man's justification with God through faith in Jesus Christ, and the resurrection of the body. But the lines in which Dr. Williams draws his picture of the early Church are dark as well as free. With him, 'The Church exhibits the turbulent growth of youth: a democracy with all its passions, transforming itself into sacerdotalism, and a poetry, with its figures partly represented by doctrine, and partly perverted. Even the text of Scripture fluctuated in sympathy with the changes of the Church, especially in passages bearing on asceticism and the fuller development of the Trinity' (p. 86). 'That awful doctrine became,' he says, 'in ruder hands a materialism almost idolatrous, or an arithmetical enigma' (p. 87). In some sort—as Arians, and Sabellians, and even Socinians have always professed to do—Dr. Williams professes to maintain it as 'a profound metaphysical problem' (p. 87). But how little this implies of the definiteness of the Christian creeds may be measured by his scoffs at the Atonement, the doctrine of which he describes as the 'shifting salvation from

evil, through sharing the Saviour's spirit, into a notion of purchase from God through the price of his bodily pangs' (p. 87); by his view of man's future state as indefinite as Mr. Wilson's, for he, it seems, with his master, 'recoils from the fleshly resurrection . . . of Justin Martyr, and shares the aspiration—not, observe, the Christian faith, mounting up to assurance, but—the aspiration of the noblest philosophers elsewhere, and of the firmer believers amongst ourselves, to a revival of conscious and individual life in such a form of immortality as may consist with union with the Spirit of our eternal Lifegiver' (p. 90).

We have drawn out thus at large the real teaching of these essayists for more than one reason. First, we felt it our duty to state fully, and as far as possible in their own words, what their views are; because, as honest men and as believers in Christianity, we must pronounce those views to be absolutely inconsistent with its creeds, and must therefore hold that the attempt of the Essayists to combine their advocacy of such doctrines with the retention of the status and emolument of Church of England clergymen is simply moral dishonesty. Next, we believe that nothing can more tend to prevent the spread of these views than the clear and distinct apprehension of what they really are. Like all other taints and corruptions, such evils as these spread the most readily and widely in the congenial atmosphere of mist and fog. They lay hold of the young and the ardent and the generous by their show of liberality, of reasonableness, of candour, of calmness, and by the specious glow of pietism with which they are invested. But let those who are tempted to adopt them see from the first to what they of necessity lead, and many will start back at once from paths, however flowery they may seem at the outset, the end of which is so evidently death. If we can but force up the prophet's veil, and show the foul deformity which it covers, half our task will have been accomplished. It is impossible honestly to combine the maintenance of such a system and the ministry of the English Church. This grave question is dealt with by Mr. Wilson, and how, we think our readers ought to know. He is not altogether easy in his position. He wishes that 'the freedom of opinion which belongs to the English citizen should be conceded to the English Churchman, and the freedom which is already practically enjoyed by the members of the congregation cannot,' he thinks, 'without injustice, be denied to its ministers. . . . It is a strange ignoring of the constitution of human minds to expect all ministers . . . to be of one opinion in theoreticals, or the same person to be subject to no variations of opinion at different periods of life.' Mr. Wilson, as we shall see, has special personal

sonal reasons for urging this peculiar plea. He proceeds, accordingly, 'to consider how far a liberty of opinion is conceded by our existing laws, civil and ecclesiastical.'—(p. 180.)

The result of his consideration is as follows:—That, as no one can be questioned as to his opinions, the teacher may think what he pleases, provided only he teaches as is prescribed; 'as far,' are his own words, 'as *opinion privately entertained* is concerned, the liberty of the English clergyman appears already to be complete' (p. 180). With most men educated, not in the schools of Jesuitism, but in the sound and honest moral training of an English education, the mere entering on the record such a plea as this must destroy the whole case. If the position of the religious instructor is to be maintained only by his holding one thing as true, and teaching another thing as to be received, in the name of the God of truth, either let all teaching cease, or let the fraudulent instructor abdicate willingly his office, before the moral indignation of an as yet uncorrupted people thrust him ignominiously from his abused seat. But such are not the thoughts of the Vicar of Staughton. 'Still,' he says, 'though there may be no power of inquisition into the private opinions . . . of ministers . . . in the Church of England, there may be'—what do our readers suppose? some conscientious difficulty in professing one thing and holding another?—no such thing—but 'some interference with the expression of them' (p. 181). Into the amount of interference then he proceeds to inquire, and in his judgment it appears to reach to this:—First, there is the interference of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, as to which he rightly says 'that the strictly legal obligation is the measure of the moral one' (p. 181). It is really refreshing, in the midst of the Jesuitry of this discussion, to meet with ever so small an admission that there is any necessity for at all considering the 'moral obligation.' It is, however, little more than a spasm of the conscience. For at once the discussion subsides from the moral standard into an investigation whether the words of the formularies can possibly be evaded; and this inquiry is entered on with the significant intimation 'that subscription may be thought even to be inoperative upon the conscience by reason of its vagueness' (p. 181). Just as, a little further on, we are told that 'the meshes of the law are too open for modern refinement' (p. 185). And then follows a really humiliating series of verbal equivocations. First the fifth and thirty-sixth Canons of 1603 are employed with a view to extracting from them the amount of the legal obligation. The first of these, sentences to excommunication any 'who affirm that any of the Thirty-nine Articles, &c., are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a

good conscience subscribe unto.' Here room is found for a two-fold quibble. First, there is the suggestion that something might be made out of 'the consequences of excommunication.' Secondly, that an article may be 'inexpedient, unintelligible, or controversial,' without being 'erroneous,' and that, 'without being superstitious, some of its *expressions* may appear so.' Though how an article, that is a set of expressions, can be superstitious without its '*expressions*' appearing so, or how its *expressions* can be superstitious without the article being so, our casuist does not stop to inquire. But with this help he comes to the conclusion that without breaking the canon he may pronounce an article inexpedient, unintelligible, and 'superstitious in its expressions,' without 'impugning it.' The words that it is 'such as he may with a good conscience subscribe unto,' he prudently drops as not being worthy of consideration. The 5th canon thus disposed of, he takes up the 36th. In this he has to deal with the words, 'he *alloweth* the books of articles, &c., and that he *acknowledgeth* the same to be agreeable to the Word of God.' Here the first attempt is upon the word 'alloweth.' Old Samuel Johnson, we see, sets out its meaning somewhat rudely, as 'not to contradict,' 'not to oppose;' but we have improved since then in the use of language, and so we are told 'that we allow' many things which we do not think wise or practically useful, as the 'less of two evils,' &c.; that 'many allow, acquiesce in, submit to, a law as it operates upon themselves, which they would have been horror-struck to have enacted' (p. 183). The allowance, therefore, of the articles is, he thinks, satisfactorily explained. Yet every fair moralist will at once say that the meaning of the word when the articles were framed must be the meaning still so far as regards the articles, and that meaning was then plainer and stronger than in the time of Johnson. In earlier English it must have meant direct approbation of, that is agreement with, the propositions they contained.*

But there is yet another clause in the declaration, 'he *acknowledgeth* the same to be agreeable to the Word of God.' Where are the 'wide meshes' here? First, '*acknowledgeth*,' like 'alloweth,' is capable of a latitudinarian sense. Again, the old moralist and lexicographer does not help us. He explains the word, 'to own the knowledge of, to own anything in a particular character.' This would be here 'to own to the knowledge' that

* "To allow,"—from the French "allouer," and, through it, from the Latin "allaudare"—had once a sense, very often of praise or approval, which may now be said to have departed from it altogether.—Trench, *Select Glossary*, ed. 1859, cites Cotgrave's French Dictionary; Homilies; Against Contention; Matt. xxiii. 28; Troilus and Cressida, act ii. sc. 2; Hacket's 'Life of Williams,' part ii. p. 211.

the Articles are 'in the particular character of' agreeing with the Word of God. Not so our casuist. He finds that a man may 'acknowledge what he does not maintain, nor regard as self-evident, nor originate as his own feeling, spontaneous opinion, or conviction;' meaning only that he is not prepared to contradict: and then, further, he escapes on 'agreeable to the Word of God.' 'They must,' he says, 'if they are biblical terms, have the same sense in the Articles that they have in Scripture, and, if they are not, they must not contradict the Scripture.' And this is relaxation enough. For we have been already taught that, 'under the terms of the Sixth Article, one may accept literally or allegorically, or as parable, poetry, or legend, what we will in God's word, and be 'free in judgment, . . as to the reality of demoniacal possession, the personality of Satan, and the miraculous particulars of many events' (p. 177). As then the Word of God in the Article must be at least as elastic as the same Word in the Scripture, we may with a clear conscience acknowledge anything concerning it; because if, at last, it contradicts our view too bluntly, we may, with the freedom of an 'ideologist,' remit it to the region of legend and ideas, and so be free of its obligation.

Beyond this Mr. Wilson inquires into the obligations incurred by the 'assent' to the Articles enforced by 13 Eliz. c. 12. Here the age of the enactment is his first shelter. It is 'three hundred years old; like many other old enactments, is not found to be very applicable to modern cases, although it is only about fifty years ago that it was said by Sir William Scott to be in *viridi observantiâ*.' Then the word 'assent' to the Articles is got rid of, as 'allow' and 'acknowledge' have been melted down before; and for the rest the vagueness of all Scriptural declarations must answer.

Here Mr. Wilson conveniently abandons his inquiry; forgetting that over and above these he has given his 'unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer,' and with it to all the great amount of positive teaching which the Church of England has notoriously inherited from the Church of the Apostles. Now we believe that no proposition is more universally admitted in this land by every educated person who professes any regard to morals than this, that every promise, subscription, or engagement entered into voluntarily by any person whatsoever, whether for any valuable consideration or not, is to be considered as binding the conscience of the promiser to the fulfilment of that which he believes the imposer of the obligation to intend. How far then, upon this universally admitted explanation of the moral obligation

tion of a promise, does Mr. Wilson's explanation satisfy the demands of an honest and well-instructed conscience?

Let us suppose the Vicar of Great Staughton making his subscription before he takes possession of his benefice. The Ordinary says to him on the Church's behalf, 'Before committing to you the cure of the souls of these parishioners, I am required to ascertain that you will teach them the Christian faith, as this Church and realm has received the same. This teaching is defined amongst other things in these Thirty-nine Articles of religion. I ask you if you can subscribe them with a clear conscience as your rule of teaching, and if you give your unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer and to all things therein contained?' What is the intended vicar's meaning when he subscribes his required assent? If he spoke out, he would say much as follows:—'I consider these articles very inexpedient, with expressions in them which appear to be superstitious. I consider them an evil, irremediable, at least by me, for that I am too young or too old to seek to reform them without becoming absurd. I should be horror-struck to have enacted them; they are not my own spontaneous opinion or conviction. I only submit to them; but as to declaring them agreeable to the Word of God, I have no difficulty in doing so, because I employ my verifying faculty in accepting that, and know that whatever I disapprove of there is to be accepted allegorically as poetry, or legend, or true in idea, though false in words, for "literalism kills the soul."'

We could wish nothing more than that the ingenuous and highminded young men to whom Mr. Jowett so touchingly alludes, should give their own moral instincts fair play in helping them to form a right estimate of views which have brought such a man as Mr. Wilson into the condition of this stammering, equivocating subscriber. For that in his case this is the result of having adopted these views we have the clearest and most convincing proof, as we think every one will allow who will look back with us into the religious movements of the last few years.

On the 27th of February, 1841, was published the since celebrated No. 90 of 'The Tracts for the Times'—the tract which led, on the strong advice of the Bishop (Bagot) of Oxford, to the discontinuance of those 'Tracts.' On the 9th of March, 1841, within, that is to say, ten days from the publication of No. 90, appeared 'The Letter of the Four Tutors to the Editor of "The Tracts for the Times;"' and so successful was that letter in stirring up the feeling of the University against any attempt to
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tamper with subscription to the Articles, that so soon as the morning of Tuesday, March 16th—the very day week from the publication of the ‘Letter of the Four Tutors’—were circulated the resolutions of the Hebdomadal Board, which, amongst other matters, declared—

‘Resolved, that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, *evading* rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance, of the . . . Statutes.’*

The letter states that—

‘The tract has,’ in the apprehension of the four tutors, ‘a highly dangerous tendency . . . that it appears to have a tendency to mitigate beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own. . . . We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church which has been advocated by many of its most learned bishops and other eminent divines; but this tract puts forward *new and startling* views *as to the extent* to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author’s meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines . . . might not be inculcated . . . from the pulpits of our churches.’†

Now we are not about to justify No. 90. So far from it, we consider it to be a singularly characteristic specimen of that unfortunate subtlety of mind which has since led its author into so many assertions and contradictions and acts, which with the largest judgment of charity a plain man must find it hard to justify from the charge of moral dishonesty, except upon what we believe to be in this case the true plea—to use the lightest word which we can employ—that of intellectual eccentricity. But giving up No. 90 to the charge that it ‘puts forth new and startling views as to the extent to which the liberty of subscription may be carried,’ and admitting that under cover of these views ‘the most plainly erroneous doctrines might be inculcated,’ we must still ask our readers to contrast the amount of latitude conceded by these condemned views with those which are advocated in the *Essays and Reviews*. The latitude claimed in No. 90 amounted to this,—that the condemnation by the Church of England of certain Romish doctrines and practices was to be construed strictly as applying to the doctrines and

* ‘Certain Documents connected with Tracts for the Times,’ No. 90, Oxford, Baxter, 1841.

† ‘Letter of the Four Tutors,’

practices common in the Church of Rome at the time when the Articles were framed, and not to every mode of holding those doctrines or observing those practices; the purpose of the writer being to reconcile subscription to the Articles with what he held to be a pre-Roman holding of doctrines and observation of practices which had only grown in their developed Roman form into what our Articles emphatically condemned. The principle was explained as follows by the most eminent defender of No. 90. 'The sense of the imposers' can only mean 'the sense in which they intended to allow subscription;' plain and obvious where the words of the formulary admit but of one interpretation; in other cases, doubtful at first reading, yet capable of being fixed with any degree of certainty by comparison of different passages, by the declaration of the parties, or, as in the case now supposed, by an authoritative rule of exposition superadded to the original formula. We obey then the sense of the imposers, not only when we happen to agree with them in each particular interpretation, but also when our disagreement, known or unknown, extends not beyond the limits which they in their discretion are willing to allow, when we make no 'open questions' beyond what they permit. Now from the Reformation downwards English churchmen have had at least so much warrant as this for interpreting the Articles in the Catholic sense, *i. e.* 'that sense which is most conformable to the ancient rule quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus—so as may best agree with the known judgment of the primitive and as yet undivided Church—so as to cast the least unnecessary censure on other portions of the existing Church. These we take to be the grounds and principles of the mode of exposition of late so severely censured.*' So the liberty then claimed was justified. We believe that the first great burst of unpopularity which fell upon the party identified with the 'Tracts for the Times' arose from the imputation of dishonesty raised by the four tutors against these principles of subscription. And we have rejoiced to think so, because we consider this fact to be a striking proof of the honesty of the English mind. Morbidly alive as it sometimes has shown itself to the mere imputation of a tendency toward Rome, the Tract writers had maintained their position against no very nicely-moderated imputations of this tendency. But so soon as they seemed to be sapping by the most distant approaches the foundations of honest subscription, well-nigh all England rose against them. And yet what, we ask, was the claim of liberty put

* 'The Case of Catholic Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles considered in a Letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge.' By the Rev. J. Keble. Pp. 20, 21.

forward by the writer of Tract 90, compared with those advanced by the authors of the 'Essays and Reviews'? We admit that the writer of No. 90 applied with a dangerous subtlety his favourite aphorism, that the Articles were patient of a Catholic interpretation; and for doing this, the Tutors declared, that, 'were his principles recognised, we are at a loss to see what security would remain.' What would these gentlemen have said if they could have read the principles of subscription now laid down for us?—if the subscribers' 'opinions privately entertained' might at will contradict all the Articles—if 'allowing' them and 'acknowledging them to be agreeable to the word of God'—if giving to them, 'ex animo, an unfeigned assent and consent,' meant only that the subscriber would have regarded 'their enactment by himself with horror,' but felt himself too old or too young to seek, without absurdity, to reform the inevitable evil?*

Our readers will anticipate the horror with which the orthodox four—the propugnators who stepped with many apologies out of the ranks, urged by the greatness of the issue, to defend the vital cause of honest subscription—would have read such sentences as these. How would the conviction of absolute insecurity have shaken their hearts! how deep upon their faces would have been the indignant hue of righteous anger with which they would have repelled such an immoral paltering with subscription! How strange, how sadly instructive is the fact then, that the second name upon the orthodox scroll which withered up No. 90, and that which claims the paternity of this fourth essay, in which are provided with such a vaunting forwardness all modes of justifying dishonest subscriptions, is one and the same! The name of H. B. Wilson, B.D., Fellow and Junior Tutor of St. John's College, on the roll of orthodoxy—of H. B. Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, on the scroll of latitudinarian subscription! Certainly the Rev. H. B. Wilson has great inducements to endeavour to convince all men that it is 'a strange ignoring of the constitution of the human mind to expect the same person to be subject to no' absolute and extreme 'variations of opinion at different periods of life.'

This then we would entreat all who see anything attractive in these views distinctly to contemplate—that, whether right or wrong, they are essentially and completely at variance with the doctrinal teaching of the Church of England, and cannot even under the

* See Bishop Sanderson de Juramenti Obligatione, Prælec. vi. § 9; with his quotations from S. August., Epist. 224-5 (Epp. 125, sect. 4; 126, sect. 13, ed. Benedict); and Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription, cap. iv., Works, vol. ii. p. 288, Oxf. 1843.

shelter of any names be advisedly maintained by honest men who hold her ministry.

But beyond this, another inference of the deepest moment follows we think directly from a clear comprehension of these views. Those who hold them are in a position in which it is impossible to remain. The theory of Mr. Jowett and his fellows is as false to philosophy as to the Church of England. More may be true, or less, but to attempt to halt where they would stop is a simple absurdity.

They deny, for instance, the possibility of miracles, and so they ideologically suggest that, when it is asserted that our Lord miraculously fed the multitudes in the wilderness, or opened the eyes of the blind, no more is meant than that in the wilderness of this world He fed the souls of thousands with edifying moral discourses, or unsealed the eyes of their spirit to the better contemplation of heavenly and earthly things. Now in passing just let us remark that in this, as in many other things, the latest pretensions to illumination in our own time are but a revival of notions which were broached and were condemned centuries ago; for the same principle of explaining away the miraculous narrative was applied by the Cathari of the middle ages.* Suppose, however, for a moment that we accept this gloss; but if so, how can we stop with them, having dissolved these phantoms, and yet retaining what others, with more learning than they profess to have acquired, assure us need but the touch of Ithuriel's spear to manifest equally their own fallaciousness? By what right, we again ask, does Mr. Wilson tell us that Strauss carries ideology to excess in resolving into an ideal the whole of the historical and doctrinal person of Jesus, when he himself resolves into an ideal the temptation of Jesus by Satan and the accounts of demoniacal possession? How, we ask again, is it possible to stop when once such a principle has been admitted, or why should not the 'verifying faculty' of Voltaire or Thomas Paine be as good an authority as the same faculty when exercised by Rowland Williams?

But, again, it is not merely that once in the land of shadows all apparitions must of necessity be equipollent, but this treatment of miracles implies a charge of falsehood, of conscious fraud, not only against the writers of the Gospel, but against our blessed Lord himself. Against them, for they solemnly record as professed eye-witnesses what they must on this hypothesis

* See Lucas Tudens, iii. 2, in *Bibl. Patrum*, Lugdun., t. xxv.; *disput. inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, c. 16, ap. Martene, *Thesaur.* v.

have known to be untrue. Our essayists have been too clear-sighted not to discover this, and they have made some attempts to escape from the conclusion. They are such as these:—‘The possibility of imagination allying itself with affection should not be overlooked.’—(p. 51.) ‘Good men may err in facts, be weak in memory, mingle imagination with memory’ (p. 79); or perhaps the after impression of his miracles, his transfiguration, his prophecies, and the like, may be resolved into a result of the degree in which ‘the awful figure of the Son of Man could scarcely fail, as it became dimmed by the haze of mingled imagination and remembrance, to be at length invested by affection.’—(p. 80.) Miserable attempts surely are such as these to reconcile the character of the witness with the alleged falsehood of his testimony; and yet we are not sure that they are not better than Mr. Jowett’s passing suggestion that the youth of the world was ‘pleased by marvels and had vague terrors’ (p. 388); or than Mr. Baden Powell’s view, that, miracles being physically impossible, and no ‘testimony able to reach to the supernatural’ (p. 107), the fact of the Evangelists having believed the miracles they record must be traced to their ignorance of physical causes: the fact, in his own words, of their not being ‘unbiased, educated, well-informed individuals.’—(p. 107.)

But this is far from all. For the more we exaggerate the ignorance of the Evangelists, the more directly do we in fact point against their Master the charge of conscious fraud. There is no escape from the conclusion; if they were deceived, he was a deceiver. For he himself again and again appeals to these works as the proof of his own mission, and so the condemnation of those who rejected him. So he says, in direct answer to the question ‘Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?’ ‘Tell John again the things that ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up’ (Matt. xi. 4, 5); or, as he says again, ‘Though ye believe not me, believe the works’ (John x. 38); and again, ‘I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me’ (John v. 36); and again, ‘If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin’ (John xv. 24).

There is no escape from this: if He wrought the works, the whole rationalistic scheme crumbles into dust; if He wrought not the works, claiming as He claimed to work them as the very proofs of his mission, He was, in truth, the deceiver that the chief priests declared Him to be. Dr. Williams makes a miserable effort to escape from this dilemma. ‘By appealing,’ he says,
‘to

'to *Good WORKS*' (*sic*), 'however wonderful, for his witness, Christ has taught us to have faith mainly in goodness' (p. 51); as if the appeal of Christ was mainly to the inherent goodness, and not to the manifested power of the works—a fallacy so utterly transparent that it is needless in exposing it to do more than enunciate its terms.

The position of these writers, if we must except the third, who, alas! seems to have been contented to sit down with Spinoza on the frozen mountains of a metaphysical atheism, is both philosophically and religiously pitiable. They believe too much not to believe more, and they disbelieve too much not to disbelieve everything. They are themselves, indeed, in the position in which Dr. Williams tauntingly depicts those amongst us who, not being absolute bigots, have yet stopped short of his own more advanced post. 'The attitude,' he says, 'of too many English scholars before the Last Monster out of the Deep' (what, one vainly asks, can such words mean out of his mouth by whom a Sceptical Rationalism would seem to be esteemed rather as an effluence from the Heavenly Truth than a Monster from the Deep?) 'is that of the degenerate senators before Tiberius. They stand balancing terror against mutual shame. Even with those in our Universities who no longer repeat fully the required Shibboleths, the explicit view of truth is rare. He who assents most, committing himself least to baseness, is reckoned wisest' (p. 53). It would seem, however, that all except these Essayists themselves, can estimate aright the position which they occupy. The vulgar American lecturer who is making a tour of blasphemy through the busy haunts of our manufacturing population writes home in ecstasy at the support of such unexpected allies. 'The Essays,' he writes,—'a book published by six very influential clergymen and one influential and learned layman of the Established Church—is a work of the greatest importance and significance. It sets aside the old Theology entirely, and propounds the rational views of Paine and Voltaire, with just that mixture of cloudiness which you might expect from persons who, while they see the folly of the old superstitions, yet remember that they are clergymen, and feel that they are but partially independent and free.' We beg to call the special attention of Dr. Williams to these words. Amidst all his taunts for other 'tremblers,' his own attempts to 'assent most, committing himself least to baseness,' are seen by more experienced travellers along the same road with a clearness, and are anatomically exhibited to the gazing class, if not with a skill, yet at all events with a boldness, equal to his own. 'We are on the eve,' continues our lecturer, exulting

ing in the sight, 'of a great religious revolution. But few of the high and mighty ones speak so freely as we do, but they think freely. . . . Many of our great writers cling to the doctrines of God and of a future state, but they have no more faith in the Divine authority of the Bible, or in the supernatural origin of Christianity, than I or you. The works of Baden Powell, . . . Professor Jowett, &c., are doing a world of good. . . . The Oxford Essays are creating quite a sensation. . . . The good time seems to be really drawing nigh!'

Now, disbelieving utterly the American writer's estimate both of the wide spread and of the future progress of his views, we cannot deny his right to claim as his allies these unhappy clergymen, and we would most earnestly call their attention to his words. Nowhere is the '*noscitur a sociis*' more true than here. And they are claimed as brethren by infidels of every shade. The only fault found with them is, that they do not follow out to the legitimate end their openly-proclaimed principles. How can they put aside this universal estimate of their position, held alike by believers and by infidels? How, with such words as these in their mouths, can they reply to the flags of truce which are sent to them by friendly messengers from the infidel camp to which they are so near?—

'No fair mind can close this volume without feeling it to be, at bottom, in direct antagonism to the whole system of popular belief. . . . In object, in spirit, and in method, no less than in general design, this book is incompatible with . . . the broad principles on which the Protestantism of Englishmen rests. The most elaborate reasoning, to prove that they are in harmony, can never be anything but futile, and ends in becoming insincere. . . . Is the crumbling edifice of orthodoxy to be supported by sweeping away the whole of its substructure, and Christian divines taught cheerfully to surrender all the most exacting criticism assaults? The mass of ordinary believers may well ask to be protected from such friends as their worst and most dangerous enemies. Is it reasonable to suppose that at this time of day the Christian world will consent to reconsider the whole of its positions, to develop its cardinal doctrines into new forms, and to remodel the whole structure of belief upon an improved theory? Has it been all a mistaken rendering that men have been believing so long? Of one thing we may be quite sure, that the public will never be brought to believe that the Bible is full of "untruths—that it does not contain authentic or even contemporary records of facts, and is a medley of late compilers, and yet withal remains the Book of Life." Yet all this our Essayists call on them to admit, &c. The men and women around us are told that the whole scheme of Salvation has to be entirely rearranged and altered. Divine rewards and punishments, the

* 'National Reformer,' Nov. 24, 1860.

Fall, original sin, the vicarious penalty, and salvation by faith, are all, in the natural sense of the terms, denounced as figments or exploded blunders. The Mosaic history dissolves into a mass of ill-digested legends, the Mosaic ritual into an Oriental system of priestcraft, and the Mosaic origin of the earth and man sinks amidst the rubbish of rabbinical cosmogonies.*

Then follows a declaration of the folly of 'forcing the simple believer to unlearn his well-conned creed for another, and to take for his old one an expurgated Bible.'

It is not often that we can agree with our outspoken contemporary, least of all on matters touching the Christian faith; but undoubtedly he is here altogether in the right. It is not indeed a 'neo-Christianity,' but it is a new religion, which our Essayists would introduce; and they would act more rationally, more philosophically, and, we believe, less injuriously to religion, if they did as their brother unbelievers invite them to do, renounce the hopeless attempt at preserving Christianity without Christ, without the Holy Ghost, without a Bible, and without a Church.

If, as we are assured that it is, this is the true character of their doctrine, it ought to be to all who still believe in a revelation a convincing proof of the duty of giving no audience to the voice of such sophistry. For, if they admit the fact of a Divine revelation, they must admit, as a necessary consequence of that fact, that the right reception of it forms a part of their spiritual trial; and, if this be so, to answer to their spiritual trial, they must guard themselves against the first approaches of everything which it can be shown tends to shake their faith in that revelation, the reception of which is so great a part of their probation. The words of our blessed Master have here an universal application (John vii. 17): 'If any man will do [orig. willeth to do] his will [the will of Him that sent me—v. 16], he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God.' The tenderness of early belief especially must be sheltered by those who would keep it fresh and green from blasts which manifestly tend to wither up its life. If, then, it can be shown to the young believer that the system offered to him, full as it is of appeals to the pride of his reason, which tend to captivate his mind, must by logical necessity end in Atheism, he is bound, as he values his salvation, not to listen to the syren's voice. The fact that his teachers halt for the present where they do, ought to be no ground of assurance to him that, if he listens to them at all, he shall stop there also. All experience shows the

* Neo-Christianity, 'Westminster Review,' No. 36.

reverse. Almost every successful heresiarch has been a man of blameless life, of attractive qualities, and with a firm hold of some truths from the revelation which he corrupts. In the firmness of that hold the pupil seldom fully shares. He starts from the place at which his master ends; he carries to their legitimate conclusions his master's principles, and so the spiritual child of the Rationalist develops into the Atheist.

Yet, even in saying this, we must guard ourselves from one possible mistake of our meaning. When we warn the pupil of the danger of exaggerating his master's error, it is rather to the conscious maintenance and avowal of error than to its infection that we look. For, deeply as we grieve to say it, never, so far as error itself is concerned, can the disciple here exceed his teacher. For what is left to be given up, save the consciousness of the abandonment? Mr. Baden Powell, if there be meaning in words, gives up the very being of a God. Mr. Wilson gives up all reality and certainty of doctrine as to God and man, here and hereafter. Dr. Rowland Williams resolves the Incarnation into a set of misty words. It is 'illustrated by the realization of the Divine will in our thoughts.' It is the 'embodiment of the Divine mind' (p. 82), and he 'who abides in love, abides in God and God in him,' and so the 'Incarnation becomes purely spiritual. The Son of David by birth, is the Son of God by the Spirit of Holiness' (p. 82). The Trinity is explained through 'the identity of thought with being.' Dr. R. Williams fears that 'all this has a Sabellian or almost Brachmanical sound' (p. 89). To us it has a sound purely Hegelian. But is it his real ignorance or his inability to think or to express himself clearly which makes him write thus? His explanation may claim certainly some alliance with the shadowy wordiness of the Brachmanical Triad. But there is but one point of resemblance in it to the Sabellian heresy, and that, one which he would scarcely claim. The Sabellian has been termed a Socinian in a fog. In a fog we admit this writer to be, and, so far, to agree with Sabellius—but so far only; for Sabellius, at all events, stated plainly a definite idea which he held and taught distinctly—namely, that the one Godhead existed not in three Eternal Persons, but was represented in three relations to mankind. But Dr. Rowland Williams represents no definite idea, but simply one of the evanescent shapes of an intangible cloudland. The heresy to which he seems to be the nearest is the Arian; the formal expression of which he all but adopts in the words, 'The Divine wisdom *becoming* personal in the Son of Man' (p. 89). With this denial of the fundamental articles of the Creed, it is almost needless to say again that, as to the Atonement, Justification,

tion, Regeneration, and the whole work of the Divine Spirit, Dr. Williams seems to believe in nothing but words. We wish that we could set off against all this anything in Mr. Jowett's Essay which showed that he holds anything definite or positive as to these great foundations of all Christian Truth. But we cannot find it in his pages. If he does believe, in the simple and unsophisticated sense of the word, the Godhead of the Co-Eternal Son, we think it almost impossible that he should have said in this Essay what he has, and should have said no more.

It may not be too late to bring these considerations before these writers themselves. Even to them the sight of the legitimate end of their course ought to be a convincing argument against the truth of their views. For they have no intention of abandoning Christianity. With some of them, no doubt, the object before their own eyes, which they see as clearly as the haze cast by vanity, love of novelty, and the pride of intellect allows them to see anything, is the desire to place Christianity upon a better footing. Now, if it can be demonstrated that the position they are seeking to occupy with their new form of Christianity is untenable,—that to advance so far implies the necessity of advancing farther,—then, so long as they profess to occupy the post of Christian teachers, so long we would add as they do indeed love Christianity better than their speculations, they are bound to abandon these speculations, and to seek to reoccupy their old position. Whether they will do so or not is the point of their spiritual trial. Now, the consent of all men on both sides to which we lately referred ought to bear, to the convictions of every man who is capable of admitting any reasons contrary to his own prepossessions, the weight of an argument approaching to demonstration; for this is exactly one of those cases in which the accumulated weight of the bystanders' judgments ought to make a man distrust his own view of his own position. And there is this accumulated weight of judgment here. All unbelievers of all classes, and all believers of all shades, see plainly enough that the essayists are simply deceiving themselves in their impossible attempt to surrender all the objective truths of Christianity and yet to retain its subjective powers.

Nor is this all. The path on which they have entered is no new one. To say nothing of our old English deists, who were the true fathers of French atheism and German unbelief, the whole history of German rationalism lies open before them, and they are bound as honest men to read its lessons. In Germany the same attempt has been made; and what has been its issue? The attempt to rationalise Christianity; to remove the supernatural from that which is either a system of supernaturalism or a falsehood;

falsehood ; to bring down to the utterance of the voice of man's heart, and of his internal consciousness, that which challenges attention, because it claims to be a revelation from God of that which it had not entered and could not enter into the heart of man to conceive ;—all this has failed, as it ever must fail. It has issued as its direct result in a wide-spread pantheistic atheism ; it has sent souls, wearied out with perpetual speculations, torn by distracting doubts, and feeling that they must have something certain upon which to rest the burden of their being, into the deep delusions of the Roman system ; and the few who have escaped even as by fire have come back as worn and weeping penitents to the simple belief of primitive truth, the bright blessedness of which they had been seduced to forsake for the darkness and intricacy of these now abandoned speculations.

And this is no accidental consequence of such a course. There can be no religious system which is not founded upon definite teaching as to God, and as to His relation to us. The very name of a theology testifies to man's universal sense of this truth, even where it is held unconsciously and instinctively, and not reasoned out into a proposition. Even a false faith, if it is to be effectual at all, must rest upon a theology. To attempt to retain the Bible, as in this system is attempted, as a rule of life ; as giving moral precepts ; as expressing high and ennobling sentiments ; and yet to deprive its voice of the authority of inspiration, and to silence it as to the great doctrines of Christianity, — is to endeavour to maintain unshaken a vast and curiously constructed edifice, when you have deliberately removed all the foundations upon which it is built. The articles of the Christian creed are in truth as much the basis of Christian morals as of Christian faith. The creation of man in the image of God ; the supernatural gift of His indwelling presence ; the marring of that image, and the losing of that precious gift through man's rebellion ; the eternal counsels which planned, and in the fulness of time wrought out, his redemption ; the Incarnation ; the Cross ; the Atonement ; the Personal presence with the Church, of God the Holy Ghost, and His utterances through prophet and evangelist, in promise and prediction, of the redemption of the race and its restoration ; with the new and blessed light which all these cast on man, on his life, on his death, and on his resurrection ;—in these are all the strength of the creed for moral instruction, all the sublimity of its spiritual teaching. Remove the theology, and you take away the morality. You may feed man's intellectual pride, and gratify the morbid appetite of his fancy with the husks of an empty rationalism, but you will leave him the slave of appetite and the bond-slave of

passion: you promise him liberty, and you make him anew and hopelessly subject to vanity.

To suppose that it can be otherwise is not only to contradict the experience afforded to us by every religious system which ever has exercised any real control over man, but it is also by its very suggestion to rob man of his highest faculties. For not hereafter only, when the ransomed shall be perfected, in the full vision of God's countenance, and amidst the uncreated light, is the soul of man capable of communion with his Maker; but here upon earth, in spite of all his remaining infirmities, this may be his portion, and for this his spirit longs. The want of this is the secret of that fevered restlessness which makes, where it exists, the most fully furnished outer life so empty, and the highest intellectualism so poor. It is man's truest greatness that he can acquaint himself with God and be at peace. But for this communing with God to be real, there must be a definite revelation of Him after whom the soul seeks. The mists which hang around 'the Infinite' and 'the Absolute' must roll away, and manifest to the believer the revealed countenance of God in Christ; the weary wrestling of the long night of empty speculation must be over, and the angel of the everlasting covenant must reveal his name to the child of dust, whom He Himself hath upheld to struggle with Him until the day break. To tell the sorely tempted soul, to whisper into the already deafening ear, when the pains of dissolution are upon every nerve, shaking the strong man in his citadel of life, that he may perchance 'find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent in the ages to come,' is only to mock the thirsty lips with the illusive water of the driest desert mirage. No, there is indeed no rest for man's spirit in anything but distinct and definite revelation as to himself and as to his God.

Here, then, is one answer to the first great class of arguments by which our 'new Christians' seek to establish their system. Their promise to reconcile Christianity with the requirements of a remorseless rationalism involves in its primary conditions an essential falsehood.

Yet this is one of their very chiefest arguments in favour of their system. It is probably the one which is the most attractive, and therefore the most dangerous, because it is that which appeals to the highest qualities of those whom they are seeking to induce to accept them as teachers.

This essential falsehood is not the only fallacy with which this argument is chargeable. There is a perpetual and most delusive exaggeration of the amount of the difficulties which they profess to remove. It is not true that the highest intellects revolt hopelessly

hopelessly against the old simple Christianity, and that it must either forfeit their adherence or submit to the reconstruction of the rationalist. The greatest, the most comprehensive, and the acutest intellects have received, and daily do receive, even as little children, without abatement and without doubt, the whole Christian revelation. The difficulty is created for the solution. The patient is instructed by the tender sympathy of the would-be physician in the unsuspected existence within him of a lamentable sickness, in order that he may the more readily accept the treatment offered to him. More or less this fallacy runs through every Essay. The supposed opposition between the revelations of instructed science and the written Word of God is full of this fraud. It may be quite true that Christian philosophers have been too eager to invent theories to reconcile what Nature was understood to utter with what Revelation was supposed to declare; and that, as Nature's voice was better understood, the different theories of reconciliation were one after another found to fail. But how could this affect the actual fact? We see in the history of every science that some theory has prevailed for a time which was supposed to give the true law of the phenomena for which it was necessary to account. Problems have been solved by it, and mysteries explained. But the further discoveries of science have proved the incompleteness of the theory, and it has passed wholly away. But did the failure of the theory affect the phenomena of nature? Not a whit more are the certain harmonies which exist between God's voice in nature and God's voice in revelation disturbed by the discovery that the particular theory which professed to exhibit their agreement has proved, on further inquiry, inadequate to the solution of the mighty problem which it promised to reduce. How wide a chasm is there between such a failure in a proposed solution and the representation of our Essayists that science therefore convicts the author of the Book of Genesis of fraudulently putting forth his own speculations as the result of a revelation from on high!

For how many other and easier solutions of the supposed opposition between Science and Revelation might have been found if the object of the writer had been to remove and not to enhance difficulties! Here is, for instance, a sufficient answer to this whole family of objections,—that, the results of physical science not being the purpose of the revelation, its written record must, to be intelligible, speak the ordinary language of the time; and that all, therefore, which can be reasonably looked for where Revelation touches the domain of Science, is that it should not profess to instruct us concerning science, and then instruct us falsely. Tried by this rule, where is the difficulty to which our essayists so con-

tinually recur, that there is any contradiction between the Bible and the science of astronomy? Let us suppose that such an event were to happen at the present day; and might we not ask in what other words than those of the ancient book would the Joshua of the nineteenth century cry to heaven, or the contemporary historian record the answer given to his prayer? Are astronomers believed to renounce their scientific creed, or to propagate an imposture, every time that they speak of the phenomena of sunrise and sunset? Undoubtedly Joshua, believing with his age in the reality of the sun's apparent motion, in the fulness of his faith in the God of Israel, called on it to stop in its course, and that call of his, in his own language, the inspired historian records as a fact, and also the marvel in the heavens above him which answered to his cry. But is not the truth of God's thus signally listening to the prayer of Faith the plain object here of the Revelation? and is the fulness and reality of that truth one whit shaken because the standing still of the light-giving luminary upon Gibeon was accomplished by the God to whom His servant cried, by any of the thousand other modes by which His mighty power could have accomplished it, rather than by the actual suspension of the unbroken career of the motion of the heavenly bodies in their appointed courses? And it is but to apply to other cases this same principle, and their difficulties vanish.

All Mr. Goodwin's cavils against the Mosaic cosmogony disappear under the same treatment. For the object of the Revelation recorded in the first chapter of Genesis was to declare, against such speculations as those of Mr. Baden Powell, that the world had a beginning, and that its beginning was from the act of Creation by God. This idea pervades the whole account; it dictates the record of the fashioning of the vault of heaven, strangely asserted by Mr. Goodwin to be pictured in Genesis as a solid permanent vault; it traces up the light of Heaven and the stars which spangle the skies to the same creative hand; it sketches majestically out the progression and order of the material creation; and in spite of Mr. Goodwin's minute special pleading, we assert, first, that in all this there is a marvellous agreement with the record with which the science of geology is daily furnishing us; and, secondly, that it does in truth involve a far higher difficulty to suppose that the writer of the book of Genesis, without Divine enlightenment, rose so far above his age as to invent the cosmogony which he is hinted to have fraudulently palmed upon mankind as a revelation, than to suppose that higher discoveries of science will manifest to all the essential truthfulness of the Mosaic account of the Creation.

For an instant we must here interrupt our argument, to ask how
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it is possible that our Essayists can, as mere moralists, speak as they do with reverence, of Scripture, or of the writer of this book, whilst, at the same time, they assert that the writer invented, and that it embalms, so monstrous a falsehood as that of claiming for 'the speculation of a Hebrew Descartes' the character of a Revelation from God Himself. Surely such approbation makes those who express it morally accomplices in the crime which they so lightly describe.

But to return. As it is with these supposed difficulties, so it is with all. Those supposed to be created by the alleged 'remorseless' exposures of Scripture by criticism will as little stand a careful examination; yet this is the stronghold of our writers' position. To examine such a question in detail would, in these pages, be manifestly impossible. But it will be well to take one or two of the leading charges, and, by sifting them, see what we may conclude the remainder to be worth.

Now, in entering upon the subject of criticism we must notice, first, a fallacy of the class we are now exposing which pervades, so far as we are aware, the whole critical portion of the volume. This consists in representing the supposed danger from which Christianity is to be rescued as the result of the vast increase of critical power in the present generation. The alarming question is stated thus—whether the old solutions will endure, now that such new lights are thrown upon them—whether Holy Scripture can withstand the assaults of the remorseless criticism now turned upon it—or, whether the human mind, which with Niebuhr has tasted blood in the slaughter of Livy, can be prevailed upon to abstain from falling next upon the Bible.

Now all this assumes and is intended to suggest that the new system is no development of scepticism, but is, on the contrary, a defensive movement forced upon the faithful by the way in which criticism has suddenly turned their flank. But what is the truth. First, as to our Essayists: *their* whole apparatus is drawn bodily from the German Rationalists, and we may therefore transfer our inquiry as to the real source of these difficulties from our Essayists to the Germans; only first let us remark that the language of the former seems to imply that they think they may presume upon finding those for whom they write entirely ignorant of the German literature of the last hundred years. Nothing but such a state of ignorance could justify the vaunting insolence which contrasts Baron Bunsen and the Germans with ourselves, in such terms as these: 'Knowing these things, and writing for men who know them, he has neither the advantage in argument of unique knowledge nor of unique ignorance' (p. 68), or could have led our Essayists to deal with this whole subject as if they 'had the
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advantage in argument of unique knowledge.' Yet so they assuredly have done; for they quote unblushingly from these German sources arguments which every scholar acquainted with the history of German opinion knows to have been so completely refuted that they have been abandoned by those who first invented them. Nay, even further, in more than one instance criticisms have been gravely advanced as unanswerable, which the later and deeper researches of the critic himself have led him to retract. The same 'freedom of handling' pervades the representation they give of the whole present state of the controversy in Germany; for their language would lead us to believe that in that land Rationalism was now marching absolutely triumphant along its 'pathway beaming with light;' whereas the very opposite is the case. The utter weariness of spirit which this unresting scepticism has bred in most minds of the highest order of thought; the deep study into which it has driven the noble reactionists who have arisen there; and the unanswerable demonstrations of the shallowness of the views lately prevalent to which it has given birth, have entirely altered the whole tone of religious feeling amongst our Teutonic brethren. But of this not one word is breathed by the eloquent essayist who, rejoicing in 'his unique knowledge,' pictures to himself his great theological hero 'drowning himself in the Neckar to escape the ridicule' of his countrymen if he had dared to occupy the ordinary position of English Scholars or Divines. So as to our present special point; we should gather, as we have seen, from our Essayists that rationalism was the devout attempt of the faithful to rescue Christianity from the fatal defeats of an unbiassed criticism, not the lately prevalent phase of scepticism seeking weapons of offence out of the critic's armoury. Yet what suggestion can possibly be less true to history? We can but glance here at the real parentage of the evil brood; but even a glance may suffice. We believe that to our own Deists in the last century belongs the real shame of originating this attack upon the faith. Toland, and Chubb, and Bolingbroke were rationalists of no common order. They found in Voltaire one who joyfully transplanted to the Continent the infection of their unbelief. The little courts of Germany drew at that time their inspirations from Paris, and thus the evil was at once spread widely throughout Germany. Then came the great influence of Frederick II., which wrought powerfully in the same direction, and so the German mind, predisposed by its lack of the great internal safeguard of a duly organised church, yielded fatally to the disease. German literature having thus been tainted, its great qualities of labour, research, and ingenuity, as well as its great defect of a mystical self-consciousness, helped on the

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the spreading of the evil; until rationalism and Rome well nigh divided the religious mind of Germany. What then we really have to deal with is not an unbiassed criticism threatening Christianity, and compelling us in self-defence to occupy some new position, but the almost passive adoption by our own countrymen of weapons forged in the workshops of German criticism against the faith, and seized by these new assailants with such a blind greediness that they often come to the attack with weapons which have been already shattered upon German battle-fields of theological discussion.

So is it in Dr. R. Williams's assaults upon the prophecies. Of these the first that we would notice is that drawn from that treatment of 'the later Isaiah,' which he considers 'the most brilliant portion of Bunsen's prophetic essays.' The object of this 'treatment is to show that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah contains no prophecy of the Messiah; that according to Baron Bunsen it is no prophecy at all of any one, but an historical song of triumph over the final deliverance, after long rejection, of a contemporary prophet.' The Baron thinks Jeremiah, Dr. R. Williams suggests that Baruch is the more likely prophet if it be one single prophet who is designed; but he himself prefers from 'the general analogy of the Old Testament, the oldest interpretation, and the truest,' namely, that it is 'the collective Israel' which is here described. Now we greatly desire to avoid wearying our readers under this head of criticism, and we will promise to be very brief in dealing with it. But to this instance, as exhibiting in a striking light most of Dr. R. Williams's peculiarities, and so enabling them to judge for themselves of his treatment of other passages, we earnestly invite their attention. They have now the explanation of the passage before them. We beg them to notice concerning it, first, its introduction as a purely critical argument, next the bold tone of positiveness which marks his assertions. 'These arguments,' he says, 'are no slight illustration of the historical sense of that famous chapter *which in the original is a history*' (p. 73). Words which are a simple and gratuitous assumption of the whole point in question. Next, the insulting jubilations of his pæan. '*We* must not,' as if this was some novel Christian gloss, 'distort the Prophets by refusing to believe that the collective Israel is here meant to prove the Divine word incarnate, and then from the incarnation reason back to the sense of prophecy.' 'The cause of Christianity itself would be the greatest gainer if we laid aside weapons the use of which brought shame.'

Lastly, we grieve to say it, the unscrupulousness of his assertions. 'If already the vast majority of the prophecies are acknowledged

acknowledged by our best authorities to require some such rendering in order to Christianize them, and if this *acknowledgment has become uniformly stronger in proportion as learning was unfettered*, the force of analogy leads us to anticipate that our Isaiah too must require a similar interpretation.' Now, bearing in mind these distinctive specimens of our Essayist, we beg our readers to set side by side with them the following considerations: that Professor Hengstenberg has so completely answered every one of these points, that in the judgment of all but the most prejudiced their refutation is complete; that, as is suggested by Hengstenberg, not one sure analogous instance can be quoted in favour of the suggested personification of 'the collective Israel;' that in verse 3 the subject is spoken of by a word applied in the Hebrew language only to a person; that in verses 10 and 12 a soul is ascribed to him; that 'the grave' and 'death' are used so as to imply a subject in the singular; that the second proposition is the bare assertion of the matter to be proved; and that, so far from the objection being, as he would have us believe, suggested by a newly acquired critical power, it was one first invented by the Jews when they were pressed by Origen with the unanswerable witness borne by this chapter to our Lord as the promised Messiah: so that, instead of being the result of a colourless but more exact criticism, it was a suggestion originally conceived in the spirit of deadly hatred to Christianity, and only borrowed by the Rationalist from the Jew. For seventeen centuries only two non-Jewish commentators, one a professed and total unbeliever, are known to have applied the prophecy to any but our Lord. These two conceived that, in its primary application at least, it pointed to Jeremiah. 'It was reserved,' says Professor Hengstenberg, 'for the last quarter of the last century to be the first to reject the Messianic interpretation. *At a time when naturalism exercised its sway it could no longer be retained.* For if this passage contains a Messianic prophecy at all, its contents offer so striking an agreement with the history of Christ that its origin cannot at all be accounted for in the natural way. Expedients were therefore sought for; and these were so much the more easily to be found that the Jews had in this matter already opened the way. All that was necessary was to appropriate their arguments and invest them with the semblance of solidity by means of a learned apparatus.*'

We shall not load our pages with quotations to establish these

* Christology of the Old Testament, by E. W. Hengstenberg. Clark's edition, vol. ii., p. 321.

several points. In Professor Hengstenberg's Christology of the Old Testament may be found as complete and exhaustive a demolition of Dr. R. Williams's whole theory as it is possible for sound learning and critical skill to effect; and as the English reader may study this article in Messrs. Clark's translation, we shall go no further into it ourselves. Here then we have discovered a measure of the real learning, critical acumen, and trustworthiness of the assertion of our Essayist; and so far as he is concerned we do not think that with such a measure in their hands the most timid will think that Christianity has much to fear from the remorseless criticism of Dr. Williams.

To one other of his criticisms only would we call attention. 'If,' he says of the Baron, 'he would follow our version in rendering the second Psalm, "*kiss the Son*," he knows that Hebrew idiom convinced even Jerome the true meaning was "*worship purely*.'" The passage of St. Jerome referred to is in his answer to Ruffinus, where he is defending himself against attacks on his translation and commentary. The objection was, that he had translated the words commonly rendered 'kiss the Son,' by the words 'worship purely.' His reply is, that, the 'kiss' being the kiss of adoration, and the Hebrew *Bar* capable of either rendering (filius, or purus), he, to avoid being understood grossly ('putide'), had used a lawful liberty of translation. 'How, then,' he asks, 'does it hurt the faith of the Church, if the reader be taught in how many ways one verse of Hebrew may be explained?'"* Yet in the face of this clear declaration, and though St. Jerome translates verses 6, 7, and 8 according to the ordinary rendering, which points, as clearly as language can express it, directly to our Lord, Dr. Williams asserts that 'even Jerome, convinced by the Hebrew idiom,' thus gave up the Messianic interpretation of the Psalm. We trust that the discovery of these gross critical misstatements will have no tendency to induce Dr. Williams 'to drown himself in the Neckar,' or in any other river; but we certainly think that they must deprive his critical objections to the Bible of any weight whatever with all who are capable of forming a right judgment upon unquestionable evidence.

This censure, however, must not be limited to Dr. R. Williams. We should rather say that so blinded are the whole party, through their love of naturalism, to the plainest rules of fair critical inquiry, that he is but a type of the rest—*ex uno disce omnes*. What else can account for the Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford venturing to use such words as these?—'No

* Hieronymus adv. Ruffinum, i. 19.

one would interpret Scripture as many do, but for certain previous suppositions with which we come to the perusal of it. "There can be no error in the Word of God;" therefore . . . the failure of a prophecy is never admitted, in spite of Scripture and of history' (Jer. xxxvi. 30; Isaiah xxiii.; Amos vii. 10-17) (p. 343). He does not consider that so much as one word is necessary to establish the truth of his statement. He seems to expect that no one will refer to the passages that he has bracketed, or that all will be too ignorant to know the utter groundlessness of his assumption. If there are in the whole Scripture two past prophecies which were signally and remarkably fulfilled, they are the two first which he has selected as instances to be dropped down without a remark of the failure of Scripture prophecies. And as to the third passage, surely it implies an 'incuria' which might be deemed 'crassa' to have asserted that it contained an instance of the non-fulfilment of prophecy; for it implies that Mr. Jowett has read the verses to which he refers with so little attention as not to have discovered that the prediction which failed of its fulfilment was no utterance of Amos, but was the message of Amaziah, *the priest of Bethel*, in which he falsely attributes to Amos words he had not spoken. Surely such slips as these are as discreditable to a scholar as to a divine. Example—the argument runs, more or less, through all, that we in our present enlightened condition should not now accept the Gospel as it was accepted by those to whom it was first preached. This is advanced sometimes, as by Dr. Temple, to bear out his notion of the growth of the colossal man; sometimes to invalidate miracles; sometimes the value of all external evidence: and yet, parallel with this assertion, appear everywhere two others absolutely destructive of it, namely, that all real evidence for a revelation must be moral, and that we are those who are capable of comprehending moral evidence. What shall we say of the mere literary worth of a volume full of such inaccurate criticisms, and such loose philosophy? But this is Mr. Jowett's mode of dealing with the Bible. Thus, by way of proof of the inaccuracy with which, in a passage we have already quoted, he charges the Evangelists, he lets fall quite casually the following list of errors:—'One' (Evangelist) 'supposes the original dwelling-place of our Lord's parents to have been Bethlehem;* another Nazareth.† They trace His genealogy in different ways. One mentions the thieves' blasphemy; another has preserved to after ages the record

* Matt. ii. 1-22.

† Luke ii. 4.

of the penitent thief. They appear to differ about the day and hour of the crucifixion,' &c. (p. 346). Now, to every one of these objections a complete answer has long been given, and may be found in the commonest critical and exegetical writers. It is impossible to suppose Mr. Jowett ignorant of these solutions; and yet how can we absolve him from ignorance, without finding him guilty of the far graver fault of gross critical unfairness—of suggesting as acknowledged discrepancies, variations in the common narrative which he knew admitted of the easiest reconciliation? This is surely a most serious charge. It affects the fairness, the depth, the scholarship, the philosophy, everything in a word which could constitute the authority of the whole volume. There is not, so far as we know, one new argument, objection, or difficulty contained in it; nor one, however confidently it is used as unanswerable, which has not been answered repeatedly and completely. Nothing has astonished us more than the shallowness and staleness of its sophistical suggestions of doubt. There is, with a somewhat obtrusive display of learning, an audacity in accumulating even paltry difficulties which have been long since explained; and laying again trains of German doubts which even the last generation saw exploded,—which speaks in the clearest tones of the shallow philosophy and indifferent scholarship of the writers. Dr. Rowland Williams's Hebrew objections are those of a mere tyro in the language; and Mr. Jowett's New Testament difficulties are continually such as might be answered by scholars read in 'no deeper learning' than the 'Family Expositor' of Dr. Doddridge, or the Commentary of Matthew Henry. Take only one of these last as an example; who is so ignorant as not to know that the reconciliation of his exaggerated difficulty about the two thieves is 'solved at once' by the simple suggestion that, as regards them, the one Evangelist records the beginning of the crucifixion, when both 'cast the same in his teeth'; the other the later stage, when one had been brought to a penitent belief by the patience, love, and power which he witnessed in the Crucified Redeemer?

Here then we leave the critical argument, merely suggesting this as the probable cause why no general refutation of the Essays has yet appeared, that they are in fact but a stringing somewhat loosely together of the current and already abundantly repelled objections and fallacies of German rationalism.

There is but one other argument in favour of their system with which we need trouble our readers. It is that which continually reappears throughout the volume, the impossibility of believing in a miracle. Now this impossibility is rested upon
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two grounds: the first of theory; the second, as it is alleged, of experience.

First, it is suggested that it is inconsistent with an enlightened Theism to suppose an All-Wise and Almighty Being, who could need to interfere by interruptions and suspensions with His own creation. We simply ask by way of rejoinder, Why is it so? Supposing for an instant that the visible creation around us was framed to be the dwelling-place and realm of such a reasonable creature as we know man to be; and that—for the very purpose of preventing his falling under the power of outward things, through the power which they would naturally gain over him from his daily seeing instances of what seems the iron law of their unbroken order—occasional or periodic suspension of that order were a part of the plan on which the universe is governed,—who shall dare to say that there is in such a marvellous arrangement any disparagement of the wisdom, power, or love of Him who laid the foundations of the earth, and it abideth?

The second argument lays down that, through the great advance of physical science, we are now able to say that there exists in all nature's wonders an unbroken and undeviating series of causes and effects; from which follows the inevitable conclusion that no interruption of that eternal order could ever have been possible. Now, we admit that for the absolute Atheist this argument possesses considerable weight. Such an one has his own difficulties; difficulties into which we will not now enter, but which are so insurmountable that those of revelation sink into nothing when compared with them. But, for any position short of Atheism, the argument seems to us to offer no shelter whatever. For, once grant that there was at any epoch whatever of this series of causes and effects a Creator and a Creation, and the whole argument breaks down. If Will called matter out of non-existence into existence, if Will began by its Almighty fiat the whole order of causes and effects from which we reason, then there is no force whatever in the argument which from its existence would infer its necessary immutability. For, fix the beginning of the series where you please, the existence of that on which we trace the law of order stamped is itself the greatest of all miracles. He who then interfered may interfere at any other point in the series, and, before we can pronounce that He has not and will not do so, we must be able to comprehend all His ways, and to fathom all the secret purposes of His all-wise but often most mysterious will.

We see, then, nothing contrary to right reason in admitting the possibility of the mysterious interference of the Maker with His work;

work; nor in admitting the alleged fact of any actual miracle upon such evidence as would be sufficient to establish beyond doubt any other alleged fact.

The answer to the canons, by which, as we have said above, these writers seek to set aside the predictive power of prophecy, is nearly the same. The in-dwelling of Prophecy in the Church, on the orthodox view, is the presence, with its daily life, of, and the impenetration of its whole being, by, a miraculous power. In it, God, who might have spoken by a voice from Heaven, used instead the Prophets' organs to address His words to men. Thus there has ever, doubtless, been about very many of the prophetic utterances that moral and spiritual comment upon the events then happening, to which our Essayists would limit their function. But beyond this moral office there was also, we maintain, in them, from God's immediate revelation, a predictive power. The proof of this rests on the applicability to what claims to be such prediction, of such criteria as these:—That the prophecies were definite, and so incapable of the accidental fulfilment which has, ere now, obtained credit for ambiguous oracles; that they were such declarations of the future as could not have been the mere results of man's natural sagacity forecasting the probable issue of events; and then that, not being thus capable of being simply human guesses or forecastings, they should be certainly and with distinctness fulfilled.

Now, that predictions which satisfy these required criteria pervade the Old and New Testament, we hold to be capable of the easiest proof. Such prophecies as those of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans and the scattering of the Jews; such prophecies as those which foretell the suffering and triumphant Messiah, and the spread of the Church, are alone sufficient to satisfy all these requirements. What, then, in the face of this positive proof, becomes of the canons and doubts by which our Essayists would set them aside?

Why should such words have only a single meaning? Why, for example, should not a type, which is only an acted prophecy, have been appointed by God, first to bring to the mind of the Hebrew worshipper through visible sacrifices the truth that without shedding of blood was no remission, and then to reach on and show to the Christian that, from the first, the offering of Christ's blood upon the Cross had been the, as yet only darkly-revealed, counsel of God for man's redemption? If this be true of a type or acted prophecy, why not of spoken prophecy? How is it against God's truth or God's wisdom that the prophecy should have received a first fulfilment in some event which happened to the Jews, and its full accomplishment
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in the Christian covenant? And if, thus examined, the first canon falls, the second falls with it; nor is the third of any greater force. For the true strength of the prophecy lies not in its being the expression of the human instrument through which it is delivered, but of the Divine mind which is revealing it. The human instrument might be, more or less, conscious of the full meaning of his words; because it is not his meaning, but the meaning of God who speaks through him, which gives to the prophecy its essential character. From which it follows that we do not, as the Essayists suggest that we do, when we read these double meanings, place ourselves behind the prophecy, and, paltering unfaithfully with words, draw from them a sense they were not intended to bear, but, by faith, we place God as the true speaker behind the words spoken, and receive as their truest meaning what He meant by them, whether the man who actually delivered them to us knew or did not know the message which he gave. So that here as to prophecy, as before with regard to miracle, the assumed difficulties of these writers vanish utterly away so soon as we examine closely into their real worth. Wonderful indeed it would be, if constant experience had not taught us the fact, that men so incredulous as to real and well-attested marvels should be so credulous as to unreal and mere apparent wonders; and that Baron Bunsen should disbelieve in the predictions of the prophecies of Scripture, and yet believe in the existence of 'foresight by vision of particulars, or a kind of clairvoyance as a natural gift' (p. 70). Yet so it is. Unbelief, with all its boasts of bravery and freedom, is the most credulous weakness to which the human understanding can be bowed.

So much then for this book, and but one word more as to its authors; as to their present position, and the probable effect of their theories. We have felt bound to express distinctly our conviction that, holding their views, they cannot, consistently with moral honesty, maintain their posts as clergymen of the Established Church. We see more danger in the shape of widespread suspicion and distrust likely to arise from their continuance as teachers of that Church, whilst clearly disbelieving her doctrines, than from their lucubrations themselves. They may indeed,—especially those who are charged with the education of the young, by their cruel use of the art of suggestion and by venturing on such matters as these,—be able, 'spargere voces ambiguas,' to sow doubts in minds which but for them would never have been haunted by such spectral shapes, and to shake the foundations of what might have been built up into a firm belief: they may incur the awful guilt of placing stumbling-blocks in the way of unwary feet, and destroying the weak brother for whom Christ died:

died: but we cannot believe that they will exert any widespread influence in the Church of our land, or amongst our people. The English mind is too calm, too sound, too essentially honest to be widely or deeply affected by such speculations as these—and more especially from such mouths. The flattering appeal which they make to unassisted human reason, and the gratification which they afford to the natural pride of the human heart, may win for them a certain following, but the great body of Church-of-England men will stand aloof from them. Three of the Bishops (Winchester, St. David's, and Oxford), representing in some measure different schools of thought within the Church, have, we observe, already spoken out plainly in condemnation of them. The Bishop of St. David's, in his letter to Dr. Williams, which for temper, wit, acuteness, fairness, and sound learning is well nigh a perfect specimen of what Christian controversy ought to be, is led to announce, in language which none who have read it will forget, the opinion which a long and deep acquaintance with German theology has led him to form on the value of rationalistic criticism. All the schools, then, of theological opinion amongst us are opposed to the Essayists. On the one side stand in their way the recent growth of higher views of the authority of the Church and a juster value of all the great dogmas of the Catholic faith; on the other, the fact that the special points assailed by them are those which are the dearest to the school which has been least affected by the Church movement, such as the doctrines of original sin, justification by faith, and, above all, that of the Atonement. It may be that He whose attribute it is to bring good out of evil may, through this assault upon the common doctrines of the faith, draw together minds which have hitherto been far too widely separated, and heal divisions in which is at this moment the main danger of the Church of this country. The thunder-cloud which, with its electric presence, has stirred up into unusual activity these buzzing interruptors of our peace, may thus burst upon our land in a refreshing shower of precious and invigorating influences.

Here we gladly leave the Essayists and their Essays; but before we conclude we wish to say a very few words on that momentous subject of inspiration, on which, as we said at first, is the brunt of their whole attack. It is a favourite mode of assault with all who wish to lower the authority of inspiration to require those who believe in it to define with exactness wherein it consists: 'Where,' they ask, 'is your own theory of inspiration?—either admit ours, or substitute another. This finding fault with what is proposed, and yet proposing no substitute, is the very helplessness of a miserable

miserable obstructiveness.' Now this we entirely deny. We maintain that this craving for 'a theory of inspiration' is itself a part of the disease we have to treat. In this sense of the word, Holy Scripture has never laid down any theory of inspiration; the Church has never propounded one; and there are plain and we think sufficient reasons for this reticence. A doctrine concerning inspiration indeed that Word does contain, and that doctrine the Church Catholic received at first, and according to her office has guarded ever since. But this doctrine which Holy Scripture distinctly asserts concerning itself, which the Church has always repeated, and which has satisfied believers of the deepest thought and of the most commanding powers of reason, is really inconsistent with any such theory of inspiration as the sceptic desires. For what does Holy Scripture claim to be? The Word of God, 'The oracles of God'—Θεόπνευστος*—God-breathed; and what must this imply? Surely that there is a mighty and mysterious presence of God in this His Word. This is why there is so great a difficulty in saying in all cases whether, when 'the Word of God' is spoken of in its pages, it is the Incarnate Word or the written Word which is designed. For as the Incarnate Word, the divine Λόγος, the Word who was in the beginning with God, is to all created being, even, it seems, to the angelic hierarchy, in whom it exists in its highest and purest form, the coming forth of the unapproachable glory of the Everlasting Father, so the written Word is the manifestation to man of the selfsame hidden glory of the Father. Thus there is a divine presence in the Word; and even as in the Word Incarnate there is a true union of the divinity with the manhood, both natures being uncommingled, though both eternally united in the person of the Son, even so in the written Word there are present evermore the human element and the divine, each acting according to the perfect law of its own nature, neither interfering with the other. The Divinity, restraining or enlarging its communications, as is required for the perfectness of God's revelation of Himself, never annihilating Humanity, nor ever giving possible place for the entrance into the Revelation which is the proper subject of the divine acting, of that infirmity, error, or corruption, which are natural to man save in so far as the presence of the Higher Power holds him up and keeps him free from their dominion.

So much God's Word declares: so much the Church has received: so much every faithful man believes. But, if curiosity seeks for further insight, or captiousness begins to question, or

* 2 Tim. iii. 16.

unbelief to stumble,—if the flesh asks to have the dividing line between the operation of the Divine and the Human in the inspired Word marked sharply out so as to meet all objections and answer all questions; if it asks, that is to say, for such a perfect ‘theory of inspiration’ as the rationalist craves,—the answer must be the same as if the same temper sought to criticise the great doctrine of the Incarnation itself; namely, that no perfect theory is possible unless we could first fathom the infinite and reduce to definite proportions the hidden nature of the unfathomable Godhead. So that the fact, that in this great gift of the written Word there is that which defies the philosophic skill which would have a perfect theory for everything, so far from being a presumption against its truth, is an argument for it. So far as we can conceive, a written revelation must for man be communicated through man, whilst it must, for its knowledge of much, for the certain accuracy of all, the revelation, depend upon God as the revealer. There must, therefore, be combined in it the action of the two natures; and, if the two natures are both present and both in action, it must be beyond our power to have a perfect theory for that which is thus the united action of two powers,—seeing that of the higher of those powers we know only what has been revealed to us, and as to its law and mode in combining its action with the lower nature (which we do know), since nothing has been revealed to us, we can know nothing.

The spirit which raises these difficulties, and prompts the asking of these questions, is the very spirit which, working with the subtilty of the scholastic temper, framed and fashioned for the Sacrament of the Eucharist the unwarranted and dangerous logical hypothesis of transubstantiation. In that Sacrament, as in the written Word, the early Church believed simply, with ourselves, that God was present. But questions arose. How was He present? what were the limits of the presence, its mode, its consequences? where was it possible to draw the sharp line between the elemental matter and the presence of Deity? Unhappily, a large portion of the Church listened to the tempting whisper, that by logical definition it might satisfy questions which piety never would have asked, and reverential wisdom never would have endeavoured to answer. The sad result ought to be a lesson to us here; and to teach us that we are surrounded by mysteries of God’s presence and working, which reveal themselves sufficiently to satisfy a humble faith of their undoubted reality; but which are impenetrable barriers against that proud curiosity which evermore leads men on to seek to be as gods, knowing good and evil.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
discussion of the problem. It is shown that the
problem is of great importance in the theory of
the differential equations of the second order.
The second part of the paper is devoted to a
detailed study of the problem. It is shown that
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of the differential equations of the second order.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *L'Esprit des Auteurs, recueilli et raconté*, par Edouard Fournier. Troisième Edition. Paris, 1857.
 2. *L'Esprit dans l'Histoire. Recherches et Curiosités sur les Mots Historiques*. Par Edouard Fournier. Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1860.

MANY years before 'aerated bread' was heard of, a company was formed at Pimlico for utilizing the moisture which evaporates in the process of baking, by distilling spirit from it instead of letting it go to waste. Adroitly availing himself of the popular suspicion that the company's loaves must be unduly deprived of alcohol, a ready-witted baker put up a placard inscribed '*Bread with the Gin in it*,' and customers rushed to him in crowds. We strongly suspect that any over-scrupulous writer who should present history without its pleasant illusions, would find himself in the condition of the projectors who foolishly expected an enlightened public to dispense (as they thought) with an intoxicating ingredient in their bread.

'Pol, me occidistis, amici!
 Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas
 Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'

'A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken from men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves?' So says Lord Bacon; and few aphorisms in prose or verse are more popular than Gray's 'Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.' The poet may have been true to his vocation when he rhymed, rather than reasoned, in this fashion; but the philosopher would have been lamentably untrue to *his*, had he seriously propounded a doctrine which any looseness of interpretation could convert or pervert into an argument against truth, knowledge, or intelligence. Fortunately, the context shows that he was speaking of what is, not of what ought to be, and was no more prepared to contend that credulity and falsehood are legitimate or lasting sources of mental gratification,

than that the largest amount of physical enjoyment may be ensured by drunkenness. After speculating a little on the prevalent fondness for delusion, he concludes: 'Yet howsoever these things are in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature.'

This last emphatic sentence should be kept constantly in mind during the perusal of the books named at the head of this article. The object of the first, 'L'Esprit des Auteurs,' is the unsparing exposure of literary plagiarism in France. In the second, 'L'Esprit dans l'Histoire,' the learned and ingenious author gallantly undertakes to investigate the title of the leading characters in French history to the wisest and wittiest sayings, and some of the noblest doings, recorded of them. Kings, generals, and statesmen, are all thrown into the crucible, and in many instances we are unable to say of them (what Dryden said of Shakespeare) that, burn him down as you would, there would always be precious metal at the bottom of the melting-pot. Not a few subside into a mere *caput mortuum*, or emerge 'poor shrunken things,' with no future hold on posterity beyond what long-indulged error may maintain for them. On the other hand, the value of the genuine gem is ineffably enhanced by the detection of the counterfeit; and there is more room to walk about and admire the real heroes and heroines in the Pantheon or Walhalla when the pretenders are dismissed. At the same time, we cannot help wondering at the favour with which M. Fournier's disclosures have been received by his countrymen; and we might be disposed to admire rather than to emulate his courage, if analogous results were likely to ensue from an equally rigid examination of the recorded or traditional claims of Englishmen. But, in the first place, there is good reason to believe that he carries scepticism to an undue extent, and insists on an amount of proof which, by the nature of things, is commonly unattainable. In the second place, our English habit of fully and freely canvassing assumed or asserted merit at its rise, and of immolating instead of pampering our national vanity, if (as in the case of the Crimean War) occasionally detrimental to our credit and influence abroad, carries at least one compensation with it.—We have little cause to tremble lest our long-established idols should be thrown down.

We propose, therefore, besides profiting by M. Fournier's discoveries, to extend our researches to general history and biography, ancient and modern. Most especially let us see whether the Plantagenets,

Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts, owe as much to borrowed plumes as the Capets and Bourbons; whether the stirring and pithy sentences of Wolfe and Nelson are as much a myth as those of Desaix and Cambronne; whether our English worthies, civil and military, have been portrayed with the same exclusive reference to artistic effect, and the same noble independence of strict accuracy, as the French.

Before setting to work in right earnest on his more limited task, M. Fournier throws out a strong intimation, that he could likewise shatter the foundations of many a fair structure of Greek and Roman heroism if he thought fit. Nor would it be altogether safe for the worshippers of classical antiquity to defy him to the proof.

'The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The power, the beauty, and the majesty
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain,
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring,
Or chasms and watery depths,—all these have vanished;
They live no longer in the faith of reason.'

Most of the associated traditions have necessarily vanished with them, or cut a sorry figure without their mythological costume. What are Romulus and Remus without their descent from Mars and their wet-nurse of a wolf? or what is Numa without Egeria? If one part of a story is palpably and confessedly fiction, can the rest be admitted without hesitation to be fact? Until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, the earlier portions of Greek and Roman history were as implicitly believed as the later, and, from their exciting character, naturally sank deeper into the popular mind. In ignorance or forgetfulness of occasional hints thrown out by riper scholars, writers like Echard, Vertot, Rollin, and Hooke persevered in copying and amplifying the narratives of Herodotus, Livy, and Plutarch, as confidently as those of Thucydides, Cæsar, and Tacitus. The spell was not effectually broken till Niebuhr (improving on MM. De Pouilly and De Beaufort) undertook to show, principally from internal evidence, that nearly the whole of the received history of Rome for the first four or five hundred years was apocryphal. An able review of the ensuing controversy will be found in the introduction to 'An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History,' by Sir G. C. Lewis, who objects to Niebuhr's method, and insists with excessive rigour that external proof or testimony is the only trustworthy source or test.

'Historical evidence,' he says, 'like judicial evidence, is founded on the testimony of credible witnesses. Unless these witnesses had

personal and immediate perception of the facts which they report, unless they saw and heard what they undertake to relate as having happened, their evidence is not entitled to credit. As all original witnesses must be contemporary with the events which they attest, it is a necessary condition for the credibility of a witness that he be a contemporary, though a contemporary is not necessarily a credible witness. Unless, therefore, an historical account can be traced, by probable proof, to the testimony of contemporaries, the first condition of historical credibility fails.'

No account of Rome or the Romans for more than 400 years after the foundation of the city fulfils this condition; and the first book of Livy, containing the regal period, can lay claim (when thus tested) to no higher authority than Lord Macaulay's '*Lays*.' Livy states that whatever records existed prior to the burning of Rome by the Gauls (365 years after its foundation), were then burnt or lost. We are left, therefore, in the most embarrassing uncertainty whether Tarquin outraged Lucretia; or Brutus shammed idiocy, and condemned his sons to death; or Mutius Scævola thrust his hand into the fire; or Curtius jumped into the gulf (if there was one); or Clælia swam the Tiber; or Cocles defended a bridge against an army. Livy confesses his inability to fix the respective nationality of the Horatii and Curiatii; and Sir George Lewis presses with unanswerable force the absurdity of supposing that Coriolanus acted a twentieth part of the melodramatic scenes assigned to him; as, for example, that, with Tullus Aufidius at his side, he was permitted, at his mother's intercession, to lead back the Volscians thirsting for revenge.

Herodotus has fared even worse than Livy at the hands of some modern critics (although, by the way, the tenor of recent discoveries has been much in his favour); and Mr. Gladstone's argument for converting Homer into a regular annalist on the strength of the minuteness and verisimilitude of his descriptions and details, would serve equally well to prove that Robinson Crusoe actually inhabited his island, or that Gulliver was really wrecked at Lilliput. We can fully sympathise with the amiable, eloquent, and accomplished Chancellor of the Exchequer in his eagerness to rehabilitate Helen, socially and morally, by showing in what high esteem she was held by Priam; but unless she was superior to all female weakness, there was a matter which occasioned her more anxiety than her character. Sir Robert Walpole used to say that he never despaired of restoring a woman's placability, unless she had been called old or ugly. Now the age of this respected matron has been discussed with more learning and critical skill than gallantry; and the prevalent opinion of erudite Germany seems to

to be that she was past sixty when Homer brings her upon the stage.

We could fill pages with the sceptical doubts of scholiasts, who would fain deprive Diogenes of his lantern and his tub, Æsop of his hump, Sappho of her leap, Rhodes of its Colossus, and Dionysius the First of his ear; nay, who pretend that Cadmus did not come from Phœnicia, that Belisarius was not blind, that Portia did not swallow burning coals, and that Dionysius the Second never kept a school at Corinth. Others, without incurring any suspicion of paradox, have exposed the monstrous exaggerations of the Greeks in their accounts of the invasions of Xerxes, whose host is computed by Lemprière (that unerring guide of the ingenuous youth of both sexes) at 5,283,220 souls. 'This multitude, *which the fidelity of historians has not exaggerated*, was stopped at Thermopylæ by 300 Spartans under King Leonidas.* The Persian commissariat must have been much better regulated than the French or English before Sebastopol, if half a million of fighting men were ever brought within fifty miles of Thermopylæ. Still there may have been enough to give occasion for the remark of the Spartans, that, if the Persian arrows flew so thick as to intercept the sun, they should fight in the shade—enough also to elicit the touching reflection of Xerxes as he gazed upon the assembled host; if, indeed, this should not be rejected as out of keeping with the mad pranks he played on the first occurrence of a check.

This is one of the instances in which, as Sir George Lewis would admit, internal evidence is superior to external. Herodotus was four years old when the Persian invasion commenced: he was only thirty-nine when he recited his History at the Olympic Games. He must have conversed with many who had been personally engaged in the war: he was truthful, if superstitious and credulous; and contemporary testimony might doubtless have been procured, that, to the best of the deponent's belief, the Persian army drank up rivers on their march. Internal probability or improbability must also be allowed considerable weight, when we have to deal with the records of a later age. Modern chemists have been unable to discover how Hannibal could have levelled rocks, or Cleopatra dissolved pearls, with vinegar. Napoleon at St. Helena occasionally read and commented on the alleged traits of ancient valour and virtue:

'He strongly censured what he called historical sillinesses (*niaiserie*),

* Lemprière's 'Classical Dictionary.' Last edition. Title *Xerxes*. 'To admit this overwhelming total, or anything near to it, is obviously impossible.'—Grote, vol. v. p. 46. Mr. Grote accepts the tradition of the 300 Spartans, whom respectable authors have computed at 7000, and even at 12,000.

ridiculously

ridiculously exalted by the translators and commentators. These betrayed from the beginning, he said, historians who judged ill of men and their position. It was wrong, for example, to make so much of the continence of Scipio, or to expatiate on the calm of Alexander, Caesar, and others, for having slept on the eve of a battle. None but a monk excluded from women, whose face glows at their approach, could make it a great merit in Scipio not to have outraged one whom chance placed in his power. As to sleeping immediately before a battle, there are none of our soldiers, of our generals, who have not repeated this marvel twenty times; and nearly all their heroism lay in the foregoing fatigue.*

Napoleon might have referred to Aulus Gellius, who, after a mocking allusion to the continence of Scipio and a similar instance of self-restraint practised by Alexander towards the wife and sister of Darius, adds:—

‘It is said of this Scipio, I know not whether truly or otherwise, but it is related that when a young man he was not immaculate; and it is nearly certain (*propemodum constitisse*) that these verses were written by Cn. Nævius, the poet, against him:—

‘Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe gessit gloriose;
Cujus facta viva nunc vigent; qui apud gentes solus
Præstat; eum suus pater eum pallio uno ab amica abduxit.’

I believe that these verses induced Valerius Antias to express himself concerning the morality of Scipio in contradiction to all other writers, and to say that this captive maid was not restored to her father.*

It is hard on Scipio to be deprived of his prescriptive reputation for continence on no better testimony than this. But ‘be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny.’ A German pedant has actually ventured to question the purity of Lucretia. By way of set-off, Messalina has been brought upon the French stage as the innocent victim of calumny. A Roman courtesan, so runs the plot, so closely resembled her as to impose upon the most charitable of her contemporaries, and make them believe that she was engaged in a succession of orgies, whilst she was spinning with her maids. She is killed just as the terrible truth dawns upon her, without being allowed time to clear herself. The combined part of the courtesan and the empress was one of Rachel’s masterpieces.

It has been thought odd that so wise a king as Philip should have exclaimed, on witnessing Alexander’s Rarey-like adroitness in taming Bucephalus, ‘Seek another kingdom, my son, for Macedon is too small for thee;’ and Cæsar’s exhortation to the pilot,

* ‘The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius,’ B. vi. c. 8 (translated by Beloe), vol. ii. p. 23.

Cæsarem vehis, has been discredited by Napoleon and others* on the ground that the incident is not mentioned in the 'Commentaries.' Neither is the voyage during which it is supposed to have happened, which was an ill-advised and unsuccessful attempt to reach Brundisium by sea. Although the pilot recovered his presence of mind sufficiently to mind the helm, the vessel was obliged to put back, and the entire adventure was one which Cæsar had little cause to remember with complacency. He is equally silent as to another rash expedition, in which he ran imminent risk of being taken prisoner by the Gauls. If his mere silence is decisive, we must also reject the story of his crossing the Rubicon, which is told with striking and minute details by both Plutarch and Suetonius, who report his words thus:—*Eatur quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Jaeta alea esto.*

The most remarkable incident of his death is one of the most puzzling instances of popular faith which we are acquainted with. How, and when, came the *Et tu, Brute*, to be substituted for the more touching reproach set down for him by the only writers of authority who pretend to give the precise words? According to Plutarch, Casca having struck the first blow, Cæsar turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. 'At the same time they both cried out—the one in Latin, "Villain Casca, what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek to his brother, "Brother, help!" Some say he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate.'† Nicolas Damascenus mentions no one as speaking except Casca, who, he says, 'calls to his brother in Greek, on account of the tumult.'‡ The statement of Suetonius is, that Cæsar was pierced with twenty-three wounds, without uttering a sound beyond one groan at the first blow; 'although some have handed down, that, to Marcus Brutus, rushing on, he said *Καὶ σὺ, τέκνον.*' In some editions of Suetonius the words *καὶ σὺ εἰ* (or *εἰς*) *ἐκέλευον* are added, which would make 'And you, my son, and you are one of them.'§

The

* 'In reading, Napoleon leant to scepticism and paradox; as for instance, he ridiculed as improbable the story of Cæsar's escape in the boat, and his speech to the boatman, and was much inclined to disparage the talents, and more particularly the military skill, of that extraordinary man.'—Lord Holland's *Foreign Reminiscences*, p. 295. The Duke of Wellington always professed the highest admiration of Cæsar's military talents.

† Plutarch's 'Life of Cæsar.' In the 'Life of Brutus' nothing is said of the effect of Brutus's appearance.

‡ 'Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum,' vol. iii. p. 445.

§ The Rev. Charles Merivale, who, in the text of his valuable work 'The Romans under the Empire,' adopts the current story, says in a note, 'Of course no reliance

The 'son' is supposed to imply something more than an ordinary term of affection, for in a preceding passage, after naming several Roman ladies with whom Cæsar had intrigued, Suetonius adds—'Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem, Serviliam.'

The history of modern Europe is susceptible of the same three-fold division as that of Greece and Rome. It comprises the fabulous, the semi-fabulous, and the historic, period. We regret to say that Arthur and his Round Table belong to the first—so indisputably belong to it, that archæologists are still disputing whether the bevy of knights and dames, on whom poetic genius has recently shed fresh lustre, are the creation of French Brittany or the veritable progeny of the ancient Britons, whose Welsh descendants claim them as the brightest ornament of their race.* Charlemagne belongs to the second period, and what we read of him and his court is a mixture of ill-ascertained truth and proved or proveable fable. His paladins are as mythical as Arthur's knights, and many of the traditions that do him most honour have been rudely shaken.

So prodigious an amount of learning and acuteness, German and English, has been brought to bear on Anglo-Saxon history, that no excuse is left for illusion, however pleasant. Dr. Reinhold Pauli has carefully examined the authorities for the popular stories of Alfred the Great, and reluctantly admits that they are far from satisfactory. We are not prepared to give up the story of the burnt cakes because it is not to be found in the extant fragments of his Life by his friend Asser, but our faith is somewhat shaken in that of his venturing into the Danish camp in the disguise of a minstrel, when we learn that it is not told of him by any of the old Saxon writers, that it is told of another Saxon monarch, and that it breathes more of the Scandinavian-Norman than the Saxon spirit.†

The Chancellor Lord Eldon, who took his bachelor's degree in 1770, used to say 'An examination for a degree at Oxford was a farce in my time. I was examined in Hebrew and in history:—"What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?" I replied "Golgotha." "Who founded University College?" I stated (though, by-the-way, the point is sometimes doubted) that King Alfred founded it. "Very well, Sir," said the examiner,

reliance can be placed on such minute details. The whole statement of the effect of the sight of Brutus upon Cæsar may be a fiction suggested by the vulgar story of the relation between them.'

* See Wright's edition of '*La Mort d'Arthure*,' in three volumes. London, 1858. As to the worthlessness of the earliest histories of Arthur and Charlemagne, on which the later are mainly based, see Mr. Buckle's *History*, 292, 297.

† 'König Aelfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands, von Dr. Reinhold Pauli.' Berlin, 1851, pp. 130-132.

"you

"you are competent for your degree." If Alfred founded the oldest college, he, in one sense, founded the University; but the sole authority for the hypothesis is a passage in Asser, which is no longer to be found.*

We are gravely told, on historical authority, by Moore, in a note to one of his Irish 'Melodies'—

'Rich and rare were the gems she wore;'

that during the reign of Brian, king of Munster, a young lady of great beauty, richly dressed, and adorned with jewels, undertook a journey from one end of the kingdom to another, with a wand in her hand, at the top of which was a ring of exceeding great value; and such was the perfection of the laws and the government that no attempt was made upon her honour, nor was she robbed of her clothes and jewels. Precisely the same story is told of Alfred, of Frothi, king of Denmark, and of Rollo, duke of Normandy.

Another romantic anecdote fluctuating between two or more sets of actors, is an episode in the amours of Emma, the alleged daughter of Charlemagne, who, finding that the snow had fallen thick during a nightly interview with her lover, Eginhard, took him upon her shoulders, and carried him to some distance from her bower, to prevent his footsteps from being traced. Unluckily, Charlemagne had no daughter named Emma or Imma; and a hundred years before the appearance (in 1600) of the 'Chronicle' which records the adventure, it had been related in print of a German emperor and a damsel unknown. Let us hope, for the honour of the fair sex, that it is true of somebody. Fielding, after recording an instance in which Joseph Andrews's muscular powers enable him to ensure the safety of Fanny, exclaims—'Learn hence, my fair countrywomen, to consider your own weakness, and the many occasions on which the strength of a man may be useful to you;' and he exhorts them not to match themselves with spindle-shanked beaux and *petit-maitres*. Could we put faith in Emma's exploit, it might justify an exhortation to the male sex to give the preference to ladies strong enough to carry a husband or lover on an emergency; especially when we remember the story of the women of Weinberg, who, when that fortress was about to be stormed, obtained

* See Gough's edition of 'Camden's Britannia,' fol. 1799, p. 299, and 'Thorpe's Translation of Lappenberg's History,' Preface, p. 38. Mr. Hallam says, in his Introduction to the 'Literature of Europe,' vol. i., p. 16 (6th edit.), 'In a former work I gave more credence to its foundation by Alfred than I am now inclined to do.'

permission to come out, carrying with them whatever they deemed most valuable, and surprised the besiegers by issuing from the gate each carrying her husband on her back.

The story of Canute commanding the waves to roll back rests on the authority of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote about a hundred years after the death of the Danish monarch. Hume treats the popular legend of Fair Rosamond as fabulous. According to Lingard, instead of being poisoned by Queen Eleanor, she retired to the convent of Godstow, and dying in the odour of sanctity, was buried with such marks of veneration by the nuns as to provoke a rebuke from their diocesan, who reminded them that 'religion makes no distinction between the mistress of a king and the mistress of any other man.'

Blondel, harp in hand, discovering his master's place of confinement, is also a fancy-picture; for the seizure and imprisonment of Richard were matters of European notoriety. What is alleged to have befallen him on his way home has found its appropriate place in 'Ivanhoe;' and the adventures of monarchs in disguise, from Haroun Alraschid to James the Fifth of Scotland, so frequently resemble each other that we are compelled to suspect a common origin for the majority.

The statement of a Welsh writer of the sixteenth century, that Edward the First gathered together all the Welsh bards and had them put to death, is implicitly adopted by Hume, and made familiar by Gray:—

'Ruin seize thee, ruthless King;
Confusion on thy banners wait.'

It is glaringly improbable, and rests on no valid testimony of any sort.

Miss Aikin was, we believe, the first to demolish the credibility of the celebrated story, that Cromwell, Hampden, and Arthur Hazelrig, despairing of the liberties of their country, had actually embarked for New England (in 1638), when they were stopped by an Order in Council. The incident is not mentioned by the best authorities, including Clarendon; and there is no direct proof that either of the three belonged to the expedition in question, which, after a brief delay, was permitted to proceed with its entire freight of Pilgrims.

'As for the greater number of the stories with which the *ana* are stuffed,' says Voltaire, 'including all those humorous replies attributed to Charles the Fifth, to Henry the Fourth, to a hundred modern princes, you find them in Athenæus and in our old authors. It is in this sense only that one may say "*nîl sub sole novum.*"'

novum.” * He does not stop to give examples, but there is no difficulty in finding them. Thus the current story is, or was, that Baudesson, mayor of Saint Dizier, was so like Henry the Fourth, that the royal guards saluted him as he passed. ‘Why, friend,’ said Henry, ‘your mother must have visited Bearn?’ ‘No,’ replied the mayor, ‘it was my father, who occasionally resided there.’ This story, which is also told of Louis the Fourteenth, is related by Macrobius of Augustus.

Dionysius the tyrant, we are told by Diogenes of Laerte, treated his friends like vases full of good liquors, which he broke when he had emptied them. This is precisely what Cardinal Retz says of Madame de Chevreuse’s treatment of her lovers.

The epigrammatic remark given by H. Say to Christina of Sweden, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis the Fourteenth, ‘He has cut off his left arm with the right,’ belongs to Valentinian. That of the peasant to the same monarch, ‘It is useless to enlarge your park at Versailles; you will always have neighbours,’ is copied from Apuleius, and has been placed in the mouth of a Norfolk labourer in reference to the lordly domain of Holkham. Henry the Fourth, when put on his guard against assassination, is reported to have said, ‘He who fears death will undertake nothing against me; he who despises his own life will always be master of mine.’ This recalls Seneca’s ‘*Contemptor suæmet vitæ, dominus alienæ*.’

Fabricius, in conference with Pyrrhus, was tempted to revolt to him, Pyrrhus telling him that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But Fabricius answered in scorn, to such a motion, ‘Ah! that would not be good for yourself, for if the Epirotes once knew me, they will rather desire to be governed by me than by you.’† Charles the Second told his brother, afterwards James the Second, who was expressing fears for his safety, ‘Depend upon it, James, no one will kill me to make you king.’

There is a story of Sully’s meeting a young lady, veiled and dressed in green, on the back stairs leading to Henry’s apartment, and being asked by the king whether he had not been told that his Majesty had a fever and could not receive that morning, ‘Yes, sire, but the fever is gone; I have just met it on the staircase dressed in green.’ This story is told of Demetrius and his father.

The Emperor Adrian meeting a personal enemy the day after his accession to the throne, exclaimed, ‘*Evasisti*’ (‘you have

* ‘A. M. du M . . . , Membre de Plusieurs Académies, sur Plusieurs Anecdotes.’ (1774.)—*Voltaire’s Works*.

† Bacon’s ‘*Apophthegms*.’

escaped’).

escaped'). Philip, Count of Bresse, becoming Duke of Savoy, said, 'It would be shameful in the Duke to revenge the injuries done to the Count.' Third in point of time is the better-known saying of Louis the Twelfth, 'The King of France does not revenge the injuries of the Duke of Orleans.' Instead of being uttered in this laconic form to the Duc de la Tremouille, it formed the conclusion of an address to the deputies of the city of Orleans, who were told 'that it would not be decent or honourable in a King of France to revenge the quarrels of a Duke of Orleans.'

The three last are amongst the examples adduced by M. Suard* in support of his theory, very different from Voltaire's, respecting the causes of the similarity between striking sayings and doings, which, he contends, is too frequently accepted as a proof of plagiarism in the later speaker or actor, or as affording a presumption of pure fiction from the first. We agree with M. Suard; and an apt analogy is supplied by the history of invention. The honour of almost every important discovery, from printing to the electric telegraph, has been vehemently contested by rival claimants; and the obvious reason is, that whenever the attention of the learned or scientific world has been long and earnestly fixed upon a subject, it is as if so many heaps of combustible materials had been accumulated, or so many trains laid, any two or three of which may be simultaneously exploded by a spark. The results resemble each other, because each projector is influenced by the same laws of progress; and as the human heart and mind retain their essential features, unaltered by time or space, there is nothing surprising in the fact of two or more persons similarly situated acting on similar impulses or hitting on similar relations of ideas.

This theory, which we believe to be true in the main, has one great recommendation. It is productive, not destructive. It doubles or trebles the accumulated stock of originality; and whenever we light upon a fresh coincidence in nobility of feeling, depth of reflection, readiness or terseness of expression, we may exclaim, 'Behold a fresh instance of a quality that does honour to mankind.' We have collected some striking specimens in addition to those already mentioned; and if many of them, individually taken, are familiar enough, their juxtaposition may prove new. Sydney Smith says of Mackintosh, 'The great thoughts and fine sayings of the great men of all ages

* 'Notes sur l'Esprit d'Imitation,' published after his death, with additions by M. Le Clerc, in the 'Revue Française,' Nouvelle Série, tom. vi. On the subject of coincidences in fact and fiction, see also Keightley's 'Tales and Popular Fictions,' chap. i.; and the Preface to his 'Fair Myology.'

were intimately present to his recollection, and came out dazzling and delighting in his conversation.' We may at least assist in purifying and utilizing, if we do not greatly augment, the store of these invaluable elements of entertainment and instruction.

The right wing of Hyder Ali's army, in an action against the English under Colonel Baillie, was commanded by his son, and intelligence arrived that it was beginning to give way. 'Let Tippoo Saib do his best,' said Hyder; 'he has his reputation to make.' What is this but the reply of Edward the Third when exhorted to succour the Black Prince at Crecy?

Commodore Billings, in his account of his Expedition to the Northern Coasts of Russia, says that when he and Mr. Main were on the river Kobima, they were attended by a young man from Kanoga, an island between Kamschatka and North America. One day Mr. Main asked him, 'What will the savages do to me if I fall into their power?' 'Sir,' said the youth, 'you will never fall into their power if I remain with you. I always carry a sharp knife; and if I see you pursued and unable to escape, I will plunge my knife into your heart; then the savages can do nothing more to you.' These recall the words of the French knight reported by Joinville: 'Swear to me,' said Queen Margaret, 'that if the Saracens become masters of Damietta, you will cut off my head before they can take me.' 'Willingly,' replied the knight; 'I had already thought of doing so if the contingency arrived.'

Florus, describing the battle in which Catiline fell, says, '*Nemo hostium bello superfuït.*' The day after the battle of Rocroy a French officer asked a Spaniard what were the numbers of their veteran infantry before the battle. 'You have only,' replied he, 'to count the dead and the prisoners.*' A Russian officer being asked the number of the troops to which he had been opposed, pointed to the field of death, and said, 'You may count them; they are all there.'

The *veni, vidi, vici*, of Cæsar has given rise to an infinity of imitators; one of whom has improved upon it. John Sobieski, after relieving Vienna in 1683, announced his victory over the Turks to the Pope in these words: '*Je suis venu, j'ai vu, Dieu a vaincu*'—'I came; I saw; God conquered.' Cardinal Richelieu acknowledged the receipt of a Latin work dedicated to him thus: '*Accepi, legi, probavi.*'

When Cæsar slipped and fell, on landing in Africa, he is reported

* 'The Life of Condé.' By Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope), p. 22.

to have exclaimed: 'Land of Africa, I take possession of thee!' Thierry, in his 'History of the Norman Conquest,' says:—

'The Duke (the Conqueror) landed the last of all; the moment his foot touched the sand, he made a false step, and fell on his face. A murmur arose, and voices cried, "Heaven preserve us! a bad sign." But William, rising, said directly, "What is the matter? What are you wondering at? I have seized this ground with my hands, and by the brightness of God, so far as it extends, it is mine, it is yours."'

Froissart relates that Edward the Third fell with such violence on the sea-shore at La Hogue that the blood gushed from his nose, and a cry of consternation was raised: but the king answered quickly, and said, 'This is a good token for me, for the land desireth to have me;' 'of the which answer his men were right joyful.'

When Mirabeau exclaimed, 'I know how near the Tarpeian Rock is to the Capitol,' he may have been thinking of Pope Alexander the Sixth's words, 'Vide, mi fili, quam leve discrimen patibulum inter et statuam.' But no parallel has been found for Chancellor Oxenstiern's famous remark to his son, although the reflection is precisely what we should have expected to find in some ancient cynic or satirist.

The anecdote-mongers of antiquity relate of Pompey, that, when the danger of a meditated voyage (to bring provisions for Rome in a scarcity) was pressed upon him, he said: 'This voyage is necessary, and my life is not.' Maréchal Saxe, starting for the campaign of Fontenoy, at the risk of his life, said to Voltaire: '*Il ne s'agit pas de vivre, mais de partir.*' Voltaire put aside the remonstrances of his friends against his attending the rehearsal of 'Irene' with the remark: '*Il n'est pas question de vivre, mais de faire jouer ma tragédie.*' Racine had anticipated both Voltaire and the Maréchal by a line in 'Berenice': '*Mais il ne s'agit de vivre, il faut régner.*'

Voltaire, speaking highly of Haller, was told that he was very generous in so doing, since Haller said just the contrary of him. 'Perhaps,' remarked Voltaire, after a short pause, 'we are both of us mistaken.' Libanius writes to Aristænetus: 'You are always speaking ill of me. I speak nothing but good of you. Do you not fear that neither of us shall be believed?' 'Themistocles in his lower fortune leaned to a gentleman who scorned him; when he grew to his greatness, which was soon after, he sought to him. Themistocles said: "We are both grown wise, but too late."'* If all the good sayings attributed by Plutarch

* Bacon's 'Apophthegms.'

to Themistocles really belonged to him, they would suffice to place him amongst the wisest and wittiest men of antiquity. But Plutarch, like Voltaire, seldom resists the temptation of a good story; and even the celebrated 'Strike, but hear!' is shaken by the fact that Herodotus, the earliest reporter now extant of the debate of the admirals, makes no mention of the speech, and represents Adeimantus, the Corinthian admiral, as the person with whom Themistocles had an altercation upon that occasion; while Plutarch puts the Lacedæmonian admiral, Eurybiades, in the place of Adeimantus; and adds the incident of the intended blow arrested by the words 'Strike, but hear!'

The lesson of perseverance in adversity taught by the spider to Robert Bruce, is said to have been taught by the same insect to Tamerlane.

'When Columbus,' says Voltaire, 'promised a new hemisphere, people maintained that it could not exist; and when he had discovered it, that it had been known a long time.' It was to confute such detractors that he resorted to the illustration of the egg, already employed by Brunelleschi when his merit in raising the cupola of the cathedral of Florence was contested.

The anecdote of Southampton reading 'The Faery Queen,' whilst Spenser was waiting in the ante-chamber, may pair off with one of Louis XIV. As this munificent monarch was going over the improvements of Versailles with Le Notre, the sight of each fresh beauty or capability tempts him to some fresh extravagance, till the architect cries out, that, if their promenade is continued in this fashion, it will end in the bankruptcy of the state. Southampton, after sending first twenty, and then fifty guineas, on coming to one fine passage after another, exclaims, 'Turn the fellow out of the house, or I shall be ruined.'

The following lines form part of the animated description of the Battle of Bannockburn in the 'Lord of the Isles:—

"The rebels, Argentine, repent!
For pardon they have kneeled."
"Ay, but they kneel to other powers,
And other pardon ask than ours.
See where yon barefoot abbot stands,
And blesses them with lifted hands!
Upon the spot where they have kneeled
These men will die, or win the field."

A note refers to Dalrymple's 'Annals,' which state that the abbot was Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, and the knight to whom the king's remark was addressed, Ingleram de Umfraville. The same mistake is attributed to Charles the Bold before the battle

battle of Granson, to the Duc de Joyeuse before the battle of Courtray, and to the Austrians at Frastenz.

In the scene of 'Henry VI.,' where Lord Say is dragged before Cade, we find :

'Dick. Why dost thou quiver, man ?

Say. The palsy, and not fear, provoketh me.'

On the morning of his execution, Charles I. said to his groom of the chambers, 'Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation ; I fear not death.*' As Bailly was waiting to be guillotined, one of the executioners accused him of trembling. 'I am cold' ('*J'ai froid*'), was the reply.

Frederic the Great is reported to have said, in reference to a troublesome assailant : 'This man wants me to make a martyr of him, but he shall not have that satisfaction.' Vespasian told Demetrius the Cynic, 'You do all you can to get me to put you to death, but I do not kill a dog for barking at me.' This Demetrius was a man of real spirit and honesty. When Caligula tried to conciliate his good word by a large gift in money, he sent it back with the message : 'If you wish to bribe me, you must send me your crown.' George III. ironically asked an eminent divine, who was just returned from Rome, whether he had converted the Pope. 'No, sire, I had nothing better to offer him.'

Lord Macaulay relates of Clive, that 'twice, whilst residing in the Writers' Buildings at Madras, he attempted to destroy himself, and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein. After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst out into an exclamation that 'surely he was reserved for something great.' Wallenstein's character underwent a complete change from the accident of his falling from a great height without hurting himself.

Cardinal Ximenes, upon a muster which was taken against the Moors, was spoken to by a servant of his to stand a little out of the smoke of the harquebuss, but he said again that 'that was his incense.'† The first time Charles XII. of Sweden was under fire, he inquired what the hissing he heard about his ears was, and being told it was caused by the musket-balls, 'Good,' he exclaimed, 'this henceforth shall be my music.'

* 'Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of King Charles I.' By Sir Thomas Herbert, Groom of the Chambers to his Majesty. London, 1813.

† Bacon's 'Apophthegms.'

Pope Julius II., like many a would-be connoisseur, was apt to exhibit his taste by fault-finding. On his objecting that one of Michel Angelo's statues might be improved by a few touches of the chisel, the artist, with the aid of a few pinches of marble dust, which he dropped adroitly, conveyed an impression that he had acted on the hint. When Halifax found fault with some passages in Pope's translation of Homer, the poet, by the advice of Garth, left them as they stood, but told the peer that they had been retouched, and had the satisfaction of finding him as easily satisfied as his Holiness.

When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta, in the consultation one advised that it should be reduced to an absolute popular equality; but Lycurgus said to him, 'Sir, begin it in your own house.' Had Dr. Johnson forgotten this among Bacon's 'Apophthegms' when he told Mrs. Macaulay—'Madam, I am now become a convert to your way of thinking. I am convinced that all mankind are upon an equal footing, and, to give you an unquestionable proof, Madam, that I am in earnest, here is a very sensible, civil, well-behaved fellow-citizen, your footman; I desire that he may be allowed to sit down and dine with us'?

In allusion to Napoleon's shaving, Talleyrand observed to Rogers—'A king by birth is shaved by another. He who makes himself *roi* shaves himself.' A prince by birth, the great Condé, was shaved by another, and one day, when submitting to this operation, he remarked aloud to the operator—'You tremble.' 'And you do not' was the retort. M. Suard supplies a curious parallel to this anecdote by one of an old and infirm *Milord Anglais*, who was going through the marriage-ceremony with a young and lovely girl, and held her hand in his—'You tremble.' 'Don't you?'

The French *Ana* assign to Maréchal Villars, taking leave of Louis XIV., the familiar aphorism (founded on a Spanish proverb), 'Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself against my enemies.' Canning's lines—

'But of all plagues, good Heav'n, thy wrath can send,
Save, save, oh! save me from the candid friend,'

are a versified adaptation of it. Lord Melbourne, on being pressed to do something for a journalist, on the ground that he always supported his Lordship when in the right, retorted—'That's just when I don't want his help. Give me a fellow who will stick by me when I am in the wrong.' Louis, by the way, complied with the Maréchal's request, for when told by a pretended friend of his that he was making a good thing of his command—

'Il y faisait bien ses affaires,' the King replied—*'Je le crois, mais il fait encore mieux les miennes.'*

Louis XIV. is reported to have said to Boileau, on receiving his 'Epistle' on the passage of the Rhine—'This is fine, and I should praise you more had you praised me less.' Unluckily, Queen Marguerite (la Reine Margot) had already paid the same compliment to Brantome; and the palm among courtly repartees must be given to Waller's, on Charles II.'s asking him how it happened that his panegyric on Cromwell was better than his verses on the Restoration—'Poets, your Majesty, succeed better in fiction than in truth.'

It is unnecessary to repeat Wilkes's witty but profane remark on Lord Thurlow's exclaiming—'When I forget my King, may my God forget me.' Lord John Russell states that Burke, on hearing this, remarked—'And the best thing He can do for him.' One of Bacon's 'Apophthegms' is—'Bion was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest, and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the gods; but Bion said to them—"Peace! let them not know you are here."'

Care must be taken to distinguish the cases in which, from failure of collateral proof, or internal evidence, or the characters of the relaters, the repetition or reappearance of the story raises a reasonable suspicion of its authenticity; and it unluckily happens that quaint instances of ill-nature, absurdity, stupidity, or worse, are even more likely to be produced in duplicate or triplicate than heroic actions and generous impulses.

Mummius told the commissioners who were employed in carrying the plunder of Corinth, including many masterpieces of Grecian art, to Rome, that he should insist on their replacing any that were destroyed or injured. An Englishman, on hearing of Canova's death, asked his brother if he meant to carry on the business.

One of the petty tyrants of Italy, during the Middle Ages, was met on the middle of a bridge by the bearer of a sentence of excommunication. He asked the messenger whether he would eat or drink, and cut short his astonishment by explaining that the alternative thereby proposed was whether he would eat up the Papal bull, seal and all, or be flung over the parapet into the river. Martin of Galway, 'Humanity Dick,' made nearly the same proposal to an Irish process-server, who was foolish enough to venture into a district where the royal writs never ran.

'In such partial views of early times,' says Savigny, 'we resemble the travellers who remark with great astonishment that in France the little children, nay, even the common people, speak
French

French with perfect fluency.* There is not a country in Europe, and hardly a county in England, where they are not ready to name some individual traveller by whom the same astonishment was expressed. The echo which politely replies, 'Very well, I thank you,' to the ordinary inquiry after health, may be heard (*mutatis mutandis*) in Gascony as well as at Killarney. Who has not laughed at the story of the letter-writer who concludes—'I would say more but for an impudent Irishman who is looking over my shoulder, and reading everything I write,' with the self-betraying denial of the Irishman? The story may be read in Galland's *Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*. It is not impossible that this comic incident or fiction gave Frederic the Great the hint for the terrible *coup de théâtre* in the tent of the officer who, when all lights had been forbidden under pain of death, was found finishing a letter to his wife by the light of a taper:—'Add a postscript. Before this reaches you I shall be shot for disobedience of orders;' and shot he was. Mrs. Norton has based a beautiful song upon this event, which is only too well attested.

The same spirit of inquiry which may rob us of some cherished illusions may also relieve human nature from an unmerited stigma of barbarism or cruelty. Thus Heyne absolves Omar from the crime of burning the library of Alexandria; and serious doubts have assailed the authenticity of the order attributed to the Legate at the sack of Beziers in 1209—'Kill them all. God will recognise his own.' M. Fournier has devoted an entire section to the charge against Charles IX., of firing on the Huguenots with an arquebuss from the window of the Louvre during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; and his verdict, after collating the authorities, is 'Not proven.' In the 'Journal' of Barbier the scene is laid in the balcony of the palace of the *Petit Bourbon*, pulled down in 1758.

Shenstone defined good writing to consist in or of 'spontaneous thought and laboured expression.' Many famous sayings comprise these two elements of excellence; the original writer or speaker furnishing the thought, and the chronicler the expression. When the omission, addition, or alteration of a word or two will give point and currency to a phrase, or even elevate a platitude into wit and poetry, the temptation to the historian or biographer seems irresistible.

Chateaubriand, in his *Analyse Raisonnée de l'Histoire de France*, relates that Philip the Sixth, flying from the field of Crecy, arrived late at night before the gates of the Castle of Broye, and on being challenged by the chatelain, cried out, '*Ouvrez; c'est la*

* 'The Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence,' chap. ii.

fortune de la France ('Open; it is the fortune of France')—'a finer phrase than that of Cæsar in the storm; magnanimous confidence, equally honourable to the subject and the monarch, and which paints the grandeur of both in the monarchy of Saint Louis.' The received authority for this phrase was Froissart, and it will be found faithfully reproduced in the old English translation of Lord Berners. The genuine text is now admitted to be—'*Ouvrez, ouvrez, c'est l'infortuné Roi de France*'—('Open, open; it is the unfortunate King of France'). Buchon, the learned editor of the French Chronicles, hastened to Chateaubriand with the discovery, and suggested the propriety of a correction in the next edition of his book, but found the author of the '*Genius of Christianity*' bent on remaining *splendide mendax* and insensible to the modest merit of truth.

Chateaubriand was no less zealous for the authenticity of Francis the First's famous note to his mother after the battle of Pavia: '*Tout est perdu fors l'honneur*,' which, till recently, rested on tradition and popular belief. The real letter has been printed by M. Champollion, from a manuscript journal of the period, and begins thus:—

'Madame,—Pour vous advertir comment se porte le ressort de mon infortune, de toutes choses n' m'est demouré que l'honneur et la vie qui est sauvé, et pour ce que en nostre adversité cette nouvelle vous fera quelque resconfort, j'ay prié qu'on me laissât pour escrire ces lettres, ce qu'on m'a agréablement accordé.'

M. Fournier suggests that the current version may be traced to the Spanish historian, Antonio de Vera, who translates the alleged billet: '*Madama, toto se ha perdido sino es la honra.*'

In a note to the '*Henriade*,' Voltaire says that Henry the Fourth wrote thus to Crillon:

'Pends-toi, brave Crillon; nous avons combattu à Arques, et tu n'y étais pas. Adieu, brave Crillon; je vous aime à tort et à travers.'

The real letter to Crillon was written from the camp before Amiens seven years after the affair of Arques, and is four times as long. It begins:—

'Brave Crillon, Pendes-vous de n'avoir este près de moy, lundi dernier, à la plus belle occasion,' &c., &c.

Henry seems to have been in the habit of telling his friends to hang themselves, for there is extant another billet of his, in the same style, to one who had lost an eye:—

'Harambure, Pendes-vous de ne vous être trouvé près de moy en un combat que nous avons eu contre les ennemys, où nous avons fait rage,' &c. 'Adieu, Borgne.'

The naval history of England affords a striking example of the

the same sympathising spirit of noble emulation. 'See,' cried Nelson (at Trafalgar), pointing to the Royal Sovereign as she steered right for the centre of the enemy's line, cut through it, and engaged a three-decker, 'see how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action.' Collingwood, delighted at being first in the heat of the fire, and knowing the feelings of his commander and old friend, turned to his captain, and exclaimed, 'Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here!'

Strange to say, the French historians have once given credit for an honourable action, which was never performed, to Englishmen. The President Henault relates that an English governor had agreed with Du Guesclin to surrender a place on a given day if he was not relieved, and that, Du Guesclin's death occurring in the interval, the governor came out with his principal officers at the time fixed, and laid the keys on the coffin of the Constable. Unluckily a contemporary chronicle has been produced, in which it is stated that the garrison tried to back out, and were brought to reason by a threat to put the hostages to death.

Froissart relates in touching detail the patriotic self-devotion of Eustache de Saint Pierre and his five companions, who (he says) delivered up the keys of Calais to Edward the Third, bareheaded, with halters round their necks, and would have been hanged forthwith but for the intervention of the Queen. The story had been already doubted by Hume on the strength of another contemporary narrative, in which the King's generosity and humanity to the inhabitants are extolled; when (in 1835) it was named as the subject of a prize-essay by an antiquarian society in the north of France, and the prize was decreed to M. Clovis Bolard, a Calais man, who took part against Saint Pierre. The controversy was revived in 1854 in the '*Siècle*,' by a writer who referred to documents in the Tower as establishing that Saint Pierre had been in connivance with the besiegers, and was actually rewarded with a pension by Edward.

On the other hand, the account given by Froissart of the return of the French King John (the captive at Poitiers) to England, by no means bears out the chivalrous turn given to it in the *Biographie Universelle*. On hearing that his son, the Duke of Anjou, left as hostage, had broken faith, the King, says the writer, resolved at once to go back, and constitute himself prisoner at London, replying to all the objections of his council, that 'if good faith were banished from the rest of the world, it should be found in the mouths of kings.' Froissart attributes the journey to a wish to see the King and Queen of England.

* Southey's Nelson, ch. 9.

'Some,' remarks M. Michelet, 'pretend that John only went to get rid of the *ennui* caused by the sufferings of France, or to see some fair mistress.'

The adoption of the Garter for the name and symbol of the most distinguished order of knighthood now existing, is still involved in doubt. The incident to which it is popularly attributed was first mentioned by Polydore Virgil, who wrote nearly 200 years after its alleged occurrence. The age of the Countess of Salisbury is objected by M. Fournier, but there is much more force to our minds in the established fact that her husband died in consequence of bruises received at the jousts preceding the foundation of the order; nor is it likely that such an incident would have been suppressed by Froissart, who makes no allusion to it, although he is the principal authority for her amour with the King. Polydore Virgil's history appeared in 1536. In 1527, at the investiture of Francis the First, John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, in his address to the new knight, stated that Richard Cœur de Lion had once, on the inspiration of Saint George, distinguished some chosen knights by causing them to tie a thong or garter round the leg. Camden and others suggest that Edward the Third, in remembrance of this event, gave the garter as the signal for a battle, probably Crecy, in which he proved victorious. But the very number and variety of these speculations show that the real origin of the symbol cannot be traced. The motto is equally unaccountable, although as fit for the purpose as any other maxim or apophthegm, whether connected with a tale of gallantry or not.*

As numerous questions of authenticity are made to turn on the want of contemporary testimony when it might reasonably be expected to be forthcoming, it may be as well to call attention to what Varnhagen von Ense notes in his 'Diary':

'Humboldt confirms the opinions I have more than once expressed, that too much must not be inferred from the silence of authors. He adduces three important and perfectly undeniable matters of fact, as to which no evidence is to be found where it would be most anticipated:—In the archives of Barcelona, no trace of the triumphal entry of Columbus into that city; in Marco Polo, no allusion to the Chinese Wall; in the archives of Portugal, nothing about the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, in the service of that Crown.' †

* See 'Memorials of the Order of the Garter,' &c. By G. F. Beltz, Lancaster Herald. London, 1841. The various suggestions and theories of Ashmole and others, with the evidence, are carefully reviewed in the Preface. Recent and remarkable as was the adoption of the Tricolor, its origin is already involved in doubt.

† 'Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense,' &c. 3rd edit., p. 57. 'We have read books called Histories of England under the reign of George II., in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned.'—(Macaulay.)

In Grafton's *Chronicles*, comprising the reign of King John, there is no mention of *Magna Charta*. But it has been suggested that the period of publication (1562) and his office of printer to Queen Elizabeth may account for the omission.

Humboldt's remarks refer to a reading at Madame Recamier's, in which he had pointed out some inaccuracies in the received accounts of the discovery of America. Robertson states that 'Columbus promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request (to turn back), provided they would accompany him and obey his command for three days longer, and if during that time land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course towards Spain.' A closer examination of the authorities has shown that no such promise was given or required.* Robertson accepts without questioning the traditional account of Charles the Fifth's celebrating his own obsequies in his lifetime, as well as that of his fondness for mechanical contrivances:—

'He was particularly curious in the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the mere vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.' †

Mr. Stirling and M. Mignet are at issue as to the credibility of the alleged obsequies; and although they both state the predilection of the retired Emperor for mechanics, it is very unlikely that the variations in his clocks led him to any reflection bordering on toleration or liberality; for almost with his dying breath he enjoined the persecution of heretics; and we learn from Mr. Stirling, that 'In taking part in the early religious troubles of his reign, it was ever his regret that he did not put Luther to death when he had him in his power.' At all events, the tradition may have suggested Pope's couplet, although he has given a different turn to the thought—

'Tis with our judgments as our watches; none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own.'

It is related of Raleigh, that, having vainly endeavoured to ascertain the rights of a quarrel that fell out beneath his window, he exclaimed against his own folly in endeavouring to write the

* See Humboldt's '*Géographie du Nouveau Continent*,' vol. i.

† Robertson's '*Charles the Fifth*,' book xii. Compare Stirling's '*Cloister Life of the Emperor*,' and Mignet's '*Charles Quint*.' Sir Condy's rehearsal of his own wake in '*Castle Rackrent*' is said to be founded upon fact.

true history of the world. We have found no authority for this anecdote, and the famous one of his cloak first occurs in Fuller's 'Worthies.' When Sir Robert Walpole, on being asked what he would have read to him, replied: 'Not history, for that I know to be false,' he was probably thinking less of the difficulty that struck Raleigh, than of the presumption of some writers of his day, in pretending to be at home in the councils of princes, and to be perfectly acquainted with the hidden springs of his own measures or policy.

In France, writers of eminence have openly professed their indifference to strict accuracy. Besides the memorable *Mon siège est fait* of Vertot, we find Voltaire, on being asked where he had discovered a startling fact, replying, 'Nowhere; it is a frolic (*espièglerie*) of my imagination.' The frolic was, that, when the French became masters of Constantinople in 1204, they danced with the women in the sanctuary of the church of Sainte Sophia. Some modern French historians have not disdained to follow in his track.

'Like old Voltaire, who placed his greatest glory
In cooking up an entertaining story,
Who laughed at Truth whene'er his simple tongue
Would snatch amusement from a tale or song.'

We should like to know whether M. Lamartine had any warrant beyond his own rich imagination for these passages in his description of the battle of Waterloo:—

'He (Wellington) gallops towards two of his dragoon regiments drawn up on the edge of the ridge. He has the curbs of the bridles taken off, so that the animal, carried away by the descent and the mass, without the hand of the rider being able even involuntarily to check it, may throw itself with an irresistible rush and weight on the French cavalry—a desperate manœuvre, worthy of the Numidians against the Romans, and which the size and impetuosity of the British horse rendered more desperate still. He has brandy served out to the riders to intoxicate the man with fire, whilst the trumpet intoxicates the horse, and he himself hurls them, at full speed, on the slopes of Mont St. Jean.' *

A little farther on, we find the Duke on his eighth and wounded horse, although it is notorious that Copenhagen carried him freshly through the entire battle; and towards the end—

'He sends from rank to rank to his intrepid Scotch the order to let themselves be approached without firing, to pierce the breasts of the horses with the point of the bayonet, to slip even under the feet of the animals, and to rip them up (*éventrer*) with the short and broad

* 'Histoire de la Restauration,' vol. iv. p. 246.

sword of these children of the North. The Scotch obey, and themselves on foot charge our regiments of horse.'

M. de Lamartine is a poet, and may have imported in his own despite a flight or two of original invention into his prose. But M. Thiers is a grave statesman as well as a brilliant and picturesque narrator. His information is derived principally, almost exclusively, from French sources. His point of view is essentially and invariably French, and his works afford an unimpeachable test of the kind of history most esteemed by his countrymen. The scene is the Channel before Boulogne, where, on the 26th August, 1804, a squadron of French gunboats were engaged against an English squadron of frigates and other vessels.

'The Emperor, who was in his barge (*canot*) with Admiral Brieux, the Ministers of War and Marine, and several Marshals, dashed into the middle of the gunboats engaged, and, to set them an example, had himself steered right upon the frigate, which was advancing at full sail. He knew that the soldiers and sailors, admirers of his audacity on land, sometimes asked one another whether he would be equally audacious at sea. He wished to edify them on this point, and to accustom them to brave recklessly the large vessels of the enemy. He had his barge taken far in advance of the French line, and *as near as possible to the frigate*. The frigate, seeing the imperial flag flying in the barge, and guessing perhaps its precious cargo, had reserved its fire. The Minister of Marine, trembling for the result to the Emperor of such a bravado, tried to throw himself upon the bar of the rudder to change the direction; but an imperious gesture of Napoleon stopped the movement of the minister, and they continued their course towards the frigate. Napoleon was watching it, glass in hand, when all of a sudden it discharged its reserved broadside, and covered with its projectiles the boat which carried Cæsar and his fortune. *No one was wounded, and they were quit for the splashing of the shot*. All the French vessels, witnesses of this scene, had advanced as fast as they could to sustain the fire, and to cover, by passing, the barge of the Emperor. The English division, assailed in its turn by a hail of balls and grape, began to retrograde little by little. It was pursued, but it returned anew, tacking towards the land. During this interval a second division of gunboats, commanded by Captain Pevrieu, had raised anchor and borne down upon the enemy. Very soon the frigate, much damaged and steering with difficulty, was obliged to gain the open sea. The corvettes followed this movement of retreat, several much shattered, and the cutter so riddled that it was seen to go down. Napoleon quitted Boulogne enchanted with the combat in which he had taken part, the rather that the secret intelligence coming from the coast of England gave him the most satisfactory details on the moral and material effect this combat had produced.' *

According

* 'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire,' vol. v. p. 229. Compare James's 'Naval History,' vol. iii. p. 333. This writer deduces from the affair that the gunboats could

According to the English version, the damage to our ships arose from their pursuing the French under the fire of the batteries. But the internal evidence of the narrative is enough. By way of *pendant* to Napoleon attacking an English frigate in his barge, M. Thiers should reproduce, as the representation of an historical fact, the picture, once in high favour for snuff-boxes, of a line of English soldiers recoiling from a wounded French grenadier, who waves his sword with one knee upon the ground. Beyle (Stendhal), who was with the French army during the whole of the Russian campaign of 1812, ridicules the notion of speeches on battle-fields, and declares that he once saw a French general lead a gallant charge with a piece of coarse ribaldry; adding, that it answered the purpose perfectly well. It is certain that most of those reported by historians were never made at all. The Duke of Wellington did not say 'Up, Guards, and at them,' at Waterloo; he never took refuge in a square; and his 'What will they say in England if we are beat?' was addressed to some officers of his staff, not to a shattered regiment. The best of his biographers, the Chaplain-General, relates that, in the affair of the 11th December, 1813, the Duke rode up to the 85th regiment, and said, in his (the Subaltern's) hearing,—'You must keep your ground, my lads, for there is nothing behind you.'

'Follow my white plume,' the traditional rallying cry of Henry IV., is quite consistent with Brantome's description of him at Coutras, 'with long and great plumes, floating well, saying to his people, *Ostez-vous devant moy, ne m'offusquez pas, car je veux paroistre.*' The noble speech given to Henri de la Roche Jaquelein is too finished and antithetical for the unpretending character of the man: *Si j'avance, suivez-moi: si je tombe, vengez-moi: si je recule, tuez-moi.* This young hero had no quality of a leader beyond chivalrous gallantry and courage, and looked to no higher reward for his services, if the Royalist cause had triumphed, than the command of a regiment of hussars. The real hero of the Vendean insurrection was the Marquis de Lescure. His widow married Henri's brother before the publication of her Memoirs, and thus the name of La Roche Jaquelein has become imperishably associated with the most brilliant episode of the Revolution.

Voltaire makes Condé throw his baton of command over the enemies' palisades at Fribourg. Other accounts say 'his marshal's baton.' He was not a marshal; he did not carry a baton; and

could not face the cruisers, adding, 'None knew this better than Napoleon. The affair of 25th August, of which he had *unintentionally* been an eye-witness, convinced him.'

what

what he threw was his cane. A finer trait is told of Douglas, who, on his way to the Holy Land with Bruce's heart, took part with the Spaniards against the Moors, and lost his life in a skirmish:—

'When he found the enemy press thick round him, he took from his neck the Bruce's heart, and speaking to it as he would have done to the king had he been alive, he said, "Pass first in fight as thou wert wont to do, and Douglas will follow thee or die." He then threw the king's heart among the enemy, and rushing forward to the place where it fell, was slain. His body was found lying above the silver case.*

An attentive bystander reports a very sensible speech as made by Condé at Lens. 'My friends, take courage; we cannot help fighting to-day; it will be useless to draw back; for I promise you, that, brave men or cowards, all shall fight, the former with good will, the latter perforce.' The authenticity of the brief dialogue between the spokesmen of the French and English Guards at Fontenoy is now generally allowed. Lord Charles Hay, hat in hand, steps forward, and says with a bow, 'Gentlemen of the French Guards, fire.' M. d'Auteroches advances to meet him, and saluting him with the sword, says, 'Monsieur, we never fire first; do you fire.' It is a question whether, with the musketry of 1745, the first fire was an advantage or the contrary.†

Lord Macaulay tells an anecdote of Michael Godfrey, the Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, who was standing near King William and under fire at the siege of Namur. 'Mr. Godfrey,' said William, 'you ought not to run these hazards; you are not a soldier; you can be of no use to us here.' 'Sir,' answered Godfrey, 'I run no more hazard than your Majesty.' 'Not so,' said William; 'I am where it is my duty to be, and I may without presumption commit my life to God's keeping; but you—' While they were talking a cannon-ball from the ramparts laid Godfrey dead at the King's feet.‡

When Charles XII. of Sweden was entering his barge to lead

* 'Tales of a Grandfather,' vol. i. c. xi.

† The prowess of Dr. Adam Ferguson, the chaplain of the 42nd Highlanders, or Black Watch, who charged with his men at the battle of Fontenoy, in flagrant defiance of the prohibition of his colonel, is related 'Quart. Rev.,' vol. xxxvi. p. 196. He was very young at the time, and the Celtic blood is hot; but it is possible that he acted upon the same principle as another chaplain of Highlanders (mentioned by Dr. Carlyle), who accompanied his regiment in America in a very dangerous charge, not from love of fighting, but because the soldiers were young and had never been in action before, and he thought that his presence (being the only officer well known to them) would give them confidence.

‡ Macaulay's 'History,' vol. iv. p. 589.

the attack on Copenhagen, he found the French ambassador at his side. 'Monsieur,' he said, 'you have no business with the Danes: you will go no farther, if you please.' 'Sire,' replied the Comte de Guiscard, 'the King, my master, has ordered me to remain near your Majesty. I flatter myself you will not banish me to-day from your court, which has never been so brilliant.' So saying, he gave his hand to the King, who leaped into the barge, followed by Count Piper and the Ambassador.

The dying words of Wolfe are well known, and well authenticated. On hearing an officer exclaim—'See how they run,' he eagerly raised himself on his elbow, and asked—'Who run?' 'The enemy,' answered the officer; 'they give way in all directions.' 'Then God be praised,' said Wolfe, after a short pause; 'I shall die happy.'* His antagonist, the Marquis of Montcalm, received a mortal wound whilst endeavouring to rally his men, and expired the next day. When told that his end was approaching, he answered—'So much the better; I shall not live then to see the surrender of Quebec.'

Napoleon stated at St. Helena that Desaix fell dead at Marengo without a word. Thiers makes him say to Boudet, his chief of division,—'Hide my death, for it might dishearten the troops'—the dying order of the Constable Bourbon at the taking of Rome. The speech ordinarily given to Desaix, and inscribed on his monument, is confessedly a fiction. What passed between him and Napoleon, when they first met upon the field, has been differently related. One version is that Desaix exclaimed—'The battle is lost!' and that Napoleon replied—'No; it is won: advance directly.' That of M. Thiers is, that a circle was hastily formed round the two generals, and a council of war held, in which the majority were for retreating. The First Consul was not of this opinion, and earnestly pressed Desaix for his, who then, looking at his watch, said—'Yes, the battle is lost; but it is only three o'clock; there is still time enough to gain one.' Here again a kind of parallel is suggested. The Baron de Sirot, who commanded the French reserve at Rocroy, was told that the battle was lost. 'No, no!' he exclaimed, 'it is not lost; for Sirot and his companions have not yet fought.'† Desaix, it will be remembered, had turned back without waiting for orders on hearing the firing; and M. Thiers thinks that if Grouchy had done the same at Waterloo, the current of the world's history might have been reversed. He is welcome to think so; but the Hero of a Hundred

* 'History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht.' By Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), vol. iv. ch. xxxv. His Lordship has rescued two other curious and now familiar anecdotes of Wolfe from oblivion or neglect.

† 'The Life of Condé.' By Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), p. 20.

Fights thought differently. A drawn battle and a short respite were the very utmost Grouchy's timely arrival could have gained for his Imperial master.

All the flashes of instinctive heroism and prescient thirst of glory which are commonly ascribed to Nelson are indisputable. It has been vaguely rumoured, indeed, that the signal originally proposed by him at Trafalgar was—'Nelson expects every man to do his duty,' and that *England* was substituted at the suggestion of Hardy or Blackwood. According to the authentic narrative of Southey, Nelson asked Captain Blackwood if he did not think there was a signal wanting. 'Blackwood made answer that he thought the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. The words were scarcely spoken before that signal was made which will be remembered as long as the language or even the memory of England shall endure.' Nelson's last intelligible words were—'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

Dying words and speeches present an ample field for the inventive faculties of biographers and historians. It is reported that Louis XIV.'s to Madame de Maintenon were—'We shall soon meet again;' and that she murmured—'A pleasant rendezvous he is giving me; that man never loved any one but himself.' Of Talleyrand M. Louis Blanc relates—'When the Abbé Dupanloup repeated to him the words of the Archbishop of Paris, "I would give my life for M. de Talleyrand," he replied—"He might make a better use of it," and expired.'

Do such narratives command implicit faith? Did Goethe die calling for light? or Frederic Schlegel with *aber* (*but*) in his mouth? or Rabelais exclaiming, 'Drop the curtain; the farce is played out'? or Chesterfield just after telling the servant, with characteristic politeness—'Give Dayrolles a chair'? or Locke remarking to Mrs. Masham—'Life is a poor vanity'? Did the expiring Addison call the young Earl of Warwick to his bedside that he might learn 'how a Christian could die'? Was Pitt's heart broken by Austerlitz, and were the last words he uttered—'My country, oh, my country'? * George Rose, who had access to the best information, says they were; and says also that the news of the armistice after the battle of Austerlitz drove Pitt's gout from the extremities to the stomach. But the Duke of Wellington, who met Pitt at Stanmore Priory shortly after the arrival of the news, always maintained that Pitt's spirit was not by any means broken by the disappointment. On plausible grounds it has

* We have reason to believe that the precise account of what passed at Pitt's death-bed, including his last words, will be given in Earl Stanhope's forthcoming work.

been alleged that Canning's last illness was aggravated by suppressed anger at one of Lord Grey's attacks; that he had serious thoughts of being called 'up to the House of Peers to answer it; and that his dying words were, 'Give me time! give me time!' Lord Chatham made his son read to him, a day or two before he died, the passage of Pope's 'Homer' describing the death of Hector, and when he had done, said—'Read it again.'

The peculiar taste and tendencies of our neighbours across the Channel have produced a plentiful crop of melodramatic scenes, with words to match. Their revolutionary annals abound in them; many true, many apocryphal, and not a few exaggerated or false. The crew of *Le Vengeur*, instead of going down with the cry of *Vive la République*, shrieked for help, and many were saved in English boats. The bombastic phrase, *La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas*, attributed to Cambronne, who was made prisoner at Waterloo, was vehemently denied by him; and when, notwithstanding his denial, the town of Nantes was authorised by royal ordinance to inscribe it on his statue, the sons of General Michel laid formal claim to it for their father. It was invented by Rougemont, a prolific author of *mots*, two days after the battle, in the *Indépendant*.*

M. Beugnot, provisional Minister of the Interior, was the author of the eminently-successful hit in the Comte d'Artois' address at the Restoration—'Plus de divisions; la paix et la France! Je la revois, et rien n'y est changé, si ce n'est qu'il s'y trouve un Français de plus.' His Royal Highness, who had extemporised a few confused sentences, was as much surprised as any one on reading a neat little speech comprising these words in the *Moniteur*. On his exclaiming, 'But I never said it,' he was told that there was an imperative necessity for his having said it; and it became history.†

M. Seguier denied—*La cour rend des arrêts et non pas des services*. M. de Salvandy claimed—*C'est une fête Napolitaine, Monseigneur; nous dansons sur un volcan*—addressed to the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe) at a ball given to the King of Naples on the eve of the Revolution of July.

It has been the fashion of late years in France to depreciate the capacity and the wit of Talleyrand, in forgetfulness that,

* When pressed by a pretty woman to repeat the phrase he really did use, he replied,—'Ma foi, Madame, je ne sais pas au juste ce que j'ai dit à l'officier Anglais qui me criait de me rendre; mais ce qui est certain est qu'il comprenait le Français, et qu'il m'a répondu *mange*.'

† Sir Henry Bulwer adopts a somewhat different version in his 'France, Social, Literary, and Political,' vol. i. p. 131. His chapter on Wit is one of the best in a book which is of much deeper significance than its light and pleasant tone has led ordinary readers to perceive.

if the good sayings of others have been frequently lent to him, *on ne prête qu'aux riches*. M. Fournier asserts, on the written authority of Talleyrand's brother, that the only breviary used by the ex-bishop was *L'Improvisateur Français*, a compilation of anecdotes and *bon-mots*, in twenty-one duodecimo volumes. Whenever a good thing was wandering about in search of a parent, he adopted it,—amongst others, *C'est le commencement de la fin*. We have heard that the theory of royal shaving, already mentioned, was Napoleon's; and the remark on the emigrants, that they had neither learnt nor forgotten anything, has been found almost verbatim in a letter from the Chevalier de Panat to Mallet du Pan from London in 1796. When Harel wished to put a joke or witticism into circulation, he was in the habit of connecting it with some celebrated name, on the chance of reclaiming it if it took—

'He cast off his jokes as a huntsman his pack,
For he knew when he pleased he could whistle them back.'

Thus he assigned to Talleyrand in the 'Nain Jaune' the phrase: 'Speech was given to man to disguise his thoughts.' In one of Voltaire's dialogues, the capon says of men: 'They only use thought to sanction their injustice, and only employ words to disguise their thoughts.' There is also a couplet by Young:

'Where Nature's end of language is disguised,
And men talk only to conceal their mind.'

The germ of the conceit has been discovered in one of South's Sermons; and Mr. Forster puts in a claim for Goldsmith on the strength of Jack Spindle's remark in the 'Citizen of the World,' that the true use of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them. He also claims for Goldsmith a well-known joke, attributed to Sheridan on his son's remarking that he would descend a coal-pit for the pleasure of saying that he had done so, and discovers the embryo of Lord Macaulay's New Zealander in a letter from Walpole to Sir Horace Mann: 'At last some curious traveller from Lima will visit England, and give a description of the ruins of St. Paul's, like the editions of Balbec and Palmyra.'* The New Zealander first came upon the stage in 1840, in a review of Ranke's 'History of the Popes'; but the same image in a less compact shape was employed by Lord Macaulay in 1824, in the concluding paragraph of a review of Mitford's 'Greece.'†

Talleyrand

* Forster's 'Life of Goldsmith.' Second edition. Vol. i. p. 341. The remark on the true use of speech being to conceal our wants also occurs in 'The Bee,' No. 3.

† 'When travellers from some distant region shall in vain labour to decipher on some mouldering pedestal the name of our proudest chief, shall hear savage hymns

Talleyrand had frequently the adroitness or good luck to get credit for saying of others what was said against himself. Thus, *Qui ne l'adorerait ? Il est si vicieux*—was said by Montrond of him, not by him of Montrond. Again, when he told a squinting politician, who asked how things were going on, *A travers, comme vous voyez*, he can hardly have forgotten 'the frequent inkstand whizzing past his ear,' with the accompaniment of *Vil émigré, tu n'as pas le sens plus droit que le pied*.^{*} Both Rogers and Lord Brougham give him the interrogatory to the sick or dying man, who cried out that he was suffering the torments of the damned, '*Déjà ?*' M. Louis Blanc says :—

'It is also related—and it is by priests that the fact, improbable as it is, has been silently propagated—that the king (Louis Philippe) having asked M. de Talleyrand if he suffered, and the latter having answered, "Yes, like the damned," Louis-Philippe murmured this word, *Déjà ?*—a word that the dying man heard, and which he revenged forthwith by giving to one of the persons about him secret and terrible indications.'

The repartee will be found in one of Le Brun's Epigrams, and has been attributed to (amongst others) the confessor of the Abbé de Ternay and to the physician of De Retz. The French have a perfect phrensy for *mots*. No event is complete without one, bad, good, or indifferent. When Armand Carrel and Emile Girardin had taken their ground, and the seconds were loading the pistols, Carrel says to Girardin, 'If the fates are against me, Monsieur, and you write my biography, it will be honourable, won't it—that is to say, true?' 'Yes, Monsieur,' replied Girardin. This is related by M. Louis Blanc ('*Histoire des Dix Ans*') with apparent unconsciousness of its extreme discourtesy or absurdity. 'If you kill me, you won't write what is false of me?' 'No.'

On the fate of Louis Seize being put to the vote, Sièyes, provoked by the urbanity of some of his colleagues, is reported to have exclaimed *La Mort—sans phrase*. He always denied the *sans phrase*, and Lord Brougham proves from the '*Moniteur*' that he was guiltless of it. M. Mignet relates of him, that, on being asked what he did during the Reign of Terror, he made answer, '*J'ai vécu*'—'I lived.' This also he indignantly denied. Victor Hugo (in '*Marion de Lorme*') has versified another similar *mot* of the period :—

'*Le Roi à l'Angely. Pourquoi vis-tu ?
L'Angely. Je vis par curiosité.*'

hymns chaunted over some misshapen idol over the ruined dome of our proudest temple.'—*Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i. p. 188.

^{*} Words addressed by Rewbell to Talleyrand at the Council Board, quoted in a note to Canning's '*New Morality*,' in the '*Antijacobin*.'

During

During the same epoch Sièyes, in correcting the proof-sheets of a pamphlet in defence of his political conduct, read, 'I have *abjured* the Republic,' printed by mistake for *adjured*! 'Wretch!' he exclaimed to the printer, 'do you wish to send me to the guillotine?'

As regards the famous invocation to Louis XVI. on the scaffold, *Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel*, the Abbé Edgeworth frankly avowed to Lord Holland, who questioned him on the subject, that he had no recollection of having said it. It was invented for him, on the evening of the execution, by the editor of a newspaper.* During more than forty years no one dreamed of questioning Mirabeau's apostrophe to M. de Dreux Brezé. 'Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not depart unless driven out by bayonets;' ('*et que nous n'en sortirons que par la force des bayonnettes.*') On the 10th March, 1833, M. Villemain having pointedly referred to it in the Chamber of Peers, the Marquis de Dreux Brezé rose and said:—

'My father was sent to demand the dissolution of the National Assembly. He entered with his hat on, as was his duty, speaking in the king's name. This offended the Assembly, already in an agitated state. My father, resorting to an expression which I do not wish to recall, replied that he should remain covered, since he spoke in the king's name. Mirabeau did not say, *Go, tell your master*. I appeal to all who were in the Assembly, and who may happen to be present now. Such language would not have been tolerated. Mirabeau said to my father, "We are assembled by the national will; we will only go out by force (*nous n'en sortirons que par la force*)." I ask M. de Montlosier if that is correct' (M. de Montlosier gave a sign of assent). 'My father replied to M. Bailly, "I can recognise in M. Mirabeau only the deputy of the bailiwick of Aix, and not the organ of the National Assembly." The tumult increased; one man against five hundred is always the weakest. My father withdrew. Such is the truth in all its exactness.'†

Another of Mirabeau's grand oratorical effects (April 12, 1790) was based upon a plagiarism and a fable: 'I see from this window, from which was fired the fatal arquebuss which gave the signal for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.'‡ He stole the allusion from Volney. Charles the Ninth did not fire from the window in question, if he fired on the Huguenots at all.

Horne Tooke is believed to have written the speech inscribed

* Mr. Macknight quotes it with implicit faith in its authenticity.—*History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke*, vol. iii. p. 505.

† *Moniteur*, March 11, 1833.—In Bailly's 'Memoirs,' published in 1804, there is a third version.

‡ The speech is somewhat differently reported by Thiers, 'Révolution Française,' vol. i. p. 148.

on the pedestal of Beckford's statue at Guildhall, purporting to be the reply extemporized by the spirited magistrate to George the Third. He himself had no distinct recollection of the precise words; and contemporary accounts differ whether his tone and manner were becoming or unbecoming the occasion.

It is well known that the great commoner's celebrated reply to Horace Walpole (the elder), beginning, 'The atrocious crime of being a young man,' is the composition of Dr. Johnson, who was not even present when the actual reply was spoken. Only four complete speeches of Lord Chatham's have been reported with any approach to fidelity—two by Francis and two by Boyd.

When the great Duke of Marlborough was asked his authority for an historical statement, he replied, 'Shakespeare; the only History of England I ever read.' Lord Campbell, whose reading is not so limited, remarks that Shakespeare, although careless about dates, is scrupulously accurate about facts, 'insomuch that our notions of the Plantagenet reigns are drawn from him rather than from Hollinshed, Rapin, or Hume.' Accordingly he requires us to place implicit faith in the immortal bard's version of the affair between the Chief Justice and Prince Hal, even to the order or request put into the Prince's mouth on his accession to the throne:—

'Therefore still bear the balance and the sword.'

'I shall prove to demonstration,' says Lord Campbell, 'that Sir William Gascoigne survived Henry IV. several years, and actually filled the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Henry the Fifth.' 'The two records to which reference has been already made,' says Mr. Foss, in his 'Lives of the Chief Justices,' 'contain such conclusive proof that Sir William Gascoigne was not re-appointed to his place as Chief Justice, that it seems impossible that any one can maintain the contrary.' In one of these, an Issue Roll of July 1413 (four months after the accession of Henry V.), Gascoigne is described as 'late Chief Justice of the Bench of Lord Henry, father of the present King,' and the date of his successor's appointment turns out to be March 29, 1413, just eight days after Henry the Fifth's accession; from which Mr. Foss infers his especial eagerness to supersede his father's old and faithful servant. Both Lord Campbell and Mr. Foss are convinced of the occurrence of the main incidents, the blow or insult and the committal. But the story did not appear in print till 1534. Hankford, Hody, and Matcham have been started as candidates for the honour of this judicial exploit by writers of respectability; and the late Mr. Henry Drummond proves from an ancient chronicle that identically the same story was

was told of Edward the Second (while Prince of Wales) and the Chief Justice of Edward the First.

Whether Richard the Second was slain by Sir Pierce of Exton, or starved to death in Pontefract Castle, is still a question. Zealous antiquaries have doubted whether he died there at all. Halliwell, after alluding to the authorities, remarks: 'Notwithstanding this exposure (of the body) the story afterwards prevailed, and is related by Hector Boece, that Richard escaped to Scotland, where he lived a religious life, and was buried at Stirling. The probability is that the real history of Richard's death will never be unravelled.'*

Rabelais has cooperated with Shakespeare in extending the belief that Clarence was drowned in a butt of Malmsey at his own special instance and request; and in a deservedly popular compilation, the precise manner of immersion is brought vividly before the mind's eye of the rising generation by a clever woodcut.† Mr. Bayley, in his 'History of the Tower,' can suggest no better foundation for the story than the well-known fondness of Clarence for Malmsey. 'Whoever,' says Walpole, in his 'Historic Doubts,' 'can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard (the Third) helped him into it, and kept him down till he was suffocated.'

Well might Dryden say that 'a falsehood once received from a famed writer becomes traditional to posterity.' Learned antiquaries will labour in vain to clear the memory of Sir John Falstolfe, identified with Falstaff, from the imputation of cowardice, yet there is strong evidence to show that he was rather hastily substituted for Sir John Oldcastle, whose family remonstrated against the slur cast on their progenitor in 'Henry the Fourth;' and that, instead of running away (as stated in the first part of 'Henry the Fourth') at the battle of Patay, Falstolfe did his devoir bravely.‡

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc is a mere embodiment of English prejudice; yet it is not much farther from the truth than Schiller's transcendental and exquisitely poetical character of the Maid. The German dramatist has also idealised Don Carlos to an extent that renders recognition difficult; and he has flung a halo round William Tell which will cling to the name whilst Switzerland is a country or patriotism any better than a name.

* Halliwell's 'Shakespeare,' vol. ix. p. 220.

† 'Stories selected from the History of England, from the Conquest to the Revolution, for Children.' Fifteenth edition, illustrated with twenty-four woodcuts. (By the late Right Hon. J. W. Croker.) London, 1854. The plan of the 'Tales of a Grandfather' was suggested by this book.

‡ 'Journal of the British Archaeological Association,' vol. xiv. pp. 230-236. The paper was contributed by Mr. Pettigrew.

Yet just one hundred years ago (in 1760) the eldest son of Haller undertook to prove that the legend, in its main features, is the revival or imitation of a Danish one, to be found in Saxo Grammaticus. The canton of Uri, to which Tell belonged, ordered the book to be publicly burnt, and appealed to the other cantons to co-operate in its suppression—thereby giving additional interest and vitality to the question, which has been at length pretty well exhausted by German writers. The upshot is, that the episode of the apple is relegated to the domain of fable; and that Tell himself is grudgingly allowed a commonplace share in the exploits of the early Swiss patriots. Strange to say, his name is not mentioned by any contemporary chronicler of the struggle for independence.*

In a former Number we intimated an opinion that the story of Amy Robsart, as told in 'Kenilworth,' is for the most part faithful.† A pamphlet has since appeared in which its faithfulness is plausibly impugned;‡ and another opinion incidentally hazarded by us in favour of a romantic story has been perseveringly and ingeniously assailed by Mr. Charles Long; who has not yet succeeded in convincing us that 'Wild Darell' was unjustly suspected, or that Chief Justice Popham came honestly by the old mansion and wide domains of Littlecote.

Popular faith is ample justification for either poet or painter in the selection of a subject; and for this very reason we must be on our guard against the prevalent habit of confounding the impressions made by artistic skill or creative genius with facts. We cannot believe that Mazarin continued to his last gasp surrounded by a gay bevy of ladies and gallants, flirting and gambling, as represented in a popular engraving; and a double *alibi* flings a cold shade of scepticism over 'The last Moments of Leonardo da Vinci, expiring at Fontainebleau in the arms of Francis the First,' as a striking picture in the Louvre was described in the catalogue. Sir A. Callcott's picture of *Milton and his Daughters*, one of whom holds a pen as if writing to his dictation, is in open defiance of Dr. Johnson's statement that the daughters were never taught to write.

Until three or four years ago a portrait at Holland House was prescriptively revered as a speaking likeness of Addison, and

* 'Die Sage von dem Schuss des Tell. Eine historisch-kritische Abhandlung, von Dr. Julius Ludwig Ideler.' Berlin, 1836. 'Die Sage vom Tell aufs neue kritisch untersucht, von Dr. Ludwig Häusser. Eine von der philosophischen Facultat der Universität Heidelberg gekrönte Preisschrift.' Heidelberg, 1840. Another learned German, Pallacky, in his 'History of Bohemia,' has placed Zisca's skin in the same category with Tell's apple.

† 'An Inquiry into the Particulars connected with the Death of Amy Robsart (Lady Dudley),' &c. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. London, 1859.

a bust was designed after it by a distinguished sculptor. It turns out to be the copy of a portrait of Sir Andrew Fountayne, still in the possession of his descendant, who has miniatures placing the identity beyond a doubt.

Each branch of the Fine Arts has contributed its quota to the roll of unexpected successes and sudden bounds into celebrity. There is the story of Poussin impatiently dashing his sponge against his canvas, and producing the precise effect (the foam on a horse's mouth) which he had been long and vainly labouring for; and there is a similar one told of Haydn, the musical composer, when required to imitate a storm at sea. 'He kept trying all sorts of passages, ran up and down the scale, and exhausted his ingenuity in heaping together chromatic intervals and strange discords. Still Curtz (the author of the *libretto*) was not satisfied. At last the musician, out of all patience, extended his hands to the two extremities of the keys, and, bringing them rapidly together, exclaimed—"The deuce take the tempest; I can make nothing of it." "That is the very thing," exclaimed Curtz, delighted with the *truth* of the representation.* Neither Haydn nor Curtz, adds the author from whom we quote, had ever seen the sea.

The touching incident of Chantrey working for Rogers as a journeyman cabinetmaker at five shillings a day was related by himself; and a mould for butter or jelly was the work which first attracted notice to the genius of Canova.

The romance of the Bar diminishes apace before the severe eye of criticism. Erskine went on telling everybody, till he probably believed what he was telling, that his fame and fortune were established by his speech for Captain Baillie, made a few days after he had assumed the gown. 'That night,' were his words to Rogers, 'I went home and saluted my wife, with sixty-five retaining fees in my pocket.' Retaining fees are paid to the clerk at chambers, and the alleged number is preposterous. At a subsequent period we find him hurrying to his friend Reynolds with two bank-notes for 500*l.* each, his fee in the Keppel case, and exclaiming—"Voilà the nonsuit of Cowbeef." Cowbeef must have been already nonsuited if the sixty-five retaining fees, or half of them, had been paid.

Equally untenable is the notion that Lord Mansfield dashed into practice by his speech in *Cibber v. Sloper*, in reference to which he is reported to have said that he never knew the difference between no professional income and three thousand a year. From the printed reports of the trial it is clear that

* Hogarth's 'Musical History,' vol. i. p. 293.

Serjeant Eyre, instead of being seized with a fit, and so giving Murray his opportunity, made a long speech, and that Murray was the fourth counsel in the cause. It was tried in Dec. 1738, the year after the publication of Pope's couplet—

'Blest as thou art with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured in the House of Lords,'

rendered more memorable by Cibber's parody—

'Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks;
And he has chambers in the King's Bench Walks.'

In these and most other instances of the kind, it has been truly said, *the* speech was a stepping-stone, not the key-stone. Patient industry and honest self-devotion to the duties of a profession are the main elements of success.

There is no valid ground for disputing the '*Anche io sono pittore*' ('I too am a painter') of Correggio on seeing a picture by Raphael, although it has been given to others; nor the '*E pur se muove*' ('It moves notwithstanding') of Galileo, which he muttered as he rose from the kneeling posture in which he had been sentenced by the Inquisition to recant his theory of the earth's motion. Lord Brougham, M. Biot, and other admirers of this great man, however, thinking the story derogatory to him, have urged the want of direct evidence on the point. 'I could prove by a very curious passage of Bulwer's,' says M. Fournier, 'how Archimedes could not have said "Give me a *point d'appui*, and with a lever I will move the world." He was too great a mathematician for that.' We are not informed where this very curious passage is to be found; and Archimedes asked for a place to stand on, not a fulcrum, nor did he specify the instrument to be employed.*

Sir David Brewster, in his excellent *Life of Newton*, says that neither Pemberton nor Whiston, who received from Newton himself the history of his first ideas of gravity, records the story of the falling apple. It was mentioned, however, to Voltaire by Catherine Barton, Newton's niece, and to Mr. Green by Mr. Martin Folkes, the President of the Royal Society. '*We saw the apple tree in 1814, and brought away a portion of one of its roots.*'† The concluding remark reminds us of Washington Irving's hero, who boasted of having parried a musket bullet with a small sword, in proof of which he exhibited

* 'Archimedes one day asserted to King Hiero, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he had in his demonstrations, he ventured to affirm that if there was another earth besides this we inhabit, by going into that he would move this wherever he pleased.'—Langhorne's *Plutarch*.

† 'Life of Newton,' vol. ii. p. 27, note.

the sword a little bent in the hilt. The apple is supposed to have fallen in 1665.

Sometimes an invented pleasantry passes current for fact, like the asparagus and *point d'huile* of Fontenelle, invented by Voltaire as an illustration of how Fontenelle would have acted in such a contingency. One day, when Gibbon was paying his addresses to Mademoiselle Curchod (afterwards Madame Necker), she asked why he did not go down on his knees to her. 'Because you would be obliged to ring for your footman to get me up again.' This is the sole foundation for the story of his actually falling on his knees, and being unable to get up. There is another mode in which a mystification, or a joke, may create or perpetuate a serious error. Father Prout (Mahony) translated several of the 'Irish Melodies' into Greek and Latin verse, and then jocularly insinuated a charge of plagiarism against the author. Moore was exceedingly annoyed, and remarked to a friend who made light of the trick: 'This is all very well for you London critics; but, let me tell you, my reputation for originality has been gravely impeached in the provincial newspapers on the strength of these very imitations.' Lauder's fraud imposed on Johnson, and greatly damaged Milton for a period. Diligent inquiry has brought home to a M. de Querlon the verses attributed to Mary Queen of Scots, beginning:—

'Adieu, plaisant pays de France!
Oh, ma patrie,
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance,' &c.

Cicero complained that funeral panegyrics had contributed to falsify the Roman annals, and *éloges* have done the same ill service to the French.

Party malice has poisoned the streams of tradition, whilst carelessness, vanity, or the wanton love of mischief has troubled them. Sir Robert Walpole was accused of the worst cynicism of corruption on the strength of his alleged maxim: 'All men have their price.' What he really said was: 'All *these* men have their price,' alluding to the so-called 'patriots' of the opposition. Many still believe Lord Plunket to have denounced history as an old almanac, although his real expressions notoriously were, that those who read history, like certain champions of intolerance, treat it as an old almanac. Torn from the context, Lord Lyndhurst's description of the Irish as 'aliens in blood, language, and religion,' sounds illiberal and impolitic. Taken with the context, it is merely a rhetorical admission and application of one of O'Connell's favourite topics for Repeal, when he wound up every speech by reminding his 'hereditary bondsmen',

men' that they had nothing in common with their Saxon and Protestant oppressors.

Hero worship pushed to extravagance, as it recently has been by one popular writer in particular, is quite as mischievous as the spirit of depreciation and incredulity. 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men;' or, rather, the world is required to accept no proof of greatness but success. Voltaire illustrates the matter by three examples. 'You carry Cæsar and his fortunes;' but if Cæsar had been drowned. 'And so would I, were I Parmenio;' but if Alexander had been beaten. 'Take these rags, and return them to me in the Palace of St. James;*' but Charles Edward was beaten. Nelson's early boast, that some time or other he would have a gazette to himself, would be remembered (if remembered at all) as a mere display of youthful vanity, if he had been killed at the commencement of his career; and to all outward seeming, the ebullition of conceit is rarely distinguishable from the prompting of genius or the self-assertion of desert. In strange contrast to Nelson, Wellington had so little of either quality, that, when a captain, he applied to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Camden) for an Irish Commissionership of Customs, with the view of retiring from the army.

If the question is, how cherished and elevating impressions may be needlessly impaired, it should be observed that almost all heroes and men of genius suffer more or less whenever they are brought down from their pedestals and compelled to mingle with the crowd. 'In the common occurrences of life,' writes Wolfe, 'I own I am not seen to advantage.' Yet it is precisely in the common occurrences of life that Mr. Thackeray insists on exhibiting him; and the utmost skill of this accomplished painter of manners has been vainly exerted to obviate the depreciating effects. The impression conveyed in 'The Virginians' of Washington, Franklin, Dr. Johnson, and Richardson, is equally unfavourable, and for the same reason. They are introduced doing what they did no better (if not worse) than ordinary mortals; and their images are brought home to us by peculiarities of dress and personal appearance, which were against all of them, except Washington. All accounts agree that Clive's person was ungraceful, that his harsh features were

* 'This is a fresh example of Voltaire's mode of dealing with facts. His shoes being very bad, Kingsburgh provided him with a new pair, and taking up the old ones said, "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely settled at St. James's. I will then introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof." He smiled, and said, "Be as good as your word."'—*Account of the Escape of the Young Pretender*, first published in Boswell's 'Johnson.'

hardly

hardly redeemed from vulgar ugliness by their commanding expression, and that he was ridiculously fond of dress. In a letter to his friend Mr. Orme, he says: 'Imprimis, what you can provide must be of the best and finest you can get for love or money: two hundred shirts—the wristbands worked; some of the ruffles worked with a border either in squares or points, and the rest plain; stocks, neckcloths, and handkerchiefs in proportion.' Surely the most consummate master of the prose epic, whose scenes, exclusively domestic, should be laid in England, could not meddle with the hero of Arcot and Plassey without degrading him. Or, supposing the novelist to deal only with the heroes of the tongue and pen, can he hope, by dint of versatility and comprehensiveness, to identify himself with all the leading spirits of one epoch after another so as to make each speak in character: to be Swift, Addison, Pope, Prior, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Bolingbroke, or Burke, Johnson, Franklin, Goldsmith, Fielding, and Richardson, by turns? If he cannot, however admirable his genius, he is doing unmixed harm, as well by lowering greatness in popular estimation, as by encouraging a school, which, it has been wittily said, bids fair to be to literature what Madame Tussaud is to art.*

Montaigne contends that, in treating of manners and motives, fabulous incidents, provided they be possible, serve the purpose as well as true. They may, if they are only wanted as illustrations; but to argue from them as from proofs, is to repudiate the inductive philosophy, and resort to the worst sort of *à priori* reasoning. Not long since an eminent naturalist surprised the public by a theory of canine instinct which placed it very nearly on a footing with the human understanding. This theory turned out to be based upon anecdotes of dogs, which some lads in one of the public offices had composed and forwarded to him, commonly as coming from country clergymen. Where is the difference in soundness between theories of animal nature based on such materials, and theories of human nature deduced from fictitious incidents, or, like some of Montesquieu's on government, from travellers' stories about Bantam or Japan? †

It may naturally be asked whether we have any new test of heroism or criterion of authenticity to propose? By what process is the gold to be separated from the dross? How are the genuine

* Some thoughtful remarks bearing on this topic will be found in an Essay, by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, on the Difference between Authors and their Works. It originally appeared in 'The Student.'

† 'He said, "The value of every story depends on its being true. A story is a picture of an individual, or of human nature in general: if it be false, it is a picture of nothing."'—Boswell's 'Life of Johnson.'

gems of history to be distinguished from the paste or glass imitations? Is there no spear of Ithuriel to compel counterfeits to resume their natural proportions by a touch? Or if Hotspur thought it an easy leap to 'pluck bright Honour from the pale-fac'd moon,' can it be so very difficult to drag modest Truth from the bottom of her well?

The Archbishop of Dublin, on being asked to frame some canons for determining what evidence is to be received, declared it to be impossible, and added that 'the full and complete accomplishment of such an object would confer on man the unattainable attribute of infallibility.* His celebrated pamphlet will afford little aid in the solution of the problem; for the existence of Napoleon Buonaparte was never denied in any quarter, and is affirmed by the complete concurrence of contemporary testimony. This cannot be predicated of any events or current of events with which it may be sought to establish a parallel; and it is little to the point to urge that many of the individual exploits attributed to Napoleon are as improbable as any contested period of history, sacred or profane. His Grace must also admit that the invention of printing, with modern facilities of communication, have effected an entire change in the quality and amount of evidence which may be rationally accepted as the foundation of belief. A statement published to the whole civilized world, and remaining unchallenged, stands on a widely different footing from a statement set down by a monk in his chronicle, of which nothing was heard or known beyond the precincts of his convent until after the lapse of centuries. And what were his means of information when he wrote? Probably some vague rumour or floating gossip carried from place to place by peddlars and pilgrims. There is a game called Russian Scandal, which is played in this fashion:—A. tells B. a brief narrative, which B. is to repeat to C., and C. to D., and so on. No one is to hear it told more than once, and each is to aim at scrupulous accuracy in the repetition. By the time the narrative has been transmitted from mouth to mouth six or seven times, it has commonly undergone a complete transformation. The ordinary result of the experiment will afford an apt illustration of the value of oral testimony in times when the marvellous had an especial attraction for all classes—

‘The flying rumours gather’d as they rolled;
Scarce any tale was sooner heard than told,

* ‘Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte.’ Ninth edition. London, 1839. The various known modes of testing history are enumerated and discussed by Sir George C. Lewis, in ‘A Treatise on the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics.’ In Two Volumes. 1842. Chap. 7.

And all who told it added something new,
And all who heard it made enlargements too ;
In every ear it spread, on every tongue it grew.*

But we must be on our guard against assuming that events never took place at all, because there are material differences between the best accredited accounts of their occurrence. Lord Clarendon says that the Royal Standard was erected at Nottingham on the 25th of August, 'about six of the clock of the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day.' Other contemporary writers name the 22nd as the date of this memorable event. An equal amount of discrepancy will appear on comparing the accounts given by Clarendon, Burnet, Woodrow, and Echard, of the condemnation and execution of Argyle in 1661. On what day, at what time of the day, and by whom, the intelligence of Napoleon's escape from Elba was first communicated to the members of the Vienna Congress, are doubtful questions to this hour. Yet that the standard was erected, that Argyle was executed, and that the news of Napoleon's escape did reach Vienna, will hardly be disputed by the most sceptical historians of posterity.

Again, the strangeness, or even absurdity, of an article of popular faith, is no ground for contemptuously rejecting it. 'What need you study for new subjects?' says the citizen to the speaker of the prologue in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Knight of the Burning Pestle.' 'Why could you not be contented, as well as others, with the Legend of Whittington, or the Story of Queen Eleanor, with the rearing of London Bridge upon Wool-sacks?' Why not indeed, when a learned antiquary, besides putting in a good word for Eleanor and the wool-sacks, maintains, plausibly and pleasantly, the authenticity of the legend of Whittington, and most especially the part relating to the cat?*

Amongst the least defensible of Mr. Buckle's paradoxes is his argument, that historical evidence has been impaired by writing and printing, and that unaided tradition is the safest channel for truth. He deduces this startling conclusion from equally strange premises: 1, the degradation of the bards or minstrels, the professional guardians and repositories of legendary lore, when their occupation's gone; 2, the permanent form given to floating error when embalmed in a book. But the second assumes that a story is cleared of falsehood by being

* 'The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages, exemplified in the Story of Whittington and his Cat: being an Attempt to rescue that interesting Story from the Region of Fable, and to place it in its proper Position in the legitimate History of the Country.' By the Rev. Samuel Lysons, M.A., Rector of Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, &c. &c. London and Gloucester, 1860.

handed down orally from age to age, as the purification of Thames water is promoted by length of pipe; and the first is like objecting to railroads that the old mail-coaches have been doomed to decay. It is rather against his theory that most of the disputed actions and phrases belong to the oral epoch; and fortunately no vital interest of any kind depends on their being recognised as facts.

One of Bubb Doddington's maxims was: 'When you have made a good impression, go away.' To all who dislike the illusion-destroying process, we should say: 'When you have *got* a good impression, go away; but keep it for your own private delectation, and beware of generalising on it till it has undergone the ordeal of inquiry.' After all, the greatest sacrifice imposed upon us by inquirers like M. Fournier, is the occasional abandonment of an agreeable error, amply compensated by the habits of accuracy and impartiality which they enforce, without which there can be neither hope of improvement for the future nor confidence in the past. They have rather enhanced in value than depreciated the common stock of recorded or traditional wit, genius, virtue, and heroism; and if the course of treatment to which the reader is subjected sometimes resembles the sudden application of a shower-bath, his moral and intellectual system is equally braced and invigorated by the shock.

ART. II.—*The Dramatic Works of John Lilly (the Euphuist): with Notes, and some Account of his Life and Writings.* By F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. In 2 Vols. 1858.

'WHERE the matter itself bringeth credit,' an old writer says, 'the man with his gloss winneth small commendation. It is, therefore, methinketh, a greater shew of a pregnant wit than perfect wisdom, in a thing of sufficient excellencie, to use superfluous eloquence. . . . It is a world to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than the language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, or wear finer cloth than is made of wool.' These are the words of John Lyly himself, who is commonly accused of having brought affected writing into fashion; and he wrote them in the dedication to his '*Euphuës*,' a book which has given Euphuism as a by-word for certain forms of literary affectation.

Since the brief day of its popularity this novel of '*Euphuës*' has never been reprinted. Although Lyly is a representative man in our literature, and the first of our old dramatists who left matter enough to supply one or two volumes of Dramatic Works,

Works, even his plays had not been gathered into a complete collection until they appeared the other day, edited by Mr. Fairholt, in Mr. J. R. Smith's handy and scholarly series of reprints, known as the 'Library of Old Authors.' Lyly, in fact, labelled by the compiler with a certain character, is now read only by a stray antiquary once or twice in a generation; and the traditional view of his 'Euphuës' is represented by the saying of Gifford, that it 'did incalculable mischief by vitiating the taste, corrupting the language, and introducing a spurious and unnatural mode of conversation and action.'

The work passed through ten editions in fifty-six years, and then was not again reprinted. Of these editions, the first four were issued during twenty-three years of Elizabeth's reign, the next four appeared in the reign of James, and the last two in the reign of Charles I.; the latest edition being that of the year 1636, eleven years after that king's accession. Its readers were the men who were discussing Hampden's stand against ship-money. During all this time, and for some years beyond it, worship of conceits was in this country a literary paganism, that gave strength to the strong as well as weakness to the weak, lasting from Surrey's days until the time when Dryden was in his mid career. It was of this *culte* that the Euphuist undoubtedly aspired to be the high priest, but it was not of his establishing. Still less, of course, are we entitled to accept the common doctrine that it had its origin in Donne's fashionable poetry, and in the pedantry of James I.

The general course of literature in a single country is only to be understood when it is seen in position; when we know it as the anatomist knows the course of a great nerve, from a close study of its relation to surrounding parts. While, therefore, we accept Euphuism as a convenient word for artificial wit, and Lyly as its chosen representative in England, we have to glance abroad for details that are part even of the lightest tracing of the source of that taste for conceits and strained antitheses which characterized popular literature and conversation in this country, from the first years of the reign of Elizabeth until the reign of Charles II. It is our purpose now to show that Lyly's place among English writers is not that which has been commonly assigned to him; that he is not answerable for having done incalculable mischief by vitiating the taste, or corrupting the language; but that, instead of his having led, as a writer, the taste of the day, it was the taste of the day that led him, and 'Euphuës' was popular, because it followed, not because it set, a fashion. Of this fashion we shall find the origin in Italy. The higher influences of Italian literature upon our own during the reigns of
Henry

Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, through the direct study of one great author by another, have been often recognized; but of the influence of fashionable Italian literature on the fancy of the English court, and of the extent and character of this indirect influence upon our polite literature, something has yet to be said. It will be also just that while we found upon John Lyly's writing an investigation of the source of English literary affectation, and deprive that author of the credit or discredit he has had for an extent of influence that he did not possess, we should restore to him a credit that is really his own, and of which he has been deprived for upwards of two centuries, by showing what was the true purport of his 'Euphuës, or the Anatomy of Wit.' Of late years a common impression of the character of that work may have been derived from Sir Walter Scott's first unsuccessful novel, the 'Monastery,' in which Sir Piercie Shafton, the Euphuist, talks of his 'Anatomy of Wit' as if it were a cookery-book of language for the use of dainty speakers. His eloquence is of the kind that calls an ass 'the long-eared grazier of the common,' which is hardly to be considered English Euphuism of the court of Queen Elizabeth, but is the Euphuism of the Hôtel Rambouillet. There, Arthénice presided over an Arcadian Academy, to which a night-cap was not a nightcap, but '*le complice innocent du mensonge*.'

Italian influences had wrought also upon literature in France, and the *précieuses ridicules* were representative folk in their way. French refinements tended to a tight-lacing of the language in a dictionary carefully devised as stays, which are to this day supposed to give it a fine figure and material support. Broad-chested English has allowed its lungs free play, and will be strapped up in the leather-covering of no man's dictionary. Yet it happened—and we shall not stray from our argument, though we at once follow out this sequence of events in France—that the refining and settling of the French language agreed in point of time with the best days of the age of Louis Quatorze. The material strength of France then seemed to predominate, and there was associated with it, as usual, a higher reach of literary power. French literature held for a season the first rank in Europe, and exercised the authority due to its position. There was a determination of French wit towards criticism, and in the weak days of our Restoration there could be no critics for us like the French. A French influence was then exerted upon our literature, blended in Charles the Second's time, upon the stage at least, with influence of Spain. This brought about the death of all the Euphuism that was immediately traceable to an Italian source. The new Euphuism, if such it may be called, aimed, on French prompting, at a verbal nicety of which Addison's English

English is the perfected expression. Until the next turn in the public taste, Queen Anne's reign therefore was considered our Augustan age.

The period of Dryden's manhood corresponds with the period of change from the Euphuism of conceits taught us by Italy to the new forms imposed upon us by the growing literary strength of France. In Dryden himself, true Englishman as he was, the change may be studied. He began by finding tears in the small-pox pustules that rose on the body of Lord Hastings, or gems sent to adorn his skin, or—

‘No comet need foretell his change drew on,
Whose corpse might seem a constellation;’

but he lived to exert critical rule under the new system, a Saxon writer, English to the uttermost, who had made his own all that was good in the spirit, while he scorned slavery to the fashion, that prevailed.

Our intention is to discuss what we believe to have been the true source of that form of literary affectation which has typical expression in the works of Lyly, and which exercised its influence for better as well as for worse on English literature to the time of Dryden. We shall endeavour also to arrive at a just estimate of Lyly's ‘Euphues,’ and ascertain how far the common view of the nature of that work, and of the effect it produced on the public, is untrue. Then, passing with but a word or two over the period during which the influence of France was dominant, we must not end the argument without brief notice of the tendency towards affected writing in the popular literature of our own day.

It was not by right of their literature alone that the Italians of the sixteenth century, claiming the first rank in civilization, spoke of the outer nations, after the old Roman fashion, as barbarians. Cardan, describing to his countrymen his visit to the Court of Edward VI., said of the English that ‘in dress they are like the Italians, for they are glad to boast themselves nearly allied to them, and therefore study to imitate as much as possible their manner and their clothes. Certain it is that all the barbarians of Europe love the Italians more than any race among themselves.’ He hinted that ‘perhaps these people do not know our wickedness;’ but there were Englishmen then living quite ready to cry, with the King's tutor, shame against ‘the enchantments of Circe, brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England.’ Even our teachers themselves, we are told, certified our attainments with a proverb, saying an Italianate Englishman is an incarnate devil.

But Italy had earned her predominance. The strong life of commercial Florence had, in the fourteenth century, entered into
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the mind of a large part of Europe. Chaucer read Dante, and was influenced by Petrarch and Boccaccio, as Spenser afterwards by the first masters of sustained romantic song. The strong action of Italy upon old English and Elizabethan writing was, however, of two very distinct kinds: one was direct, the other reflex. At first, in Chaucer's time, only the direct influence concerns our literary history. No printing-press enticed the vacant mind to busy itself with the blackening of paper. Foreign travel, little known as an indulgence, took chiefly the direction of Jerusalem, and was then undertaken rather on religious grounds than for the mere airing of the wits. When Englishmen kept house, only the fame of the great Italian poets reached them from beyond the sea; but when they went, in search of good society, to Italy itself, they were lost in the midst of the servile drove of imitators, and became part of the herd. When the depression of mind that accompanied our civil wars was yielding to a new activity of thought, and the revival of letters in Italy was making itself felt at the Court of Henry VIII., to visit Italy was the desire alike of the scholar and the courtier. Upon the best minds, travelled or untravelled, the direct and wholesome influence of Italian poetry and scholarship was still conspicuous. It is hardly necessary to re-quote the well-known sentences from Puttenham, which record how 'at the close of the same King's reign sprung up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder and Henry Earl of Surrey were the two chieftains; who, having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the school of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it had been before, and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our English metre and style.' Puttenham also more particularly calls these poets students 'of their master Francis Petrarch.' These facts, indeed, belong to a well-recognised part of literary history on which we do not dwell. We attend rather to the indirect influence, the action upon our literature, of Italian books and manners, as they were reflected in the tastes and habits of the Court from which our authors had to secure patronage. For in this it is that we find a beginning of the history of English literary affectation.

The prevalence of a poetic element in the Italian character was of itself dangerous to foreigners of colder blood who went to Italy for inspiration. In that land of song, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was still to be heard the complaint made by Petrarch generations earlier, that the very tailors and shoemakers stitched rhymes and cobbled verse. Commentators
upon

upon Petrarch issued forth out of the printing-offices by dozens at a time, and were to be heard by thousands discoursing in society. His words were picked over for allegories, and his book of verse, weighted with fanciful interpretations, was disgraced into a pattern-book for all tailors of rhyme, a *Follet* for the literary milliner who set the fashion after which the luxury of idleness should be attired. Thus Petrarch unwittingly became a father of conceits. When, after the death of Leo X., the Florentine academicians, sorely punished for political conspiracy, were forced to confine their energies to literature, verbal haggling over Petrarch was their chief delight. Great poets were arising. The romantic epic, the pastoral, the satire, even the drama, all were dropping their first fruits upon the rich Italian soil; but ready rhetoric, of sentiment determined to be clever and not caring to be true, still yielded the husks eaten by the mob alike of the palace and the street. It was the Altissimo Cristoforo, and it was Aretino who was the Unico, for whose sake, when he recited in Rome, shops were closed and houses blazed with light.

What had been, was. Greek literature had travelled the same way. The clever but false rhetoric of Demetrius Phalereus was the hectic flush of eloquence in a decline. The later poets cut up history and science into decoration for their verses. Philetas became erudite in elegiacs, and Euphorion thought truth most acceptable when set out with fable. So it had been also in Rome. There was a thought of his time, not an original folly, in Caligula's proposal to destroy the works of Virgil, bare of ingenuity and learning, and of Livy, cold and negligent of style. Conceits were prized in Rome, and daintily-smoothed periods were admired less for their wit, than for the words arranged so sweetly, that, as one boasted of his own prose works, people might sing them and dance to them. Seneca was the cause of this, as much as Lyly was the cause of Euphuism. Paterculus, when he endeavoured to account for such a change, suggested that the nurse of genius, emulation, forced men who found themselves unable to pass their forefathers by natural walking upon the high-road of literature, to quit that tract 'for paths hitherto unexplored, where novelty might lift them from obscurity, and make their names immortal.' There is undoubted beauty in this fall of a literature. It is like that of the autumn woods, where an excessive richness and variety of colouring precedes the dreariness of winter.

There was nothing new to the world, then, in the literature of conceits that throve in Italy before Marini, as in England before Donne. Marini was, like Lyly and Donne, but a repre-

sentative man. It was he, writing in the days of James I., and having no influence whatever upon Elizabethan literature, who represented the corruption of Italian taste when at its height, gave it a typical form, and therefore has been condemned to bear two centuries of censure for his 'stile Marinresco,' and be pilloried in dictionaries as the chief corruptor of Italian poetry.

With the spreading of the taste for rhetorical writing, filled with pedantic turns of illustration, similitudes rather ingenious than natural, and the desire of writers to display above all things their skill, the fashion of course ran in favour of the later Latin and Greek authors. Martial and Lucan took the places of Catullus and Virgil, Juvenal superseded Horace, and Seneca Cicero. Seneca's plays were a school-book for English boys of Elizabeth's time. Afterwards they were the root of the French tragic drama.

But upon the fashion of speech at Elizabeth's court there were influences of which we have not yet taken account. Some of its peculiarities, together with the very name that gave the term of Euphuism to its affectations, are to be traced to the Platonists, who were strong in the days of Henry VIII. But Platonism also came to us from Italy. It was in Florence that the refugee Greeks, after the fall of Constantinople, were first welcomed as revealers of Plato and Aristotle. In Italy Plato, in France Aristotle, was preferred. Neo-Platonists had given interest to the Rabbinical doctrine of the Cabbala, then received by many a good Christian scholar. It was joined to principles of an occult philosophy, partly derived from the same source, but enriched from teaching of the Arabs; and it was confirmed by marvellous recitals in the Natural History of Pliny. 'The mysteries of Nature,' one of her students then said, 'can no otherwise than by experience and conjecture be inquired into by us.' Until the asserted experience of ancient naturalists had been disproved by the experience of later times, it was not very unreasonable to assume that the science of the ancients equalled their philosophy and poetry. To deny virtues assigned to certain stones, plants, animals, or stars, simply because they were wonderful, certainly would not have been wise. Even in the magical doctrines then widely accepted there was reasoning entitled to respect. Their basis, it may be observed, was so far from being diabolical, that they set out with a demand for purity of life, and for a high spiritual adoration of the source of all the harmony they laboured to find in the wonders of creation. It is to be remembered, therefore, that those marvellous properties of things, honestly credited and freely used in the fashioning of ornaments of speech, had not for the reader of their
own

own time that inherent absurdity which now attaches to them. It is very difficult indeed now to read in the old sense that kind of writing in which Lyly was master, 'talking,' as Drayton said,

' of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,
Playing with words and idle similes.'

We must not forget, then, that although court idlers here concern us more especially, before the idlers went to Italy our scholars as well as our poets had been there. In Italy, Colet, Linacre, Grocyn, Lilly, and Latimer, had learnt their Greek. Even after Elizabeth's day, Platonism survived to the time of the Commonwealth, in Henry More, who wrote Platonic songs of the Soul's Life and Immortality, and dedicated to his friend Cudworth a defence of the Threefold Cabbala. But Henry More's spiritual conceits have no concord with courtly affectations. 'If,' he says, 'by thoughts rudely scattered in my verse I may lend men light till the dead night be gone,'

' It is enough, I meant no trimmer frame,
Nor by nice needlework to seek a name.'

To that taste for 'nice needlework' Camden objected in 'our sparkful youth,' ready to 'laugh at their great-grandfathers' English, who had more care to do well than to speak minion-like.'

' I cannot quote a motte Italianate,
Or brand my satires with a Spanish term,'

protested Marston. Bishop Hall, also, in his satirist days, endeavoured to 'check the disordered world and lawless times' with very direct comment upon the fashions then prevalent in dress and speech. He decried the 'words Italianate, big sounding sentences, and words of state,' used by the Marlowes, whom, as tragedians, he scornfully compared with Seneca: for even the satirist himself was of his time. Seneca was his tragedian; Juvenal and Persius were the models of his satire; and because he was the first to imitate these writers, he supposed himself to be the earliest of English satirists. His work opens with an allusion to the pines of Ida. He was prompt as others of his day in coupling Ariosto with Du Bartas, 'Salust of France and Tuscan Ariost.' He was not without his own relish of conceits, vigorously as he attacked the fool in far-fetched livery of mind and dress.

' A French head joined to neck Italian,
Thy thighs from Germany and breast from Spain!
The fool got his bonnet from the nuns of Calais,
His hair, French-like, stares on his frightened head,

One lock, Amazon-like, dishevelled,
 As if he meant to wear a native cord,
 If chance his fates should him that bane afford.

* * * * *

His linen collar labyrinthian set,
 Whose thousand double turnings never met :
 His sleeves half hid with elbow pinionings,
 As if he meant to fly with linen wings.'

The slender waist with the rounds of bombast below it,

'So slender waist with such an abbot's loin,'

suggested a horrible desire, that, when men will not shape their clothes to their bodies, their bodies might grow to the pattern of their clothes.

What Hall, writing a few years after Lyly, censured in verse, Ascham's unaffected prose had censured yet more vigorously in his 'Schoolmaster,' a work published by his widow seven or eight years before 'Euphuës' appeared. There is reason for suggesting, if not for believing, that John Lyly drew from this work of Ascham's both the motive and the title of his fashionable novel. 'Euphuës' paints the same Italian Circe against whose snares Ascham warned his countrymen, reminding them that 'if a gentleman must needs travel into Italy, he shall do well to look to the life of the wisest traveller that ever travelled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake with tongue, God's doctrine only excepted, and that is Ulysses in Homer.' The 'Schoolmaster' observed that Ulysses 'is not commended so much nor so oft in Homer, because he was *πολύτροπος*, that is, skilful in men's manners and fashions, as because he was *πολύμητις*, that is, wise in all purposes and ware in all places.' Against Circe's enchantment Homer's remedy was the herb Moly, 'with the black root and white flower; sour at the first, but sweet in the end, which Hesiodus termeth the study of virtue.' This was of all things most contrary to what Ascham called 'the precepts of fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London. . . . Ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine as one of these books do harm with enticing men to ill living.'

Let it here be remembered that the period of English literature more directly influenced by the frivolities of Italy dates from the time of our Reformation in the church, and occupies a period in which minds engaged with intense activity upon the settlement of great religious questions became also more and more deeply engaged in political assertion of the rights of subjects.

subjects. Throughout the days of civil war and of the Commonwealth Italian influence extends. To that part of the period thus defined, in which we find the greatest prevalence of literary affectation, belongs also the truest and most earnest work on which the pens of Englishmen have ever been engaged—our authorised translation of the Bible.

To the same period belongs the best part of our literature. High and true thoughts, with sturdy deeds, were called for by the times. Into the words of vigorous men, living energetic lives of thought or action, the demand for ingenious expression brought new force. There were men trained in this school able to satisfy to the full, out of their natural wit, at once the claims of truth in art, and the popular desire for clever simile, strong line, and pithy phrase. The affectation of the weak forced into a peculiarly emphatic utterance all the originality and power of the strong. To this view of English Euphuism we shall have to recur. At present it is only necessary to remember, that, by whomsoever fashions happen to be set, we must not take clothes for character.

For the title of his *Euphuës*, it is, of course, quite possible that Lyly went directly to its source in Plato's '*Republic*;' but, on the face of the book, it is more probable that when he began to write he had been reminded of a passage in that work by reading in Ascham's '*Schoolmaster*,' then lately published, how Socrates expressed the anatomy of wit in a child. He was to be (1) *Euphuës*; (2) of good memory; (3) attached to learning; (4) prepared for labour and pains; (5) glad to learn of another; (6) free in questioning; and (7) happy in well-earned applause. The first of these qualities, Ascham describes at especial length; and the embodiment of the description, in a character wanting some of the other qualities, is Lyly's hero *Euphuës*, described in a tale of which we need not further explain the subordinate title, '*The Anatomy of Wit*.' Ascham's '*Schoolmaster*' was first published by his widow in the year 1571. The first part of Lyly's '*Euphuës*' appeared in 1579; the other part, '*Euphuës and his England*,' in 1580:

'*Ευφυνής*,' the *Schoolmaster* had said, 'is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body that must another day serve learning; not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound, whole, full, and able to do their office: as a tongue not stammering, or over hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance not verish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly: for surely a comely countenance,

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with a goodly stature, giveth credit to learning and authority to the person; otherwise, commonly, either open contempt or privy disfavour doth hurt or hinder both person and learning. And even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the greatest exercise of God's greatest gift, and that is learning? But commonly the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so; and with examples herein I will not meddle; yet I wish that those should both mend it and meddle with it which have most occasion to look to it, as good and wise fathers should do,' &c.

Lyly had children, and his book shows, as we shall find, that he thought seriously for himself, and agreed with Ascham, upon questions of education. He was a little man, with a wife and family; he smoked tobacco, and was a wit in society, with a heart full of seriousness; he was a hungry reader of good books, and to the last a hungry waiter on the Court, that repaid his honest labouring to entertain it well according to its humour, only with promise unfulfilled. 'Thirteen years,' he says, in a petition to the Queen, presented in or about the year when 'Euphuës' was published, 'Thirteen years your Highness's servant, but yet nothing. . . . A thousand hopes, but all nothing; a hundred promises, but yet nothing. . . . My last will is shorter than mine invention; but three legacies, patience to my creditors, melancholy without measure to my friends, and beggary without shame to my family.' Surely a touching hint—and it is all the hint we have—of the home life of the Euphuist!

Whatever may be the merit of Lyly's 'Euphuës,' the book is so far out of date that even a short sketch of its contents is likely to be tedious to modern readers. But it has in its religious earnestness one high and unrecognised claim to respect—it is a book of which fair knowledge is inseparable from a full understanding of the best period of English literature, yet one which never has been rightly described, and is too scarce to be readily obtained for private reading. Let us here bear with it, therefore, for a little while.

The first part of 'Euphuës' is the 'Anatomy of Wit,' 'wherein are contained the delights that Wit followed in his Youth, by the Pleasantness of Love; and the Happiness he reapeth in Age by the Perfectness of Wisdom.' It was published in 1579, not 1580, as Mr. Fairholt dates it; and the second part followed in 1580, not 1581. The work appears not to have been read by any of the epitomists of literature who borrow in succession from each other.

other. There is a common citation from Blount's preface to his edition of six of Lyly's plays, upon the duty that it became in court-beauties to 'parley Euphuism,' and of Anthony à Wood's statement, that 'in these books of "Euphues" 'tis said that our nation is indebted for a new English in them, which the flower of the youth therefore learned.' Mr. Fairholt's pleasant introduction to the eight plays which form Lyly's complete Dramatic Works, and his few appended notes, add much to the interest of the publication, and nothing to its pretension.*

The first part of 'Euphues' is the complete work. The second and longer part was apparently designed to mitigate some of the severity of the first, and indirectly deprecate in courtly fashion an interpretation of the author's meaning that might lead to the starvation of his family. In the first part, Lyly satisfied his conscience; in the second part, but still without dishonesty, he satisfied the country and the court.

In the dedication of his first part to Lord de la Warre, Lyly suggests that there may be found in it 'more speeches which for gravity will mislike the foolish, than unseemly terms which for vanity may offend the wise.' He anticipates some little disfavour from the 'fine wits of the day;' and his allusions to 'the dainty ear of the curious sifter,' to the use of 'superfluous eloquence,' to the search after 'those which sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths,' sufficiently show that his own manner was formed upon a previously existing taste. Here it is that the censure occurs which we have already cited: 'It is a world to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than their language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, or wear finer cloth than is made of wool; but I let pass their fineness, which can no way excuse my folly.'

Euphues was a young gentleman of great patrimony, who dwelt in Athens, and who corresponded in his readiness of wit and perfectness of body to the quality called Euphues by Plato. Disdaining counsel, the youth left his own country, and happened to arrive at Naples. This Naples was a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety, the very walls and windows whereof showed it rather to be the tabernacle of Venus than the temple of Vesta; a court more meet for an atheist than for one of Athens. Here the youth determined to make his abode, and wanted no companions. He welcomed all, but trusted none; and showed so pregnant a wit, that Eubulus, an

* Of Mr. Fairholt's patient accuracy in research, and of the skill with which he can employ both pen and pencil in recording manners of the past, we have the best evidence in his illustrated volume on *Costume in England*, of which an enlarged edition has been lately issued.

old gentleman of Naples, as one lamenting his wantonness and loving his wittiness, warned him against the dangers of a city where he might see drunken sots wallowing in every house, in every chamber, yea, in every channel. The speech of good counsel (which occupies four pages) closed with the solemn admonition, 'Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either heart can wish or thy friends desire.'

Euphuës, who was not at this stage of his journey through life also φίλος—glad to learn of another,—accused the old gentleman of churlishness, and proved to him by many similitudes that men's natures are not alike. The sun doth harden the dirt and melt the wax; fire maketh the gold to shine and the straw to smother; perfumes refresh the dove and kill the beetle. Black will take no other colour. The stone asbestos being once made hot will never be made cold. Fire cannot be forced downward. How can age counsel us who are young, when we are contraries? I am not smothered, says the young man, by your smoky arguments, 'but as the chameleon, though he have most guts draweth least breath, or as the elder-tree, though he be fullest of pith, is farthest from strength: so though your reasons seem inwardly to yourself somewhat substantial, and your persuasions pithy in your own conceit, yet they are nought.' Here, says Lyly, ye may behold, gentlemen, how lewdly wit standeth in his own light; and he attacks in his own person the censoriousness of men of sharp capacity, who for the most part 'esteem of themselves as most proper.' If one be hard in conceiving, they pronounce him a dolt; if given to study, they proclaim him a dunce; if merry, a jester; if sad, a saint; if full of words, a sot; if without speech, a cipher. If one argue with them boldly, then is he impudent; if coldly, an innocent; if there be reasoning of divinity, they cry, *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*; if of humanity, *Sententias loquitur carnifex*. But of himself he confesses, 'I have ever thought so superstitiously of wit, that I fear I have committed idolatry against wisdom.'

After a two months' sojourn in Naples, Euphuës found a friend in a young and wealthy town-born gentleman named Philautus. Euphuës and Philautus used not only one board, but one bed, one book, if so be it they thought not one too many. Philautus had crept into credit with Don Ferardo, one of the chief governors of the city, who although he had a courtly crew of gentlewomen sojourning in his palace, yet his daughter Lucilla stained the beauty of them all. Unto her had Philautus access, who won her by right of love, and should have won her by right of law, had not Euphuës, by strange destiny, broken the bonds of marriage, and forbidden the banns of matrimony.

It happened that Don Ferardo had occasion to go to Venice about certain of his own affairs, leaving his daughter the only steward of his household. Her father being gone, she sent for her friend to supper, who came not alone, but with his friend Euphues, to whom the lady gave cold welcome. When they all sat down, Euphues fed of one dish, which ever stood before him, the beauty of Lucilla. Supper being ended, 'the order was in Naples that the gentlewomen would desire to hear some discourse, either concerning love or learning; and although Philautus was requested, yet he posted it over to Euphues, whom he knew most fit for that purpose.'

Then follows one of the discourses characteristic of what in Elizabeth's day passed for the lighter portions of this work. Euphues spoke to the question whether qualities of mind or body most awaken love; declared for mind; and said to the gentlewomen, 'If you would be tasted for old wine, be in the mouth a pleasant grape. He passed to the inquiry whether men or women be most constant; and, accounting it invidious to choose his own side in that argument, undertook to maintain the contrary to whatever opinion might be given by Lucilla. Lucilla, willing to hear from him praises of her sex, declared that women are to be won with every wind. Euphues, therefore, began the praise of woman's constancy, but ended abruptly, 'neither,' he said, 'for want of good will or lack of proof, but that I feel in myself such alteration that I can scarcely utter one word.' Ah, Euphues, Euphues! The gentlewomen were struck into such a quandary with this sudden change, that they all changed colour. But Euphues, taking Philautus by the hand, and giving the gentlewomen thanks for their patience and his repast, bade them all farewell, and went immediately to his chamber.

Lucilla, who now began to fry in the flames of love, all the company being departed to their lodgings, entered into these terms and contrarieties:—Her soliloquy is three pages and a half long, and with its pros and cons of ingenious illustration curiously artificial. Euphues, immediately afterwards, has four pages and a half of mental conflict to work out in similitudes. When he had talked with himself, Philautus entered the chamber, and offering comfort to his mourning friend, was deluded with a tale about the charms of Livia, Lucilla's friend. From Philautus the false friend sought help in gaining frequent access to the lady.

Philautus and Euphues therefore repaired together to the house of Ferardo, where they found Mistress Lucilla and Livia, accompanied with other gentlewomen, neither being idle nor well employed, but playing at cards. Euphues was called upon to resume his former discourse upon the fervency of love in women.

But

But whilst he was yet speaking Ferardo entered, and departed again within an hour, carrying away Philautus, and craving the gentleman, his friend, to supply his room. Philautus knew well the cause of this sudden departure, which was to redeem certain lands that were mortgaged in his father's time to the use of Ferardo, who, on that condition, had beforetime promised him his daughter in marriage. Euphuës was surprised with such incredible joy at this strange event, that he had almost swooned; for, seeing his co-rival to be departed, and Ferardo to give him so friendly entertainment, he doubted not in time to get the good-will of Lucilla. Ten pages of love-talk, unusually rich in similitudes, do in fact bring Euphuës and Lucilla to a secret understanding. But 'as Ferardo went in post, so he returned in haste;' and before there was a second meeting of the lovers, the young lady's father had, in a speech of a page long, containing no similitudes, proposed her immediate marriage to Philautus. Lucilla replied artfully; disclaimed more than a playful acquaintance with Philautus; and declared her love for Euphuës, to whom therefore Philautus, after a long soliloquy in his own lodgings, wrote a letter. Having received a gibing answer, he disdained all farther intercourse with the false friend.

Euphuës having absented himself from the house of Ferardo, while Ferardo himself was at home, longed sore to see Lucilla, which now opportunity offered unto him, Ferardo being gone again to Venice with Philautus. But in this his absence, one Curio, a gentleman of Naples, of little wealth and less wit, haunted Lucilla her company, and so enchanted her, that Euphuës was also cast off with Philautus. His next conversation with the fickle lady ended therefore thus:—'Farewell, Lucilla, the most inconstant that ever was nursed in Naples; farewell Naples, the most cursed town in all Italy; and women all, farewell.'

Euphuës talked much to himself when he reached home, lamenting his rejection of the fatherly counsel of Eubulus, and his spending of life in the laps of ladies, of his lands in maintenance of bravery, and of his wit in the vanities of idle sonnets. The greatest wickedness, he found, is drawn out of the greatest wit, if it be abused by will, or entangled with the world, or inveigled by women. He will endeavour himself to amend all that is past, and be a mirror of godliness thereafter, rather choosing to die in his study amidst his books, than to court it in Italy in the company of ladies.

The story is at an end, although the volume is not, and Lyly's idle readers, who have caught at his bait of a fashionably conceited tale, may now begin to feel the hook with which he

angles.

angles. Ferardo, after vain expostulation with his daughter, died of inward grief, leaving her the only heir of his lands, and Curio to possess them. Long afterwards we are incidentally told of the shamelessness of her subsequent life and of her wretched end. Philautus and Euphues renewed their friendship. Philautus was earnest to have Euphues tarry in Naples, and Euphues desirous to have Philautus to Athens; but the one was so addicted to the court, the other to the university, that each refused the offer of the other; yet this they agreed between themselves, that though their bodies were by distance of place severed, yet the communication of their minds was to continue.

The first bit of his mind communicated by the experienced Euphues is entitled, 'A Cooling Card for Philautus and all fond Lovers.' He is ashamed to have himself been, by reason of an idle love, not much unlike those abbey lubbers in his life (though far unlike them in belief) which laboured till they were cold, ate till they sweat, and lay in bed till their bones ached; urges that the sharpest wit inclineth only to wickedness, if it be not exercised; and warns against immoderate sleep, immodest play, unsatiable swilling of wine. He bids Philautus study physic or law—Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours—or confer all his study, all his time, all his treasure, to the attaining of the sacred and sincere knowledge of divinity. If this be not for him, let him employ himself in jousts and tourneys, rather than loiter in love, and spend his life in the laps of ladies. When danger is near, let him go into the country, look to his grounds, yoke his oxen, follow his plough, 'and reckon not with thyself how many miles thou hast gone—that showeth weariness; but how many thou hast to go—that proveth manliness.' Of woman's enticing ornaments, says Euphues, 'I loathe almost to think on their ointments and apothecary drugs, the sleeking of their faces, and all their slobber sauces which bring queasiness to the stomach and disquiet to the mind. Take from them their periwigs, their paintings, their jewels, their rolls, their bolsterings, and thou shalt soon perceive that a woman is the least part of herself.' And Philautus also he admonishes—'Be not too curious to curl thy hair, nor careful to be neat in thine apparel; be not prodigal of thy gold, nor precise in thy going; be not like the Englishman, which preferreth every strange fashion to the use of his own country.'

The 'Cooling Card' is followed by a letter 'to the grave Matrons and honest Maidens of Italy,' in the spirit of one who, as he writes, 'may love the clear conduit water, though he loathe the muddy ditch. Ulysses, though he detested Calypso with her sugared voice, yet he embraced Penelope with her rude distaff.'

distaff.' It should no more grieve the true woman to hear censure of woman's folly 'than the mintmaster to see the coiner hanged.'

Increasing in gravity as he proceeds, Euphues founds on the recollection of his misspent youth 'a caveat to all parents, how they might bring their children up in virtue, and a commandment to all youth how they should frame themselves to their father's instructions.' This part of Euphues is, in fact, under the title of 'Euphues and his Ephebus,' a systematic essay upon education, sound as Ascham's in its doctrine; dealing with the management of children from their birth, and advancing to the ideal of a university.

Having taught that philosophy—one, in its teachings, with religion—should be the scholar's chief object of desire, Euphues delivers home-thrusts at the University of Athens, for the license of the scholars, the unseemly fashions of their dress, their newly-imported silks and velvets, their courtier's ways, and their schisms. 'I would to God,' he says, 'they did not imitate all other nations in the vice of the mind as they do in the attire of their body; for certainly, as there is no nation whose fashion in apparel they do not use, so there is no wickedness published in any place that they do not practise. . . . Be there not many in Athens which think there is no God, no redemption, no resurrection?' The common people, seeing the licentious lives of students, say that they will rather send their children to the cart than to the university; 'and until I see better reformation in Athens,' Euphues adds, 'my young Ephebus shall not be nurtured in Athens.'

An address to the gentlemen-scholars of Oxford, prefixed to a subsequent edition of the book, proves to us that in these passages of Euphues it was believed that Oxford was 'too much defaced or defamed:—

'If any fault be committed,' Lyly writes, 'impute it to Euphues, who knew you not; not to Lyly, who hates you not. Yet may I of all the rest most condemn Oxford of unkindness, of vice I cannot, who seemed to wean me before she brought me forth, and to give me bones to gnaw before I could get the teat to suck. Wherein she played the nice mother, in sending me into the country to nurse, where I tired at a dry breast three years, and was at the last forced to wean myself.'

Lyly, who was a Master of Arts, had passed from the University of Oxford into that of Cambridge, but under what circumstances we are unable to say. It was suggested that Euphues, on his arrival in England, was to visit Oxford, 'when he will either recant

recant his sayings or renew his complaints.' But he did not get farther than London.

Of the rest of the treatise on education, forming so prominent a part of 'Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit,' the main doctrines may be stated very briefly. No youth is to be taught with stripes. Ascham and Lyly were alone in maintaining this doctrine against the strongest contrary opinion. Life is divided into remission and study. As there is watching, so is there sleep; ease is the sauce of labour; holiday the other half of work. Children should exercise a discreet silence: 'let them also be admonished, that, when they shall speak, they speak nothing but truth; to lie is a vice most detestable, not to be suffered in a slave, much less in a son.' Fathers should study to maintain by love and by example influence over their sons as they advance to manhood; 'let them with mildness forgive light offences, and remember that they themselves have been young. . . . Some light faults let them dissemble as though they knew them not, and seeing them let them not seem to see them, and hearing them let them not seem to hear. We can easily forget the offences of our friends, be they never so great, and shall we not forgive the escapes of our children be they never so small?'

Let the body be kept in its pure strength by honest exercise, and let the mind, adds Lyly, falling again into the track of censure followed by all satirists of the day, 'not be carried away with vain delights, as with travelling into far and strange countries, where you shall see more wickedness than learn virtue and wit. Neither with costly attire of the new cut, the Dutch hat, the French hose, the Spanish rapier, the Italian hilt, and I know not what.' There is nothing, he reminds youth, swifter than time, and nothing sweeter. We have not, as Seneca saith, little time to live, but we lose much; neither have we a short life by nature, but we make it shorter by naughtiness; our life is long if we know how to use it. The greatest commodity that we can yield unto our country, is with wisdom to bestow that talent which by grace was given us. Here Euphues repeats the closing sentences of the wise counsel of Eubulus, scorned by him in the days of his folly, and then passes to a direct exhortation to the study of the Bible. 'Oh!' he exclaims, 'I would gentlemen would sometimes sequester themselves from their own delights, and employ their wits in searching these heavenly divine mysteries.'

Advancing still in earnestness as he presents his Euphues growing in wisdom and now wholly devoting himself to the study of the highest truth, a letter to the gentlemen-scholars in Athens prefaces a dialogue between Euphues and Atheos, which

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is an argument against the infidelity that had crept in from Italy. It is as earnest as if Latimer himself had preached it to the courtiers of King Edward. Euphuës appeals solemnly to Scripture and the voice within ourselves. In citation from the sacred text consist almost his only illustrations; in this he abounds. Whole pages contain nothing but the words of Scripture. At a time when fanciful and mythological adornment was so common to literature that the very Bible Lyly read—the Bishops' Bible—contained wood-cut initials upon subjects drawn from Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' and opened the Epistle to the Hebrews with a sketch of Leda and the Swan, Lyly, in the book which has been for so many years condemned unread, does not once mingle false ornament with reasoning on sacred things. He refers to the ancients only at the outset of his argument to show that the heathen had acknowledged a Creator; mentions Plato but to say that he recognised one whom we call Lord God omnipotent, glorious, immortal, unto whose similitude we that creep here on earth have our souls framed; and Aristotle, only to tell how, when he could not find out by the secrecy of nature the cause of the ebbing and the flowing of the sea, cried, with a loud voice, 'O Thing of Things, have mercy upon me!' In twenty black-letter pages there are but three illustrations drawn from supposed properties of things. The single anecdote from profane history we quote from a discourse that introduces nearly all the texts incorporated in our Liturgy:—

'I have read of Themistocles, which having offended Philip, the King of Macedonia, and could no way appease his anger, meeting his young son Alexander, took him in his arms, and met Philip in the face. Philip, seeing the smiling countenance of the child, was well pleased with Themistocles. Even so, if through thy manifold sins and heinous offences thou provoke the heavy displeasure of thy God, insomuch as thou shalt tremble for horror, take his only-begotten and well-beloved son Jesus in thine arms, and then he neither can nor will be angry with thee. If thou have denied thy God, yet if thou go out with Peter and weep bitterly, God will not deny thee. Though with the prodigal son thou wallow in thine own wilfulness, yet if thou return again sorrowful thou shalt be received. If thou be a grievous offender, yet if thou come unto Christ with the woman in Luke, and wash his feet with thy tears, thou shalt obtain remission.'

Surely, had Scott read 'Euphuës,' he could not have been satisfied to describe it through Sir Piercie Shafton as 'that exquisitely-pleasant-to-be-read and inevitably-necessary-to-be-remembered manual of all that is worthy to be known, which indoc-trinates the rude in civility, the dull in intellectuality, the heavy in jocosity, the blunt in gentility, the vulgar in nobility, and all
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of them in that unutterable perfection of human utterance—that eloquence which no other eloquence is sufficient to praise—that art which, when we call it by its own name of Euphuism, we bestow on it its richest panegyric.’

After the argument which had converted Atheos, the ‘Anatomy of Wit’ is closed with a few letters from Euphues to his friends. He ends with intimation that he is about to visit England, and in a postscript promises a second part, containing the report of Euphues on England, which is to appear within one summer.

But the brave lecture having been delivered in that first book, in the next part, entitled ‘Euphues and his England,’ Lyly gave his readers liberty to please themselves. Euphues, bringing Philautus with him, lands at Dover, after telling a long moral story on the sea. The two strangers pass through Canterbury, and are entertained in a road-side house by a retired courtier. This personage keeps bees and philosophizes over them; from him we hear the lengthy story of his love, enriched with numerous conceited conversations. In London the travellers lodge with a merchant, and are admitted to the intimacy of a lady named Camilla, who is courted and who finally is married, though she be below his rank, by noble Surius. With Camilla, and the ladies who are her friends, the strangers converse much in courtly fashion. Philautus of course falls in love with her, and worries her with letters; but he is at last led by Flavia, a prudent matron, to the possession of a wife in the young lady Violet. Every Englishwoman is fair, wise, and good. Nothing is wrong in England; or whatever is wrong, Lyly satirizes with exaggerated praise. The story is full of a covert satire, and contains much evidence of religious earnestness. It is designedly enriched with love-tales, letters between lovers, and ingenious examples of those fanciful conflicts of wit in argument upon some courtly theme, to which fine ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth’s court formally sat down as children now sit down to a round game of forfeits. Having saved to the last a panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth, which blends an ounce of flattery with certainly a pound of solid praise in its regard for her as the main-stay of the Protestant faith, Euphues retires to Athens, where, he says, poor fellow, in allusion to his own hard fortune, ‘Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silix-edra, Philautus is married in the Isle of England: two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs.’ So he parts from the reader by committing him in his last word to the Almighty.

For the direct insight into Lyly’s mind afforded by its exhortation
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and its satire, and for its illustration of much that was on the surface of society in Queen Elizabeth's day, 'Euphuës' is to be valued. Of his conceited writing, Lyly's court-plays, some of them written earlier than his novel, furnish even better example; and their studied prologues, the manner of which Greene exactly copied in the prefaces to his tales, are the most finished miniatures of Elizabethan Euphuism. The prologue to *Campaspe* will serve very well as an example. Every sentence, it will be observed, has its far-fetched similitude :

'We are ashamed that our bird, which fluttereth by twilight seeming a swan, should be proved a bat set against the sun. But as Jupiter placed Silenus' ass among the stars, and Alcibiades covered his pictures, being owls and asses, with a curtain embroidered with lions and eagles; so are we enforced upon a rough discourse to draw on a smooth excuse; resembling lapidaries, who think to hide the crack in a stone by setting it deep in gold. The gods supped once with poor Baucis, the Persian kings sometimes shaved sticks: our hope is your Highness will at this time lend an ear to an idle pastime. Appion raising Homer from hell, demanded only who was his father, and we calling Alexander from his grave, seek only who was his love. Whatsoever we present, we wish it may be thought the dancing of Agrippa his shadows, who in the moment they were seen, were of any shape one would conceive: or Lynceus, who having a quick sight to discern, have a short memory to forget. With us it is like to fare, as with these torches which giving light to others, consume themselves: and we shewing delight to others shame ourselves.'

In the same vein, the lover in 'Euphuës and his England' ends the letter that declares his passion to Camilla by telling her that he expects her reply 'either as a cullis to preserve, or as a sword to destroy; either as Antidotum or as Aconitum;' and when that fair lady, after supper, takes part in one of the social wit-combats to which we have referred, she begins by expressing, in this cumbrous fashion, her fear that she may be caught tripping :

'I have heard that the Tortoise in India when the sun shineth, swimmeth above the water with her back, and being delighted with the fair weather, forgetteth herself until the heat of the sun so harden her shell, that she cannot sink when she would, whereby she is caught. And so may it fare with me that in this good company displaying my mind, having more regard to my delight in talking than to the ears of the hearers, I forget what I speak and so be taken in something I should not utter, which haply the itching ears of young gentlemen would so canvas, that when I would call it in, I cannot, and so be caught with the Tortoise when I would not.'

When this clever maid's antagonist replies to her, he lauds her eloquence, and very properly observes that she brought out that
Tortoise

Tortoise 'rather to show what she could say, than to crave pardon for that she had said.' There is abundant evidence that fine talkers searched books, and Lyly's books especially, for conceits and phrases to be imitated in their own discourse. It will be remembered that translations of Boccaccio and other works had in those days especially set forth upon their title pages that they were books in which the art of witty conversation might be studied.

We shall not dwell upon Lyly's dramas. They are all playful, and, except one comedy after the manner of Plautus, having its scene laid in English Rochester, the subjects are all taken from the classical mythology, which was at home in Italy, and thence had gone abroad to receive homage everywhere from educated wits. The pedantic quips, fantastic humours, dainty comparisons, the occasional flashes of true wit and delicate fancy, with the charm of a native melody even in some of the conceited songs, as in the well-known song of Apelles, that begins—

'Cupid and my Campaspe played
At cards for kisses, Cupid paid,'

have received ample recognition. Her Majesty was entertained and complimented, and sometimes also gently reminded of her poet's poverty.

Although the second part of 'Euphuës' doubtless assured to that didactic work a fashionable position, the religious earnestness of the close of the first part belonged also to the life of the nation at that time. In religion Lyly was as earnest and uncompromising as a Puritan could wish to be, and yet maintained his ground as a court-wit. In religious polemics he could not altogether avoid taking part, and there he was honestly of one mind with the bishops and the court. Publications, issued from the wandering press that defied interdict, dispersed, now out of Surrey, now out of Northamptonshire, now out of Warwickshire, the denunciations of Martin Marprelate against a hierarchy of petty antichrists, petty popes, enemies of the gospel, committers of the unpardonable sin. These publications used such verbal quips as the taste of the day cherished, and addressed the subscribing clergy as 'masters of the confocation or conspiracy house,' fickers (vicars), 'paltripolitans,' 'right poisoned, persecuting, and terrible priests, my horned masters;' and to the writers Lyly is said to have given—in a pamphlet named after a common phrase of the day for rough nursing—*Pap with a Hatchet*. Gabriel Harvey ascribed this piece of controversial work to Lyly; and though the rough controversial tone is certainly without a counterpart in Lyly's other writings, it is to be remarked that he shows himself in two or three places to be uneasily conscious of its roughness. His

defence is, 'Who would curry an ass with an ivory comb? Give the beast thistles for provender.' 'If this vein bleed but six ounces more,' he writes towards the close of the pamphlet, 'I shall prove to be a pretty railer, and so in time grow to a proper Martinist;' but, after all, he takes leave of his adversary with a hearty 'farewell and be hanged.'

We need not trace a frivolous Italian influence through the 'Arcadia' of Sir Philip Sidney, who fell in the Low Countries fighting for religious liberty. There are touches of true feeling and of manly chivalry in Sidney's picture of an artificial world. But the book was mainly a piece of the fashionable embroidery upon which courtly writers were expected to employ their wit. Brief and straight to the purpose is the same writer's 'Defence of Poesy,' the first of our books devoted formally to intellectual criticism. Sidney in earnest spoke such English as became the friend of Spenser, whose especial praise was said to be, that when they had 'made our English tongue a gallimaufry, or hodge-podge of all other speeches,' he 'laboured to restore, as to their rightful heritage, good and natural English words.' Sidney's 'Defence of Poesy' treats of its spirit, and may be read with advantage in connexion with Puttenham's 'Art of Poesy,' which appeared eight years later than Sidney's 'Defence,' and ten years after Lyly's 'Euphues.' Puttenham discussed, not the spirit, but the form of contemporary poetry, treating first, of poets and poesy; secondly, of proportion poetical; and thirdly, of ornament. We may use his book as an anatomy of taste in the Elizabethan day. His section upon proportion in measure and rhyme, extends to a description of those compositions written to the shape of lozenges, rounds, triangles, pyramids, or obelisks, of which familiar examples occur in the works of Herrick and George Herbert. They remained in fashion during the whole period of literary conceit that we are here discussing, and they constitute one of its minor distinctive characters.

If we look from the influence of his day exerted upon Lyly to the influence exerted by him, we shall find this also blended with the common taste for wit from Italy. More prolific than Lyly, as an Elizabethan novelist, was Robert Greene. He was a close imitator at once of Lyly and of the Italians, accepting Lyly as a master in the manner of his speech, but looking more directly to Italian example for the matter of his stories. 'Euphues' was a novel so much overweighted with didactic matter that it hardly could be called a story; but Greene, if he invented any of his own plots, had unquestionable genius as a story-teller. It will be remembered that from his 'Pandosto' Shakespeare took the subject of the 'Winter's Tale.' The same writer, Greene, also

also followed up 'Pandosto,' nine years after the appearance of 'Euphues,' with 'Menaphon,' a book having for second title 'Camilla's Alarm to slumbering Euphues in his melancholy cell at Silixedra.' This he described as 'a work worthy the youngest ears for pleasure, or the gravest censure for principles;' and it is the novel furnished with that prefatory address to the gentlemen-students of both Universities, commonly ascribed to Nash, which presents to us so useful a sketch of the literary humours of the time.

The writer of the preface to 'Menaphon' had a fair sense of good literature, and a love of his own language:

'Tut,' say our English Italians, 'the finest wits our climate sends forth are but dry-brained dolts in comparison of other countries; whom, if you interrupt,' he writes, 'with *Redde rationem*, they will tell you of Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano, with an infinite more of others. To whom if I should oppose Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, with such like, that lived under the tyranny of ignorance, I do think their best lovers would be much discontented with the collation of contraries if I should write over all their heads, Hail fellow well met! Should the challenge of deep conceit be intended by any foreigner to bring our English wits to the touchstone of art, I would prefer divine Master Spenser, the miracle of wit, to bandy line for line for my life in the honour of England, against Spain, France, Italy, and all the world.'

At the date of this writing Spenser had not yet published the first three books of the 'Fairy Queen,' and his fame with the public rested on the eclogues of the 'Shepherd's Kalender,' then in their third edition. Shakespeare had not been two years in town; and, with his life as a dramatist yet before him, was writing or about to write his delicate poetical jest upon Euphuism, putting his hook through it as though he loved it, in 'Love's Labour's Lost.'

Of all quips upon ingenious emptiness, that play of 'Love's Labour's Lost' is the most perfect. We are not first in observing that the one hint of business in it, the question on the surrender of Aquitain, is only named to be passed by. What action we have is based entirely on the living out of a conceit, and of all that is done the issue is in nothing. We hear affected talk in many forms:

'Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
Threepil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical.'

The King in his sonnet to his mistress foreshadows even the sublimities of Crashaw's Magdalene:

'Thou shin'st in every tear that I do weep ;
No drop but as a coach doth carry thee,
So ridest thou triumphing in my woe.'

But the sharpest satire is expressed in the pompous emptiness of Don Adrian Armado, by whom 'our court you know is haunted':

'A man in all the world's new fashion planted,
That hath a mint of phrases in his brain.'

His bravery of wit is helplessly dependent upon that of the child Moth, whom he patronises, for it is with that as with the bravery of outside show upon his person. When he is called upon to strip and combat in his shirt, he must own that 'the naked truth of it is, I have no shirt.' There is schoolmaster Holofernes, too, who can tell us that 'Ovidius Naso was the man, and why indeed Naso, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention?' The fantastical word-combats of such characters, as given by Shakespeare, have a close resemblance in spirit to some of the scenes of Lyly,—to those, for example, in *Endymion*, which jest with Sir Tophas, the bragging soldier:

'*Samias*.—But what is this? Call you it your sword?

Tophas.—No; it is my simiter, which I by construction often studying to be compendious, call my smiter.

Dares.—What, are you also learned, sir?

Tophas.—Learned? I am all Mars and Ars.

Samias.—Nay, you are all mass and ass.

Tophas.—Mock you me? You shall both suffer, yet with such weapons as you shall make choice of the weapon wherewith you shall perish. Am I all a mass or lump? Is there no proportion in me? Am I all ass? Is there no wit in me? Epi, prepare them to the slaughter.

Samias.—I pray, sir, hear us speak. We call you mass, which your learning doth well understand is all man, for Mas, maris, is a man. The As (as you know) is a weight, and we for your virtues account you a weight.

Tophas.—The Latin hath saved your lives, the which a world of silver could not have ransomed. I understand you and pardon you.'

We need hardly remark that the crowding of classical allusions into every sentence must have been, to Shakespeare's poetical sense, dull even as material for jest. He laughs at it, but does not attempt to mock it with close imitation.

While 'Euphuës' was thus in fashion, Shakespeare being yet young as a play-writer, and at the date of the critical preface to 'Menaphon,' Bacon was a young barrister, part deviser of the dumb shows at Gray's Inn, and within two years of his appointment as Queen's

Queen's Counsel. Sir Philip Sidney had been dead two years, and Ascham twenty years. Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, whose pen contributed to the first English tragedy, still had some twenty years of life before him. Of Marlowe's brief career only five years were yet to come; of Greene's but four, during which his overcharged confession and self-accusation of an ill-spent life would give some strain of a wild sobbing earnestness to his last novels. Ben Jonson was then but fourteen years old; Fletcher but nine; Beaumont, Massinger, and Webster, three or four. Donne was a youth of sixteen, and twenty years were yet to pass before the birth of Milton, who was himself ten years older than Cowley, and twenty-four years older than Dryden, who was a man forty years old at the birth of Addison. Throughout the whole period thus indicated, the taste for conceited writing introduced from Italy, in or before the first years of the reign of Elizabeth, prevailed. It was modified by the character of the sovereign, and influenced in some respects by the tone of public feeling in each generation; but the desire for constant imagery, for cunning sentences, and ingenious allusions, that, by display of a writer's reading, should make out his title to be read, abided by the courtiers and scholars, who were not only the chief critics but who formed a large proportion also of the readers of a book. The dust of Latin in the sermons of Bishop Andrewes; the quaint wit of Fuller, which obtained for him two audiences—one within doors and the other out of window—in his little chapel in the Savoy; the sententious writing in the 'Enchiridion' of Quarles; manifest clearly enough their relationship to Euphuism. Old Izaak Walton,—whose life ran through a part of Elizabeth's reign, and extended through the whole subsequent period, even until Addison was a boy of eleven,—becoming weary of the strain of wit, looked back from the days of Charles I. to "Come live with me and be my love," that smooth song made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago. The milkmaid's mother sung an answer to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days. They were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good; I think, he says, 'much better than the strong lines that are in fashion in this critical age.'

It is not requisite that we should trace the under-current of taste during this period through all its turns. At what level Euphuism stood, when it came strained out of the brains of those ordinary people who make up the substance of polite society at court, Ben Jonson has shown, with a spice of malicious caricature, in 'Cynthia's Revels.' The play, produced only two years before the death of Elizabeth, was wholly designed as a jest against what its chief Euphuist describes as 'your shifting age for wit, when

when you must prove the aptitude of your genius; if you find none, you must hearken out a vein and buy.' It was to bid men put only to manly use the powers of their intellect—

'And, for the practice of a forced look,
An antic gesture, or a fustian phrase,
Study the native frame of a true heart,
An inward comeliness of bounty, knowledge,
And spirit that may conform them actually
To God's high figures, which they have in power.'

We may connect the taste for conceited writing in the days of Lyly with that of the early days of Dryden, by reference to an author who is now read only by the minute student of literature—Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas. He was a French nobleman, born about the year 1544. He was educated as a soldier, shared the creed and rose with the fortunes of Henri IV., to whom he became attached as gentleman-in-ordinary of the bed-chamber, and by whom he was employed as a negotiator in Denmark, Scotland, and England. He fought at Ivry, and sang of the battle, but died four months afterwards of the wounds he received in it. When not engaged in political or military duty, this worthy gentleman, who was a Euphuist of the first water, wrote poems in his château of Bartas, and his poem of the 'Divine Weeks' went through thirty editions in six years. It was translated into Latin, Italian, German, and English, generally more than once into each language. Its metaphors are extravagant, its classical compounds are barbarous. In France, as in England, the book is now but a curiosity of bad taste to the few who read it or know anything about it. The fate of its style has justified one of the sound maxims in Ben Jonson's 'Discoveries,' that body of opinion in which is to be found our first good exposition of the principles of wholesome writing—'Nothing is lasting that is feigned; it will have another face than it had ere long. As Euripides saith, No lie ever grows old.'

James I., who was among his translators, sought in vain to retain the divine Du Bartas at his Court, and Sylvester became a laurelled poet mainly upon the strength of his English version of the 'Divine Weeks' and the other works of the same hand. 'I remember, when I was a boy,' writes Dryden, in his preface to the 'Spanish Friar,' 'I thought inimitable Spenser a mean poet in comparison of Sylvester's Du Bartas, and was wrapt into an ecstasy when I read these lines:

'Now, when the winter's keener breath began
To crystallize the Baltic ocean;
To glaze the lakes, to bridle up the floods,
And periwig with snow the bald-pate woods'—

'I am

'I am much deceived if this be not abominable fustian, that is, thoughts and words ill sorted and without the least relation to each other.'

We must not forget, however, that the popularity of Du Bartas in this country was due not only to the harmony of his conceited style with the prevailing fashion, but to his Protestant faith and the religious character of all his writings. The First Week of seven days, or books, sings the Birth of the World: the Chaos, the Elements, the Sea and Earth, the Heavens, Sun, Moon, &c.; the Fishes and Fowls; the Beasts and Man; the Sabbath. It is not worth while to illustrate by more citation the affectations of a book deservedly forgotten; but we may take from the Vision of Tongues, in the poem of 'Babylon,' which belongs to the second day of the second week, the names of the four persons who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, had been regarded by a polished Frenchman as the chief supporters of each modern language. Of the Italian, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso; of the German, Peuther, Luther, Bucer, and Butric; of the Spanish, Guevara, Granada, Boscan, and Garcilasso (the two poets last-named were the chief introducers of Italian style into Castilian poetry); of the French, Marot, Amyot, Ronsard, and Plessis (Mornay); of the English, Sir Thomas More, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Philip Sidney, and Queen Elizabeth herself, who—

'with phrases choice,

So on the sudden can discourse in Greek,
French, Latin, Tuscan, Dutch, and Spanish eke,
That Rome, Rhine, Rhone, Greece, Spain, and Italy,
Plead all for right in her nativity.'

The Queen's skill in choice phrases, and her power as a linguist, had of course favoured the growth of Euphuism at Elizabeth's court. The character of James I. lowered the dignity, while it extended the domain, of literary affectation. A new strength of religious and political feeling caused the conceited and pedantic style to be often animated with a heat of life and passion in the days of Charles I. and of the Commonwealth. Much of the common language of the Puritans was Euphuism, cast by the heat of zeal in a religious mould. We see the grandeur of it in Cromwell's description of his victory over the Scotch at Dunbar, and the 'poor, weak faith wherein, I believe, not a few amongst us shared, that, because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the Mount, and in the Mount the Lord would be seen.' We have it in bathos, when, after Cromwell's death, a follower 'declares his steps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the

the great patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees to the height of Honour.' Upon the weakness of courtly society after the Restoration it was easy for the new energy of French literature to make its impression. Our writers translated and studied the French critics, while in England, as in Italy, during the last half of the seventeenth century, the stage was possessed by the spirit of the Spanish dramas of intrigue. The tendency of the French influence was to produce a nicety of attention to the use of words; an avoidance, ridiculed by Fielding and others, of such words and subjects as were to be thought 'low;' a predilection for the French or Latin side of English; and a disposition for antithesis; forming a style that in its best form had so little insincerity of manner, and was so mild in its Euphuism, that its charm will survive many generations.

In our own day, however, it is curious to observe that for a reason nearly opposite to that which produced such a result in the days of Queen Elizabeth, popular English writing has again a tendency to Euphuism. When authors, following the path opened to them by Defoe, quitted their place of waiting in the antechambers of the Prince, and found their way to the great body of the people, when there arose with the growth of journalism a sense among writers that for a more perfect sympathy, and even for the more substantial payment of their labour, they must look not to the courtier but to the great public that does not go to court, it was inevitable that a Saxon English should be addressed more and more habitually to a people Saxon in its homes. The attainment, by the literature of Germany, of its point of highest strength and European influence, happened to coincide with and to strengthen this new tendency towards the German element in our own tongue; and now therefore our literature is almost everywhere marked by a wise preference for homely Anglo-Saxon speech. Meanwhile readers have multiplied, and writers with them. Extension of the reading circle has reduced the average of its school knowledge. The classical allusions and the scraps of learning that pleased Lyly's limited and courtly circle never could interest the million whom a writer seeking popularity in these days will endeavour to attract. Yet the reader without scholarship also expects to be entertained by one who can put forward some claim to particular regard. An immense region of print has to be occupied by men who cannot all have the originality that will enable them to win an audience to the unaffected speaking of their thoughts. Men who have nothing to say, write copiously. Debarred from the old way of asserting their right to be heard by a forced show of learning, they fall back upon the other old way of a forced display of wit. What else

else is to be done, by one who has no natural truth to express which is sufficiently raised above men's everyday thoughts to appear worth especial notice when it is presented also in men's everyday language? Denied the artificial aid of pedantry, he strives to be thought smart, and hides his poverty of mind under a fustian tinselled with conceits. There is a disposition even to revert to the old affected *Pap with a Hatchet* manner of title for the lucubrations of the hour. It may be true, as Lyly said, that speech 'neither adorned with fine figures, neither sprinkled with choice phrases, bringeth tediousness.' But figures, and quick-witted phrases, are to mind in its activity only what flush of cheek and flash of eye are to the body. Even Puttenham, regarding them as rouge, observed that rouge is not an ornament for all parts of the face.

There is good reason, then, for the oblivion into which those books have fallen, which, like Lyly's 'Euphuës' and the 'Divine Weeks' of Du Bartas, appealed by their affected manner to a transitory taste. They illustrate Ben Jonson's rule, 'Nothing is lasting that is feigned.' Both Lyly and Du Bartas were in earnest, often uttering thoughts sacred to themselves; and yet a turn in the course of taste shuts them at once from sight. So it has been, and ever will be, with all writers who look beyond or beside the simple wish to give exact expression to their thoughts. Absolute truth of manner is the life of literature. In as far as books of rhetoric have any value, they are not manuals of artifice, but natural systems of discourse—intellectual anatomies or botanies that do not concern themselves with wigs or artificial flowers. It is found, by study of the common speech of men, that energy of thought produces certain variations from the unimpassioned style. By comparison of these livelier forms of expression, classification is obtained of tropes and figures of speech; certain natural facts also are elicited; and these, reduced to formulæ, are rules of rhetoric. A rule of rhetoric informs us, for example, that we should not, unless meaning to degrade, compare great things with small. That is the rule only because a man hastily uttering his sense of what is noble speaks of it inevitably in the highest terms within his reach. No man of sound mind, in the moment when he is seriously impressed with the beauty of snow on a leafless tree, could possibly err with Du Bartas in likening the tree-top to a bald pate in a periwig. Affected ornaments are those which cannot arise out of the stir of a mind wholly intent upon its subject. They are introduced not for the exact expression of the writer's thought, but for parade of his invention. Instead of proving that he is, they prove that he is not, wholly concerned about his subject; and it even seems to be regarded as an object

of desire by some of our young writers, that they should not appear to be themselves more than half interested in that for which they ask the full attention of the public.

To attain a power of exact expression is the one end of true literary discipline. To put his whole thought and express his actual emotion in his words, not to interpolate clever embellishments, is the object even of the careful writer when he takes pains to revise what he has written. It is true that men write feebly who write as they speak. Spoken language has eyes, hands, every movement on the face, every gesture of the body, every tone of the speaker's voice, to illustrate it as it flows. To written language all these aids are wanting, and the want of all must be supplied by special care for the right use of words. The written words have of course their advantage in their permanence. Readers differ from listeners, in having power to look back, pause where they will, vary at will the pace of the thoughts entering their minds; and writers find strength in the liberty of concentration thus acquired. But it is the strength of exact fitness that has to be sought. Even in the most laborious shaping and re-shaping of his verses, the true poet does but struggle to change words imperfectly expressive of his thought, for others that shall reproduce it clearly in the minds of strangers.

Let, therefore, the modern Euphuist take warning. There are still many who aim at the multiplication of ingenious images and phrases that mean only, Praise me. They may win a day's praise, but their works will go the way of 'Euphues.' As the strength of the true labourer is not exerted through those movements by which the tumbler draws attention to his suppleness of limb, so neither is it worth any true writer's while to put the spangles on his mind, and by contortions court applause at the street-corners. We were not the more but the less sure of Mr. Ruskin's genius and power, when he affected the name of 'Unto This Last' for a recent display of his bewilderments in political economy. The same writer opened the last volume of his 'Modern Painters' with a chapter of show-writing entitled the 'Earth Veil,' expressive of the simplest thought with the least possible simplicity. When he had delighted the ghost of school-master Holofernes with talk of 'frail-floretted snow' and dainty affectation of the letter that condemns us 'so long as we choose to contend rather with our fellows than our faults,' he began, in his second chapter, to be systematic, and at the very outset of his argument classified plants with a conceited extravagance that Euphues himself could not have surpassed. There are, he said, 'Tented plants. They live in encampments on the ground, as lilies; or on surfaces of rock, or stems of other plants, as lichens

or mosses.' And there are 'Building plants. These will *not* live on the ground, but eagerly raise edifices above it.' The Building plants were next divided into 'Builders with the Shield' and 'Builders with the Sword.' For five massive volumes of such Euphuism Mr. Ruskin is responsible! 'This is a gift I have,' quoth the Schoolmaster; 'simple, simple; a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions.'

Well may a writer, who perhaps is to be regarded as the chief of living third-class authors, take Mr. Ruskin for a model when, intending to describe ingeniously, if not truly, certain people who are to be seen walking in Regent Street, he entitles his essay 'Music in Paving Stones,' and opens with a compliment to the 'fantastic tissues of Art-thought' in Mr. Ruskin's 'Stones of Venice:—'Let me try,' he adds, 'if, striking the paving-stones with my iron heel, I cannot elicit some music from them. Let the stones of Regent Street, London, be my Rock Harmonicon, and let me essay to play upon them some few bars more of the musical tune.'

When we speak of third-class authors, we consider the first-class to include all sane writers who are both earnest and original; the second, all who are earnest without being original; the third, all, whether sane or not, who, although they may be without either of the qualities that give a writer claim to be remembered, know how to amuse the crowd in their own day as mimics. Imitations of peculiarities in the style of Mr. Dickens, Mr. Thackeray, and Mr. Carlyle, constitute indeed a large part of our third-class popular literature. A true and rare vivacity of fancy loads the delightful writing of Mr. Dickens with quaint turns of thought, of which the worst are in his own works not unwelcome, because it is evident that they are part of the natural movement of a singularly active wit. But when men of inferior genius, or of no genius, are tempted to beat the contents of their heads for dislocated thoughts, the educated public is aggrieved, although an ill-taught crowd may be contented. Mr. Thackeray's imitators deal in abuse of parenthesis, and with an obtrusive familiarity take readers by the button for small personal suggestions and discussions. Upon Mr. Carlyle's 'Apes of the Dead Sea' and 'Cesspools of the Universe' we need not dwell. Mr. Carlyle's labour to be peculiar has crippled in his own case an otherwise sound, individual, and very faultless English style. The fault is second nature to him now. But so must Lyly's have been, after his brains had suffered a few years of beating.

The extravagant conceits with which Mr. Spurgeon flavours
sermons

sermons for the million owe to the same perverted taste their popularity. Of strange sermons with strange titles the number is increasing. It is to be noted, however, that religious Euphuism, dating from Puritan days, has been cherished as a part of religion itself by some communities. It is now, we believe, represented by a journal called 'The Earthen Vessel.'

But why multiply examples when we speak of a defect so common that it is difficult to take up a book or journal addressed to the main body of the people in which evidence of it is not to be found? It is not only by affected similitudes that authors may pretend to put into their readers' mouths 'finer bread than is made of wheat.' Whatever is written for display is written badly. Direct, manly presentment of what has to be presented, a matter worthy to be told, quietly told, in pure and wholesome English, with no paltry playing upon words, and no more stir of fancy or appeal to the emotions than arises naturally from the working of a mind intent upon its thought, is now held to be poor entertainment for the English people. The writer of a popular article seldom appears to be much concerned about his subject, while he is by far too much concerned about the pattern of its ornamental coverings. Smartness he thinks to be more needful than wisdom, more needful even than exact truth; for it is often evident that he has wilfully spoilt the fair telling of what he thinks or knows, through dread of being dull, by being literal.

In the last holiday season a conspicuous example of the degradation of the public taste was to be found in nearly all our theatres. The disposition towards meretricious ornament in literature has brought upon the stage entertainments called burlesques, in which a story—it may be some good old fairy tale—is told in language of which every line bristles with puns. The essence of a pun being to distract attention from the sense of words, and fix it upon their mere sound, interest in the action represented is abolished, as beside the purpose of the author. The story told has been deliberately and entirely sacrificed to the display of verbal ingenuity. The estimate of public taste which justifies this meretricious style we nevertheless believe to be as unfounded as it is contemptuous. Complaint against the literature of the sauceboat which too constantly is set before them, we have again and again heard even from intelligent mechanics. Plainer and more substantial fare in honest work of the historians, biographers, travellers, essayists, and poets, who, standing in the first rank of contemporary literature, maintain the dignity of English thought and English speech, is sought out and enjoyed by very many of the men who are considered able to understand and enjoy nothing that

that is set before them sensibly. More is to be said upon this subject than we have room to say now. Our purpose has been not to define at length the errors of the present, but to read, at a time when there is need of it, one of the profitable lessons of the past.

By the fate, then, of the writers who have flattered fashion and are read no more, let modern Euphuists be warned. Nothing is lasting that is feigned. John Lyly censured, as we have seen, the men who desired 'to eat finer bread than is made of wheat,' while he himself yielded to the taste of his day for affected writing; and the end is, that, with all its wit and worthiness of purpose, 'Euphuës' is dead.

ART. III.—1. *The Autobiography of a Seaman.* By Thomas Tenth Earl of Dundonald. London. Vol. I., 1859; Vol. II., 1860.

2. *Life of the Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B.* By Joseph Allen. London, 1861.

3. *Trial of Lord Cochrane, &c.* Taken in shorthand by William Brodie Gurney.

4. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1814.

THOMAS tenth Earl of Dundonald lies, full of years and full of honours, in Westminster Abbey. After singular vicissitudes of reputation and adventure,

‘The sound of those he wrought for,
And the feet of those he fought for,
Echo round his bones for evermore.’

He was universally acknowledged as an intrepid and indefatigable naval officer, of endless resources and brilliant ingenuity. He was a fearless and uncompromising claimant of whatever he deemed to be the rights of himself or others, a loud declaimer against all abuses that he could detect in the government of his own service, and a thorough-going parliamentary representative of a Radical metropolitan borough. His reverses were not less striking than his triumphs. We find him convicted in a court of justice as a fraudulent conspirator against the interests and rights of the public, and sentenced to imprisonment, fine, and the pillory; dismissed from the navy, and degraded from the noble order of knighthood his conspicuous gallantry had rightfully earned. He has overlived his shame, and renovated his fame. He lived to see the popular sentiment in regard of his reputation reverse the verdict of the jury who tried him; to
command

command a British fleet; to be looked up to and quoted once more as a name of legitimate weight and authority in his country's maritime wars; to be reinstated in his knightly dignity; and to sink into rest amid the unanimous regret and admiration of the press and the people. Seldom has such a loud cry risen up after the death of a popular hero, to celebrate a career of patent incompleteness; a career which most of his later critics agree with himself in maintaining to have been lopped and defrauded of its proper development by the cruel and base persecution of opposing political and professional factions, and by no fault of his own. From the unfailing brilliancy of his early exploits as an English seaman, and his equally marvellous adventures as a cosmopolitan liberal adventurer, as well as from the sympathy which naturally attaches to the character of any man so very eminent, whose life has been rightly or wrongly overshadowed with so great a cloud, the world has readily credited his posthumous reputation with 'all that might have been.' It speaks of Lord Cochrane as potentially and virtually a second Nelson in his country's history, as a kind of unfulfilled prophecy like the young Marcellus of Virgil—*si qua fata aspera rumpat*—if he could but have broken the spell of a harsh and unmerited overwhelming destiny.

The bare facts of Lord Cochrane's professional career unquestionably afford the most ample and legitimate cause for the regret that such promise should never have been adequately fulfilled. He was by nature peculiarly gifted for some of the most important duties of the service; sagacious and daring to a degree in conception and execution, calm and cool under any circumstances, ambitious and comprehensive in his general views of naval warfare, and, as we have said, of infinite and original genius in emergency. Less than this cannot be said in praise of him, upon the authority of recognised history and public documents alone. The perusal of his autobiography adds a clear and vivid picturesqueness to the detail of his adventures, but hardly affords any fresh material upon which to form a more unhesitating and absolute judgment as to the place he would have historically occupied as one of England's admirals, had he been called to that rank in the natural course of his career. The positive qualities of professional genius which he so eminently displayed, and the most available rough test of ability, the success he actually obtained, go far to command our belief that with such an opportunity he would have won for himself, under favourable circumstances, a name in naval story as high as Nelson's. The chief doubt whether he would have done so is suggested by his personal temper, as reflected alike by his acted life and by his autobiography.

autobiography. Where a man's whole history is tinged with the colour of a perpetual grievance of one kind or other, it is natural to suspect, and often easy to trace, some want of logical power or fairness of moral judgment. In weighing an *ex parte* statement of professional or social injuries, it is difficult always to discriminate between a keen sensitiveness to injustice and a tendency to insubordination. There appears to be a particular class of excitable and self-confident men of genius, in whom the sense of a perpetrated or supposed wrong is quickly engrafted on the mind, and as quickly becomes a fixed idea. It is practically useless in such a case to expect rational fairness towards an offending superior or adversary. Those who are not with such a man are against him. Whatever is evident to him as truth, is so self-evident as to force him to assume dishonesty on the part of all who hold the contrary. When Napier and Outram had once disagreed in opinion upon a serious point of policy, Napier was unable to find anything that was not bad in the noble character of which he had once so emphatically expressed his admiration. Such a will is contented with no superior who is not ready to repose unbounded trust in the discretion of his subordinate; a price for the use of genius which sometimes it may be right and expedient to pay, though for refusing to pay it the superior does not necessarily deserve to be classed as a fool or a rogue. In short, it is a human infirmity compatible with genius of a very high order, to be neither temperate nor logical. It must always be a question of which the answer will depend on particular circumstances, how far such an infirmity may, on any given occasion, interfere with the success which otherwise that genius might command or deserve. The quick power of mental concentration, which is one peculiar mark of military genius on a great scale, will generally go far to neutralize the want of logical or temperate power of reasoning in the direction of those rapid and ever-changing combinations which govern the fortunes of a fleet or army. But where such defects are patent upon the character, it is impossible to feel sure how far this compensation will reach until the problem has actually been tried. Lord Dundonald is now registered among the great dead, as *omnium consensu capax imperii*; and so would others have been — *nisi imperassent*.

Up to the great blow to his reputation, which practically ended the opportunities of his naval career in the service of England, and drove him to seek employment for his restless energy and peace for his angry spirit in the waters of Chili and Greece, the professional fortune of Lord Cochrane was, we venture to think, not as a whole obviously unequal to his merits. It may be true that the rules and usages of the naval service neither were nor are

are perfect, and it is certainly true that they were not made to bend for the purpose of advancing or glorifying Lord Cochrane. But it is equally true that under those rules he did enjoy and profit by opportunities of distinguishing himself as a seaman, and of acquiring a fortune, which many another officer, as ambitious and perhaps as capable, has through a long and hard service sighed for in vain. The rough and the smooth must be taken together in the naval and military services of Great Britain; services not created and exclusively maintained for the better provision of individual aristocratic cadets (as Mr. Bright is fain to suppose), but in order to supply a need of the whole state in the most efficient manner. An officer even of proved capacity has no absolute right to complain personally of not receiving employment equal to his deserts, as long as he does not see those who are less capable put over his head, or receiving the desired employment in his place. The principle of professional selection and promotion is, what will be most for the benefit of the country? If once the question is looked at from a point of view which concedes an absolute right as vested among the competitors for active service, it is theoretically the fairest plan that every man who enters the service should have the same chances of employment and distinction. The right to preference acquired by superior skill on the part of one soldier, sailor, or other workman, over his fellow, is simply co-extensive with the degree to which his services are a better bargain to the country which employs him. If he is left unemployed, or without the encouragement of a reasonable recompense, it is the country, and not the individual, that has the greatest cause for complaint.

In accordance with a practice not unfrequent in Lord Cochrane's early days, his name was entered upon the books of the ships commanded by his uncle, Captain Cochrane, several years before he actually went to sea in 1793 at the age of seventeen. It is foreign to our present purpose to discuss the abstract merits or demerits of such an exercise of private patronage. In effect it enabled Lord Cochrane, by virtue of his nominal service, to become a lieutenant within two years of his first joining his uncle's ship, the 'Hind.' In four years more he gained another step in rank, and was appointed to the command of the little 14-gun brig, the 'Speedy,' in which he was to do such good service among the privateers and merchantmen on the coasts of Spain and Italy. It was to the kindness of Lord Keith, who had taken him as supernumerary lieutenant on board his own flag-ship, and given him the opportunity of distinguishing himself for intrepidity and skill in a boat expedition and as a prize-master, that he owed this early recognition of his professional capacity in the promotion to a separate command.

During

During the fourteen months covered by his cruises in the 'Speedy,' Lord Cochrane displayed in the most unmistakeable manner the qualities of calculated daring and cool ingenuity which afterwards marked him so strongly. He could stow away a whole broadside of his craft in his coat-pockets; but on the well-stored cruising-ground which Lord Keith had assigned to him he captured prize after prize so uninterruptedly as to give him a popular reputation among the common seamen, which proved invaluable for securing the hearty and confident execution of all his orders. The romantic exploits of the formidable little brig culminated in her capture of the Spanish xebec-frigate 'Gamo,' of 32 guns, manned by a crew six times as numerous as that of the 'Speedy.' A stroke of inventive readiness which marked the engagement, the device of blackening the faces of half his crew, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the Spaniards at the critical moment of boarding, was perhaps the most characteristically original contrivance ever put into practice even by Lord Cochrane. A similar fertility of resource, in combination with coolness and forethought, had alone secured the escape of the 'Speedy' from a heavy Spanish frigate a short time earlier, by the accurate personation of a Danish brig-of-war in quarantine. But the cruises of the 'Speedy' were not destined to last for ever; and Lord Cochrane found himself in July, 1801, a prisoner on board a French line-of-battle ship, after having taken with his 14-gun brig some fifty vessels, mounting altogether more than 120 guns, although the 'Speedy' had not actually been at sea during more than a year. He had the good fortune to be exchanged within a few weeks, and shortly received his promotion to post-rank, within eight years of his first joining the service.

His first great grievance against the Admiralty began to shape itself from this time. Lord St. Vincent, then the First Naval Lord, had been vehemently pressed by the friends and relatives of Lord Cochrane to promote him, in reward for his gallant exploits with the 'Speedy,' especially the escape from the large Spanish frigate and the taking of the 'Gamo.' It appears that, although the facts were privately known, the official despatch announcing this capture did not reach the Admiralty before the arrival of the news that the 'Speedy' had in her turn been captured; and the formal necessity for an inquiry into the circumstances of her loss, whenever Lord Cochrane should be exchanged, rendered his immediate promotion impossible. Before that exchange took place some of the commanders junior to Lord Cochrane had been already promoted for services subsequent to the capture of the 'Gamo.' When Lord Cochrane was acquitted by court-martial of any blame for the loss of the 'Speedy,' his commission as

post-captain took date from that acquittal, and was not (as he conceived himself entitled to expect) antedated from the time of the exploit of which it was the reward. Nor did his lieutenant receive any promotion for the conspicuous part he had played in the same action. Lord St. Vincent clearly thought that the pressure exerted on the Admiralty in behalf of Lord Cochrane virtually amounted to a claim as of right, which he entirely refused to concede. He may have meant to mark this refusal in the terms of the promotion. But whatever were the merits of the two cases, and however great the characteristic pertinacity of Lord St. Vincent in declining to overstep the routine limits of official enthusiasm in the apportionment of the reward for an extraordinarily gallant and successful deed, it is also clear, upon Lord Cochrane's own showing, that, in the style of his importunate applications to the Admiralty for justice to his officer, the young captain acted in defiance alike of common sense and decorum. It is hardly surprising, if a flagrant insult, under the guise of an argument as to the comparative claims of the officers promoted in Lord St. Vincent's own flag-ship after the battle in which his title was gained, induced the First Lord of the Admiralty not only to refuse to entertain any further applications, but to place a significant mark in his memory against the name of the young lord who could so forget himself. In a service of which discipline is the first condition and the main stay, it is not merely excusable but necessary that the 'cholerick-word' of the captain should be treated as approaching to blasphemy in the soldier.

Now that he had (as he thought) made Lord St. Vincent his enemy, Lord Cochrane's next command was a severe disappointment to an energetic and ambitious young officer. He was condemned in 1803 to the 'Arab,' a slow and dangerous sailer, and to what he considered a penal station—being sent to cruise north-east of the Orkney Isles, for the protection of the British fisheries in those seas, the existence of which he alleges to have been invented for the occasion. Other captains, less obnoxious to Lord St. Vincent, took their turn in the foreign prize fishing-grounds of which he had enjoyed so golden a foretaste in the 'Speedy.' Lord Cochrane had now to take the rough in turn with the smooth. Had he disciplined his mind in so doing, it might have been the better for him. After a year's relegation to the 'Arab' and the Orkneys (a ship and a station to which perhaps some other deserving officer was, after all, glad enough to be appointed on their being left unoccupied), Lord Cochrane was transferred by Lord Melville to the 'Pallas,' a new and swift-sailing 38-gun frigate, and sent for a short cruise off the Western Islands. The smooth had come after

after the rough. When the 'Pallas' returned to Plymouth after a few months' cruise, in which she owed one hairbreadth escape in a chase by three French line-of-battle ships to a rapid double, executed with brilliant seamanship by her crew and captain, she bore three tall golden candlesticks glittering at her mast-heads—a token which might have belonged to the days of Drake or Raleigh. Her commander was richer by some 75,000*l.* (says his biographer, Mr. Allen) than when he sailed.

Lord Cochrane's later service in the 'Pallas,' when attached to the home-squadron, under Vice-Admiral Thornborough, was of a more glorious if of a less lucrative character. The cutting-out of the French brig 'Tapageuse' with his boats in the mouth of the Garonne, while, with only forty hands left on board the frigate, he drove three large French corvettes on shore by sheer audacity of demeanour, and the single-handed combat of the 'Pallas,' close to the batteries of the Isle of Aix, with the more powerful French frigate 'Minerve' and three brigs, drew even from Lord St. Vincent as Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet a high commendation of the brilliant bravery of the man whom as First Lord he had banished to the North Seas in an old collier. When after the last action the 'Pallas' was sent home to repair damages, her captain and crew were transferred to the 'Impérieuse,' a fine frigate carrying 44 guns, and ordered to rejoin the Channel Fleet. A successful boat-attack upon a battery near the mouth of the Garonne was the chief exploit which characterized Lord Cochrane's first cruise in his new command; but the details of his adventures in her in the Mediterranean a year later, in 1808-9, are of endless variety and interest. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect produced by this single frigate in harassing the French along the coasts of Languedoc and Catalonia. The tale of telegraph-stations destroyed, batteries and castles taken by storm, gun-boats sunk or captured, false alarms and general insecurity spread over a long line of shore by the swiftness and sharpness of blows mostly struck in the dark, render a plain story from the log of the 'Impérieuse' as picturesque and vivid as a highly-spiced nautical romance. The defence by Lord Cochrane and part of his crew of the almost untenable Castle Trinidad, at Rosas, proved that his resources were as available and his generalship as clever in standing a siege by land as in conducting an attack by sea. His Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, Lord Collingwood, appreciated most highly the importance and the brilliancy of these performances, and felt that he was best serving the interests of the nation by leaving Lord Cochrane in the most independent situation with general instructions. The despatches sent home by Lord Col-

lingwood certainly invite more attention to the peculiar capacities which distinguished Lord Cochrane as an officer than appears at first sight to have been given them by the Admiralty of the time. Whether, as Lord Cochrane and his panegyrists assert, the services of the captain of the 'Impérieuse' were unduly neglected out of malice prepense and sheer factious antagonism to the Radical Member for Westminster, is another question altogether. If it is remembered how many years elapsed before the Peninsular medal was given to the veteran soldiers of Wellington, it appears hardly necessary to allege a specific political spite against Lord Cochrane as the only rational explanation of his having received no decorative badge for his guerrilla operations in 1808-9. The relative importance of military operations at a distance is, as a rule, roughly measured in the mind of the public, as well as in the official mind, by the greatness of the force employed on both sides. It is only of late years (if even now) that the consummate generalship and the critical importance of the Peninsular war itself have been adequately appreciated by Continental students of the history of the first French Empire.

But if no solid recompense and no meed of official praise rewarded Lord Cochrane for his brilliant desultory services in the Mediterranean, the Admiralty showed, on his arrival in England on leave in 1809, that they were well aware of his value. The idea of destroying by fire-ships the French squadron, then blockaded by the Channel fleet in Aix Roads, had been broached in correspondence between Admiral Lord Gambier and the Admiralty. Lord Cochrane was consulted confidentially by the First Naval Lord, Lord Mulgrave, as to the feasibility of such a scheme. No higher compliment could have been paid to the professional skill, local knowledge, daring and discretion of Lord Cochrane, than was involved in Lord Mulgrave's offer to him to conduct the fire-ships himself, if he deemed the attack practicable. The preference given him over every officer then serving in Lord Gambier's fleet for the direction of so hazardous and so important a service, implied the recognition of his past exploits as the strongest guarantee for his right judgment and his brilliant execution. Mr. Allen hints that this seeming compliment was only a 'machination' of Lord Cochrane's enemies. 'There will be no doubt,' he says, 'in the minds of many readers that it was only a means resorted to in order to deter him from again agitating the House of Commons with his intended motions on the Navy.' Lord Cochrane was, in short, on Mr. Allen's theory, sent out by a corrupt Admiralty as Uriah into the front of the battle—an inconvenience to be got rid of for the moment, and

and a scapegoat in the end if the plan failed. It is hard that one Board of Admiralty after another should be charged with the crime of premeditated malignity: the first, in maliciously not employing a great naval hero in the glorious risks of active service; the second, in maliciously so employing him. It is clear from the behaviour of the senior officers at the time serving under Lord Gambier, who felt their own supersession by Lord Cochrane as little short of an unjustifiable injury, that the opportunity of distinction thus given away from themselves was considered as the greatest professional compliment, and required no blind or tortuous political machinations to account for its being accepted as soon as it was offered. Rear-Admiral Harvey, who had led the 'Téméraire' into action so nobly at Trafalgar, used such vehement and insubordinate language to his Commander-in-Chief, in his indignation at seeing an officer so far junior chosen over his head for a post of such glory, as to cause his dismissal from the service. However honourable and sincere the general appreciation of Lord Cochrane's capacity may have been among the captains of the fleet, it is not to be doubted that a feeling of the strongest personal dissatisfaction was by no means confined to Rear-Admiral Harvey. On the other hand, we see no ground for believing that any private jealousy was allowed to interfere with the fullest carrying out to its proper consequences of the scheme intended by Lord Cochrane.

It is matter of undisputed history how skilfully and how gallantly all was done in furtherance of that scheme which it depended on Lord Cochrane himself to do. It was the last brilliant service which he was destined to perform in the Navy of England. The ten line-of-battle ships, one 54-gun store-ship, and four frigates, which composed the French fleet, lay moored in a strong double line behind the marine fieldwork (so to speak) formed by an enormous half-mile boom thrown across the deep-water channel, with one flank covered by the Boyart shoal, the other resting on the batteries of the Isle of Aix, and with every precaution taken against surprise. The boom was a safeguard against fire-ships, but not against fire-ships led by the terrible explosion-vessel, which was the main novelty in Lord Cochrane's plan. The French squadron was driven from its anchorage in utter panic and confusion. Thirteen ships out of fifteen were stranded, and of these four were taken and destroyed. Whether any of the thirteen ought to have escaped destruction, is a question we do not intend to re-argue here. The court-martial upon Lord Gambier, which necessarily ensued upon Lord Cochrane's public refusal to concur in the proposed Parliamentary vote of thanks, acquitted the Commander-in-Chief of neglecting or delaying to
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take effectual measures for destroying them. Lord Dundonald, in his 'Autobiography,' complains of the admission in evidence before the court-martial of charts wilfully falsified in the interest of Lord Gambier, and of the rejection of the regular Admiralty charts, based upon authentic French charts, which were tendered by himself. It is extremely difficult to make out from Lord Dundonald's confused and often contradictory comments upon the trial, how far the alleged falsification or error in measurement was relevant to the main issue, or how far and for what specific purpose the one set of charts was used to the exclusion of the other. Few persons will believe, without evidence, what Lord Dundonald does not scruple to insinuate, that the charts produced and sworn to by Lord Gambier's sailing-master were expressly and purposely manufactured for the trial with a false scale by Lord Gambier's solicitor. But the question of the moral responsibility of Lord Gambier as Commander-in-Chief could not be decided by the charts alone. Even if there was fair room for the heavy ships in sailing trim to pass the edge of the Boyart shoal, in going in with a favourable wind, without being exposed to the batteries on the Isle of Aix, it still does not follow that the Admiral was necessarily wrong in hesitating to expose them to the risks of being unable to work out into open water again after an engagement with the enemy, who even when grounded were by no means defenceless, and who would naturally float again with the same rising tide which carried the English line-of-battle ships in. It is probable enough that if Gambier had been Nelson, he would have risked his fleet for the chance of inflicting such a blow on the enemy, and for the sake of the glory to follow; but it does not follow that he was distinctly wrong, not being Nelson, in declining the enterprise. Admiral De la Gravière, who saw the business from the French side, agrees with Lord Cochrane that it was '*la mollesse de Lord Gambier*' which enabled the majority of the French fleet, panic-stricken as it was, to escape after all. Such testimony affords a presumption that Lord Gambier's caution was carried to a needless extent; but it is by no means conclusive as to his want of justification for refusing to risk the British fleet in an operation which, even in Lord Cochrane's own belief at the time, would have entailed the loss of three or four ships. The statements in the 'Autobiography' are too illogical and too obviously onesided to change into certainty any presumption as to the case against Lord Gambier. The very strong grounds for believing that Lord Gambier was fully justified in the course he adopted are fairly set out in the epitome of the court-martial given in his *Memoirs*, recently published by Lady Chatterton. We have endeavoured merely to indicate the terms

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of the problem ; but we are content to leave it for others to argue to a solution.

But whatever might have been the shortcomings of Lord Gambier, was Lord Cochrane the person who should have impugned the conduct of his own Commander-in-Chief, in a matter which clearly rested in the discretion of the superior officer? Let those who doubt compare his behaviour with that of Sir Arthur Wellesley towards Sir Harry Burrard in regard to the battle of Vimiero. Sir Arthur's confidence in his own power of following up the victory to the almost entire destruction of Junot's army was as absolute as the confidence felt by Lord Cochrane when he signalled Lord Gambier in Aix Roads. He urged his own views as strongly and earnestly, though he would never have dreamed of attempting to commit his superior in command by acts of insubordinate daring. His personal disappointment was, and well might be, as great at the loss of a great opportunity. But when once the moral responsibility of the decision was fairly taken off his own shoulders, he was the first to admit, and the steadiest to maintain against a strong current of popular clamour, that the General who had superseded him in the moment of victory, and curtailed the glory of his achievement by a course diametrically opposite to his judgment, had decided upon fair military reasons, and was not to be run down for taking a different view from his own. There was a wide difference in temper, and in that loftiness of spirit which rests upon temper, between the disciplined and the undisciplined patriot and officer.

It can hardly be wondered at if Lord Cochrane's intemperate and unmanageable patriotism left him few friends at the Admiralty, or that it should have been found more and more difficult to suit him with a service in which the member for Westminster might employ his naval genius with unmixed advantage to his country. The obligations of his conscience towards his constituents, to stereotype, by his refusal to vote thanks for what had been done under his own conduct, his private judgment as an officer on the feasibility of what had been left undone, prevented his accepting the so-called 'corrupt' offer of an independent command of a squadron of frigates in the Mediterranean. The same theoretical duty of not trifling with his Parliamentary obligations as a reforming knight-errant, compelled him to resign the command of the 'Impérieuse' when ordered to join again for foreign service. It was looked upon as an insult and a snare on the part of a dishonest Government, that it should now offer to a patriotic opponent the long-coveted employment at sea. The ministerial organs unfortunately made Lord Cochrane the subject of some indifferent squibs, of which one is quoted in the 'Auto-biography'

biography' as a proof of the tricky motives by which the conduct of the Admiralty was actuated :—

'You fight so well and speak so ill,
Your case is somewhat odd,
Fighting abroad you're quite *at home*,
Speaking at home—*abroad* :

Therefore your friends, than hear yourself,
Would rather of you hear ;
And that your name in the *Gazette*,
Than *Journals*, should appear.'

'The wit' (says Lord Cochrane, and we agree with him, but not with the ironical *arrière-pensée* which is transparent through the last clause of his criticism) 'is somewhat obtuse, but the feeling here expressed was no doubt sincere.' If for some years after the action of Aix Roads Lord Cochrane was out of all but political employment, we cannot but think it was his own fault, as well as his greatest misfortune.

The history of Lord Cochrane's earliest electioneering success at the notoriously corrupt borough of Honiton, standing as he did upon 'no bribery' principles, is a curious commentary on his subsequent career. After failing in his first contest through the bribery of his opponent, Lord Cochrane proclaimed through the town crier, and paid to the few Honiton electors who had withstood that bribery and voted for himself, a reward of double the headmoney which the other candidate had paid. This was done with an exclusive view, as he admits himself, to the next election. When at that next election the purist candidate was returned by a large majority, he sternly kicked down the ladder of greedy expectations by which he had skilfully climbed ; and by this ruse he first entered the House of Commons.

If the rehabilitation of Lord Cochrane's character in respect of the offence of which he was convicted in 1814 stood by itself in popular estimation, we could be content with expressing our satisfaction that a name so distinguished had been voted free from so great a stain. But as, by the almost unanimous voice of the press and the clamour of the crowd, the assertion of Lord Cochrane's innocence has been mixed up with a solemn attack upon other honourable memories, and specially the memory of one of the great Chief Justices of England, it is not superfluous to set forth once more the circumstances of the case at some length, and, if possible, enable the public to disentangle its judgment from a state of most unsatisfactory confusion. It has been stated and insinuated over and over again that it was only by the vilest conspiracy, by something like subornation of perjury, by gross and

and tyrannous misconduct on the part of the judge who tried the cause, that one who was felt to be a thorn in the side of the Administration was got rid of, by conviction on a false charge, before a packed jury. The authority of a great name and a high position has been lent by the noble and learned author of the 'Lives of the Chief Justices of England' to an insinuation which we believe to have been absolutely unfounded: that Lord Ellenborough was afterwards preyed upon by misgivings as to the propriety of his own conduct in regard of the trial and the sentence, which made him 'very wretched,' 'affected his health,' and were 'supposed to have hastened his end.' The reputation of Lord Ellenborough is or ought to be as dear to his country as that of Lord Dundonald. Does the reversal of the verdict of the jury by such a generally unanimous opinion as might almost be called a 'trial by the country' after the lapse of many years, necessarily involve the condemnation of those who placed Lord Cochrane at the bar at Guildhall, those who convicted him, and those who sentenced him for the misdemeanour of which he was found guilty? The question is best answered by as concise a recital as can be given of the main facts as they came out in the investigation set on foot by the Stock Exchange, in the evidence laid before the judge and jury, before the court which refused a new trial, and before the House of Commons which expelled Lord Cochrane after hearing all he had to allege in his own behalf.

In February, 1814, the strong net of the allied armies was gradually closing round Napoleon, but it was not yet positively certain that no mesh would be found which he might break through. Montmirail and Champaubert proved that the strokes of his genius were as swift and sharp as ever; and with the forces still under his command he might at least yet stand at bay for a long time. Any day might bring the news of his suffering a ruinous defeat, or gaining fresh breathing time by a sudden victory. Every scrap of news was eagerly looked for, and stock-brokers kept their private agents at the Channel ports to forestall the market by picking up the earliest rumours. About one o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 21st February, a person calling himself Colonel de Bourg appeared at an inn door at Dover, in the guise of a staff officer, wearing a scarlet uniform with a star under a grey greatcoat, and alleged himself to have just landed on the beach from France, bearing news of the defeat and death of Napoleon, the entry of the allies into Paris, and the certainty of an immediate peace. No one professes now to doubt that this person was in fact De Berenger, who was convicted at the trial. The *alibi* set up in his defence entirely failed; and it is said that

that Lord Cochrane's own subsequent investigations proved even more distinctly than had been shown at the trial that De Berenger had travelled from London to Dover the day before, and had been seen there in plain clothes before he put on the staff officer's uniform, which was purchased on the Saturday from a military tailor at Charing Cross. From the Ship Inn at Dover De Berenger sent an express with a letter containing his alleged intelligence to the Admiral at Deal, to be telegraphed to the Admiralty. The Admiral was not satisfied without further inquiry of the authenticity of the news, and was moreover prevented from using the telegraph by the thickness of the weather. De Berenger travelled as hard as he could to London with a postchaise and four horses, paying his way liberally with Napoleons, and spreading the rumour as he went along. In the last stage before reaching London he remarked to the postboys that the telegraphs were not working, and there was therefore no need of hurry. He directed them to drive to some hackney-coach stand less public than that at the Bricklayer's Arms, which was the first in his way; and was, in fact, driven up alongside of a single hackney-coach at the Marsh Gate, Lambeth. Stepping straight from the chaise into the coach, he ordered himself to be driven to Grosvenor Square, and when there directed the coachman to the house in Green Street, which Lord Cochrane had occupied only some three days. At the trial, the postboy who drove him to Lambeth, the waterman who opened the door at the Marsh Gate, and the hackney-coachman, all swore to seeing his scarlet coat under the grey greatcoat. The hackney-coachman in his examination in chief stated that his fare had 'a bit of a portmanteau big enough to wrap a coat in,' and a sword; and only on cross-examination by De Berenger's counsel as to his notice of an ordinary passenger, mentioned that he saw the red coat as the gentleman got out at Green Street. Fragments of the red coat, and the star purchased on the 19th February, were ultimately found by a dredger tied in a parcel and sunk in the Thames. When De Berenger alighted at Lord Cochrane's house (about ten o'clock), Lord Cochrane was not at home, having breakfasted with his uncle, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and gone in his and Mr. Butt's company to Snow Hill, where he stayed at a tinworker's who was making him some signal lamps, while they went on to the Exchange. De Berenger sent a note by Lord Cochrane's servant, on the receipt of which Lord Cochrane returned home and had an interview with De Berenger. After that interview De Berenger left Lord Cochrane's house in a round hat and a black coat, furnished him by Lord Cochrane.

About twelve o'clock on the same day a chaise and four drove
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over London Bridge and through the city, with two persons in it wearing white cockades and dressed like French Royalist officers, and with the horses decorated with laurel. They disappeared over Blackfriars Bridge, left their chaise in Lambeth within a few yards of the spot where De Berenger had left his chaise two or three hours before, folded up their disguise, and walked away. The only variation in following out the same plan (if the plan were one concerted between the occupants of the two carriages) was that De Berenger, seeing perhaps that the telegraphs were not at work, and reasonably afraid of more certain detection if the first spread of the good news through the city were traced to his own bodily presence in the staff officer's uniform, never crossed London Bridge or came with his postchaise on the north side of the river.

When the Stock Exchange opened at ten o'clock that morning Lord Cochrane held a balance of 139,000*l.* omnium; Mr. Cochrane Johnstone 420,000*l.* omnium and 100,000*l.* Consols; Mr. Butt 200,000*l.* omnium and 178,000*l.* Consols: the whole amount in the hands of the three being equivalent to 1,600,000*l.* Consols. The rumour of the good news from Dover began to be heard on the Stock Exchange about eleven o'clock. The funds immediately began to rise, and continued rising till about two in the afternoon. Before that hour the whole or nearly the whole of the balances of all three, Lord Cochrane, Butt, and Cochrane Johnstone, were sold, realizing a gross profit, as calculated by the Stock Exchange, of 10,450*l.*: to Lord Cochrane 2,470*l.*, to Butt 3,048*l.* 15*s.*, and to Cochrane Johnstone 4,931*l.* 5*s.* In their defence they admitted a profit of 6,500*l.* among them. Towards the end of 'Change hours the want of confirmation of the news excited suspicion, and the funds began to fall. One broker, a Mr. Fearn, acted for Lord Cochrane entirely, for the main transactions of Mr. Butt, and for a considerable proportion of those of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone. Another broker, employed by Mr. Butt for the first time on Saturday, the 19th, had that day been directed by him to purchase as much as 150,000*l.* omnium, but had hesitated to execute in full so large an order. Mr. Fearn had been first introduced by Mr. Butt to both his other clients; had frequently seen them all together on business, before and during the week preceding the 21st; and took his orders for the conduct of Lord Cochrane's speculations sometimes from Lord Cochrane himself, sometimes from Mr. Butt, whose orders were always ratified by Lord Cochrane. On the 21st February Mr. Fearn opened a fresh office close by the Stock Exchange, in a house of which Lord Cochrane and the two others occupied in common one room, which had been taken
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by Mr. Cochrane Johnstone the week before. He had a general order from them to begin selling on their account whenever a profit of 1 per cent. could be realised. On that day he saw Messrs. Butt and Cochrane Johnstone together between ten and eleven in the morning; and, whether or not he had sold any of their or Lord Cochrane's stock before seeing them, continued from that hour selling in various parcels, according to their orders, through the day, till nearly the whole aggregate balance was sold.

Six days after the 'hoax' was perpetrated (a word which, when used in court, excited great indignation in Lord Ellenborough, as inadequately representing the scandalous and fraudulent immorality of the transaction), De Berenger, a needy and indebted foreigner, who had for some time been residing under sureties within the Rules of the King's Bench, suddenly disappeared. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone had left a letter for him at his lodgings on the previous day. De Berenger was ultimately apprehended at Leith on the 8th April under a Secretary of State's warrant, as an alien attempting to quit the kingdom without licence. In his possession were then found a set of 1*l*. bank-notes, which had passed on the 24th or 25th February through the hands of Mr. Butt into those of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone. Four hundred 1*l*. notes (of which these were part) had been obtained by Mr. Butt in change for three large notes, which Lord Cochrane had paid him between the 19th and 24th of February. Many other 1*l*. notes of this parcel, as well as two other notes, for 40*l*. and 50*l*. respectively, which had been in Mr. Butt's possession on the 25th February, were also dealt with by De Berenger, or his servant, between Leith and London.

As soon as the dealers in the Stocks discovered that they had been the subject of a fraud, they naturally began to apply the test of—*Cui bono?* who had profited thereby? A committee of the Stock Exchange was appointed to inquire, and before long succeeded in tracing the unknown personator of Colonel De Bourg to the house of Lord Cochrane, in the dress (as appeared) in which he had travelled from Dover. An investigation of the brokers' accounts showed the extent to which Lord Cochrane and his friends had been sellers on the particular day. When these suspicious facts became public Lord Cochrane came forward to explain. It was time he should. Innocent or guilty, he could not have remained silent under such a flagrant presumption of complicity, without surrendering his character at once. On the 11th of March he published a sworn deposition, relative to the only person in military uniform seen by himself at his house, in Green-street, on the 21st of February. Its substance was as follows:—

follows :—A short note, signed with a name he could not read, requesting him to come home immediately, was brought to him by his servant at the tin-worker's manufactory, between ten and eleven that morning. The servant said it was written by an army officer. Concluding that some accident had happened to his brother, Major Cochrane, then serving with the army in Spain, he hastened back, and found Captain De Berenger in great distress about money matters, and very anxious to be allowed to go straight on board the 'Tonnant' (the ship to which Lord Cochrane had recently been appointed), for the purpose of leaving his English creditors behind, and recovering his fortunes elsewhere. De Berenger was dressed in a green uniform under a grey greatcoat, and had brought his sword with him, with the view of going on board at once, and acting as instructor in sharp-shooting to the crew and marines, according to a plan previously approved of by Sir Alexander Cochrane, who commanded the squadron which the 'Tonnant' was about to join. On being told that he could not be received on board without leave from the Admiralty, and being advised to apply to any influential friends for that end, De Berenger asked for a hat to wear instead of his military cap, as he could neither return to his lodgings, nor call upon Lord Yarmouth (the colonel of the volunteer rifle regiment to which he belonged), or any other of his friends, in the dress he then wore, without exciting observation. Thereupon Lord Cochrane gave him a hat and black coat, and he went away.

The explanation was circumstantial enough, and according to Lord Cochrane (whose statement, however, is positively denied by the Committee of the Stock Exchange), it disclosed for the first time the name of De Berenger. The fact that De Berenger had been approved of by Sir Alexander Cochrane for such an employment was capable of verification, and was verified at the trial. But, on inquiring for De Berenger, it came out that he had disappeared from London eleven days before Lord Cochrane's affidavit was made, the day after Mr. Cochrane Johnstone had left a letter at his lodgings.

Affidavits were shortly afterwards made and published by four of Lord Cochrane's servants, to the effect that Captain De Berenger, on calling at the house in Green-street, wore a great-coat buttoned up; that the neck, collar, or facing of the uniform alone was visible, and that it was green.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement what were the main points which pressed against Lord Cochrane personally, when once De Berenger had been arrested and identified as the pretended staff officer who drove from Dover to London. The interest

interest of Lord Cochrane at that moment in the success of any operation which might raise the market, and enable him to sell his stock at a profit, or secure him against selling it at a loss, was not so large as that of his uncle, or his adviser Mr. Butt, but large enough to supply a motive to anybody capable of such a fraud. His close connection with each of these persons, both in money speculations and in the private relations of life, was undeniable, as was also his previous acquaintance with De Berenger. It was admitted that De Berenger had gone straight to Lord Cochrane's house on completing his portion of the plot, and had there obtained from him personally a change of clothes which would render it more difficult to trace any further the false Colonel De Bourg. A large portion of the monies supplied to De Berenger immediately before his absconding through Cochrane Johnstone and Butt was apparently traced to a fund originally in Lord Cochrane's hands in notes of larger denomination, exchanged by Butt into 1*l*. notes, for the probable purpose of enabling De Berenger to dispose of them with greater facility. If De Berenger was guilty (of which no reasonable doubt could, upon the evidence, be entertained), who were his principals? Who should be so, but those of whom each had individually benefited by a fraud from which, except as a paid agent, De Berenger was not shown to have derived any benefit whatever, —each of whom had some actual dealings of one kind or another with him shortly before, during, or after the transaction —and each of whom appeared to be directly, or, at second hand, accessory to the providing De Berenger with the means of escaping or concealing himself until this affair should be forgotten? Was Cochrane Johnstone, who profited most largely, and who was most directly connected with De Berenger, guilty or not? Was Butt, who changed the 100*l*. notes into those 1*l*. notes of which De Berenger was in possession two days afterwards, guilty or not? And was Lord Cochrane, who had an interview with De Berenger on the day of the fraud, marked by circumstances of the most singular and suspicious order, innocent or guilty? The presumption against each was so strong, that each case was bound to be fairly and fully tried; and against the result of such a trial each of the defendants was bound to take all reasonable precautions.

Nothing was brought to light as to the subsidiary scheme of the second post-chaise, to connect it positively with De Berenger and his supposed principals, beyond the gross improbability that two such tricks should have been played independently for the same object upon the same morning. After De Berenger's arrest Mr. Cochrane Johnstone made the Stock Exchange

Exchange a joint offer for himself, Mr. Butt, and Lord Cochrane, to contribute 3000*l.* towards a sum of 10,000*l.* which had been demanded of him by MacRae, an accomplice in the second plot, as the condition of making a full disclosure. Innocent or guilty, such an offer was in itself absolute proof of nothing more than great anxiety to be cleared of the charge; but it added fresh weight to presumptions than which hardly anything could be stronger.

The explanation given for Mr. Cochrane Johnstone at the trial, of the sums of money which had passed from him to De Berenger on the 26th of February, was an alleged payment of 200*l.* for some drawings connected with building plans previously made by De Berenger at his desire, and an advance of 200*l.* on De Berenger's note of hand, made to enable him to retrieve his fortunes by leaving the country. No proof was brought forward on the part of Mr. Butt that the two larger notes traced to him (and dealt with afterwards by De Berenger and his servant) had been paid away by him to Mr. Cochrane Johnstone along with the two hundred *l.* notes which were shown to have been so paid, or that any particular transaction involving payments to such an amount took place between the two at the end of that week. Nor was any theory suggested to explain Mr. Butt's preference for four hundred small notes in lieu of three large ones, if he only wanted them for the innocent purpose of settling a balance between himself and Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.

Innocent or guilty, it must have been obvious to Lord Cochrane at the date of his own and his servants' affidavits, that the pinch of the case against himself (if the guilt of De Berenger was brought home) would lie in the question, whether De Berenger presented himself that morning in a dress which need not have excited Lord Cochrane's attention, or in a dress which he must have known De Berenger had no shadow of right to wear, and which De Berenger would therefore not have worn, under the circumstances, in the presence of an innocent man; still less would have pointedly thrust upon Lord Cochrane's notice. Was it the dress of a sharpshooter in Lord Yarmouth's regiment, or a scarlet and gold uniform, such as that in which the false Colonel De Bourg had been traced from Dover? Lord Cochrane's solicitors were in possession of his statement, and alive to the importance of the point, when they drew up the brief for his defence. If the coat taken off in Lord Cochrane's sight was proved not to be green, what conclusion but one could be drawn from Lord Cochrane's oath that it was green? The solicitors examined the servants, whose affidavits had corroborated Lord Cochrane's as to the colour of that part of the coat which they saw. Yet, after that examination,

examination, the brief appears to have been drawn with an admission that the coat was red, with a green collar; and, in consultation, it was agreed upon by the counsel that the servants should be at hand at the trial, but should not be called and examined as to the colour of the collar or the coat. Lord Cochrane declares that he never read the brief,* and never saw what instructions were given to his counsel. Certainly he never came into court at all; relying, as he said, on his own absolute innocence, and on his trust in the statements of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, that De Berenger would establish the clearest *alibi*. Never was there a case of more suicidal laches on the part of a defendant, innocent or guilty.

The prosecution appears to have been conducted by Mr. Gurney, Mr. Bolland, and Mr. Adolphus, sternly of course, but in the correct and upright manner which their character would lead us to expect. Lord Dundonald in his Autobiography makes an attack upon the first of these gentlemen, which only shows how little we can trust to his recollections after the lapse of so many years. He states that the deposition which, as we have already seen, he made and published on the 11th of March, had been settled by Mr. Gurney, 'to whom,' he says, 'I disclosed every particular relative to the visit of De Berenger, as well as to my own previous though very unimportant transactions in the public funds. I was advised by him and by my own solicitors to confine myself simply to supplying the authorities with the name of De Berenger as the person seen in uniform at my house on the 21st ultimo. With this suggestion, wisely or unwisely, but certainly in all honesty, I refused to comply, expressing my determination to account for *all my acts* on the 21st of February, even to the entire occupation of my whole time on that day. Finding me firm on this point, the affidavit was settled by Mr. Gurney and sworn to,' &c. &c.—and, again, 'The very Mr. Gurney who had advised me in the matter of my affidavit and to whom I had unreservedly communicated every circumstance connected with my private affairs, as well as those connected with the visit of De

* As to the degree of Lord Cochrane's acquaintance with the contents of the brief and the share which he took in getting up the defence, and indeed upon nearly every point relating to the conduct of it, Lord Cochrane and his solicitors, Messrs. Farrer and Co., were, from the moment when sentence was pronounced, wholly at issue. Serjeant Shepherd, the Solicitor-General, made an explanatory statement in the House of Commons on behalf of the solicitors, and, being afterwards pressed by their late client as to the mode in which they had conducted his defence, they sent him a copy of their bill of costs, as containing a detailed statement of nearly all that had occurred. This bill he never published, nor did they, though absolved by him (in reply to the challenge of Sir W. Garrow, the Attorney-General) from their professional obligations to secrecy. The firm has always stood as high as any in London both in point of intelligence and of respectability.

Berenger,

Berenger, was afterwards chosen by Mr. Lavie, the Solicitor to the Committee, as the leading counsel for the Stock Exchange at the subsequent trial against me. I simply relate the fact without comment.

But in his affidavit of June 14, made on his application for a new trial (which is also printed in the Autobiography, showing that there was no real intention to mislead his readers), Lord Dundonald swore that he, without any communication whatever with any other person and without any assistance, on the impulse of the moment, prepared the before-mentioned affidavit, which he swore before Mr. Graham the magistrate on the 11th [of March], and in his letter to Lord Ellenborough from prison, in reply to strictures upon that affidavit, he remarks that no doubt, 'if it had been drawn up by a lawyer,' it would have been fuller upon a certain point.

We have heard upon good authority that Mr. Gurney really was consulted by Lord Cochrane long after the affidavit was sworn and some little time before the indictment against him was lodged, but that the questions submitted to Mr. Gurney related merely to the possibility of his taking proceedings against the Committee of the Stock Exchange for libel, and that no confidential disclosures of any kind were made upon that occasion to Mr. Gurney, who advised that no proceedings should be taken, and who was soon afterwards retained for the prosecution, and had no choice but to conduct it.

In opening the case for the prosecution, Mr. Gurney commented in the strongest words, and in the most deliberate manner, upon the necessary conclusion to be drawn against Lord Cochrane, from his having sworn that De Berenger was dressed in green, when he was in fact dressed in red. Mr. Serjeant Best, in his defence, attempted to explain away the discrepancy between Lord Cochrane's affidavit and the evidence of the witnesses to the scarlet coat, by the following ingenious but utterly futile theory:—

'My Lord Cochrane had often seen Mr. De Berenger in his green uniform. His Lordship, when he made his affidavit, recollected the circumstance of Mr. De Berenger's being dressed in a military uniform, but there being nothing to fix on his Lordship's mind the colour of the uniform, the sort of dress in which he had been accustomed to see Mr. De Berenger presented itself to his Lordship's mind as the dress De Berenger wore when his Lordship saw him last.'

It would have been more to the point to argue that Lord Cochrane was colour-blind on the one side, or all the witnesses who had sworn to the scarlet coat on the other. It is clear that, whether the evidence of the prosecution on the most damnnatory

point of all ought in itself to have convinced the jury or not, Serjeant Best, after full consideration, entirely abandoned the idea of resisting it. The servant who had carried the note to Lord Cochrane was put into the box to corroborate his master's affidavit as to the circumstances of its delivery; but Serjeant Best did not dare to test his credibility by asking him the colour of the collar of De Berenger's coat, which he was known to have already sworn to as green. Two of the other servants, whose affidavits had been published, were in attendance throughout the trial. Even after the hypothetical admission made in Serjeant Best's speech, it would still have been possible to call them, had their testimony been thought relevant or credible. They were not called, although Serjeant Best must have been well aware of the use that would be made in the reply for the prosecution of the fact of their not being called. But Lord Yarmouth, who was called on behalf of De Berenger to contradict the proof of his handwriting, and who said, on cross-examination, that he should not have been in any way surprised at being visited by De Berenger in the uniform of the corps, described that uniform as 'a deep bottle-green, with a crimson cape or collar.' It would seem that Lord Yarmouth's evidence would not tally exactly with the affidavits which the servants had made: and a fresh complication of doubt is thus thrown over the real appearance of the chameleon uniform worn by De Berenger. The other points of the case were ably argued in Lord Cochrane's behalf; but after such a virtual admission that Lord Cochrane had deliberately stated what he knew to be false upon the most material point against himself, there was not much room for argument. Even had that admission not been made, the chain of circumstances, as proved at the trial, was strong enough to bear heavily against Lord Cochrane if not explained; but with that admission, the mere proofs adduced by the defence of facts compatible with, or favouring the supposition of his innocence, became trivial, if not irrelevant.

It was under these circumstances that Lord Ellenborough addressed to the jury a charge, of which the strength and eloquence show his own conviction of the guilt of all the defendants alike, to have been as complete as we have no doubt it was unbiassed and pure. It may be a matter for argument how definitely a judge is bound or entitled to place his own opinion upon the whole case in full sight of the jury to whose verdict the prisoner's destiny is given in charge: but few frequenters of courts of justice will deny that the most futile and unsatisfactory method of charging a jury into which a judge can fall, is that which recapitulates the evidence, without fully pointing out the conclusions

conclusions to which it may naturally lead. In regard of the specific issue of fact upon the colour of the uniform, and the inferences to be drawn from that colour, Lord Ellenborough could not, consistently with his duty, have charged less forcibly or clearly than he did, after the course taken by Serjeant Best. The gauntlet had been thrown down upon one particular issue as the *crux* of the case, against Lord Cochrane personally. The defending counsel, with the fullest knowledge and in the exercise of the most deliberate discretion, had refused to join issue thereupon, and virtually admitted the statement of the prosecution with all the consequences it might logically involve. There was no course open to the judge but to take what was so admitted, against the interest of the defence, as a matter of fact incapable of disproof. Neither in Lord Ellenborough's recapitulation of the evidence from his notes, nor in the comments made by him upon its effect, do we find any statement or any omission which bears the colour of harshness, prejudice, or unfairness. Upon the evidence laid before them, not only were the jury perfectly justified in drawing the conclusion against all the defendants which, after three hours of deliberation, they did in fact draw, but it is almost impossible to see how they could honestly have returned any other verdict than that which they did return.

We have formed our opinion on the revised report of the trial taken by the shorthand-writer to the Houses of Parliament, and afterwards published by authority. Lord Dundonald does not scruple to assert that this report was *revised* by or on behalf of Lord Ellenborough, in such a manner as to smooth down and soften away the traces of that unfairness and malignity in a partisan judge, which he conceives to have procured his conviction. Lord Dundonald tells us that the only true reproduction of the trial (at which, be it remembered, he was not present) is to be found in the *verbatim* report of the 'Times' newspaper; and quotes some instances in which the judge (according to the newspaper) stated in his charge as positive fact, what in the official publication is reported as put by him hypothetically. Undoubtedly there is much virtue in an *IF*, whether left out or put in: but we venture to think that the style of the sentences quoted goes far to confirm the conviction at which most persons would independently arrive—that the shorthand-writer's note is the true *verbatim* reproduction of the words used, and that the report made for the information of the readers of the 'Times' is unreliable exactly so far as it contradicts the other. It is simply absurd to suppose that the short-hand report was, before publica-

tion, tampered with or falsified, for the purpose of protecting Lord Ellenborough's character.

In addition to Lord Campbell's recorded opinions as to the conduct of the trial (from which, as will have been already seen, we dissent altogether) Lord Dundonald quotes at some length from the 'Historic Sketch' of Lord Ellenborough, to be found among Lord Brougham's 'Statesmen of the Time of George the Third.' Mr. Brougham was one of the counsel for Lord Cochrane at the trial. In his reference to the case in the article just mentioned, he denies the accuracy of the conclusions arrived at by Lord Ellenborough, and deeply laments the verdict of the jury. His own criticism (as quoted by Lord Dundonald) is as follows:—

'If Lord Cochrane was at all aware of his uncle Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's proceedings, it was the whole extent of his privity to the fact. Having been one of the counsel engaged in the cause, I can speak with some confidence respecting it, and I take upon me to assert that Lord Cochrane's conviction was mainly owing to the extreme repugnance which he felt to giving up his uncle, or taking those precautions for his own safety which would have operated against that near relation. Even when he, the real criminal, had confessed his guilt by taking to flight, and the other defendants were brought up for judgment, we, the counsel, could not persuade Lord Cochrane to shake himself loose from the contamination by abandoning him.

'Our only complaint against Lord Ellenborough was his Lordship's refusal to adjourn after the prosecutor's case closed, and his requiring us to enter upon our defence at so late an hour—past nine o'clock—that the adjournment took place at midnight, and before we called our witnesses.'

Lord Dundonald does not quote the portions of the critique which we subjoin; the second of which, as written by Lord Brougham, stands immediately before the complaint of the judge's refusal to adjourn:—

'I have the best reason to know that all who assisted at this trial were in truth convinced of the purity with which the judicial duties were discharged, and the equality with which justice was administered.'

Again:—

'None of us entertained any doubt that the Lord Chief Justice had acted impartially, according to his conscience, and had tried it as he would have tried any other cause in which neither political nor personal feelings could have interfered. Our only complaint,' &c.

It could hardly be expected that Lord Dundonald should quote the summing up of Lord Ellenborough's character, put upon record by Lord Brougham in the same article:—

'His

‘His mind was just, abhorring any deviation from equity: his nature was noble, holding in utter contempt everything low or base: his spirit was open, manly, honest, and ever moved with disgust at anything false or tricky.’

We observe that Lord Dundonald, in his ‘Autobiography,’ in accordance with his theory that the prosecution was an act of the Government, insists again and again on the supposed fact of Lord Ellenborough having been a Cabinet Minister at the time of the trial. We need scarcely remind our readers that the only Cabinet of which Lord Ellenborough was a member—that of ‘the Talents’—had been broken up almost seven years before the trial.

Lord Cochrane complained bitterly before the House of Commons that the jury were packed for a conviction. This complaint is not repeated in the ‘Autobiography.’ There does not appear to have been the smallest evidence to warrant such an allegation. The list of forty-eight special jurors was in the ordinary manner made out by the Master of the Crown Office. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone himself assisted at the customary striking off half of the list. There are names among the twelve who actually served which repel as ludicrous the supposition that they were of that class of jurors who, in Lord Cochrane’s language, ‘follow the business as a trade; are paid a guinea each for every trial; gain eight or ten guineas a day;’ and were consequently ready to give any verdict that would ensure their being retained for so profitable an employment. Lord Cochrane might have asked himself, if he had been then capable of reasoning upon the subject, how it was that this packed jury, with a hireling conscience, wasted three hours in deliberation.

When Lord Cochrane moved for a new trial, he was met by a rule of some years’ standing, which the Court had applied the same day in another case, that no such motion could be entertained unless all the defendants convicted of the same conspiracy appeared in Court. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone had already absconded. Lord Campbell makes this perfunctory remark:—

‘Lord Ellenborough would not hear him, because the other defendants were not present. Such a rule had before been laid down, but it is palpably contrary to the first principles of justice, and it ought immediately to have been reversed. Lord Cochrane was thus deprived of all opportunity of showing that the verdict against him was wrong.’

The letter of the rule was harder than the spirit: and if there are strong *primâ facie* reasons against such a rule, there are as obvious and as strong on the other side. Had it been at once set aside on Lord Cochrane’s simple application, after having been put in practice the moment before against other persons convicted of conspiracy, the Court would most justly have incurred

curring the censure hinted at by Lord Ellenborough, that it used one rule for the rich, and another for the poor. It does not appear that, in fact, Lord Cochrane suffered any hardship whatever under the rule. On the 20th of June, six days later, Mr. Gurney having moved for judgment on the defendants, Mr. Butt's counsel moved (unsuccessfully) in arrest of judgment, and although Lord Cochrane did not make a similar motion, yet the Court, upon Lord Ellenborough's reading his notes of the evidence given at the trial, felt itself at liberty, as in *Teal's case* (11 East, p. 308), to hear any arguments that one of the defendants might suggest, in order to satisfy its own mind as to the due performance of justice on the trial; and it might then have granted a new trial of its own motion, if it had found reason to believe that any injustice had been committed. Accordingly Lord Cochrane was allowed, and then and there used, a full opportunity of showing what grievances he considered himself to have suffered at his trial, and what grounds there were for a re-hearing. He afterwards admitted himself in the House of Commons that 'upon his second attempt to obtain a new trial he was indeed permitted to speak.' He produced the published affidavits of the servants, who might have been examined at the trial, as to the colour of *De Berenger's* dress; a fresh affidavit from himself re-asserting his own expectation of finding in the writer of the note a messenger with news of the death of his brother, of whose severe illness he had heard three days before; and an affidavit (with a medical certificate attached) from Major Cochrane, to show that he was dangerously ill at the time, and that he had written from the Pyrenees to Lord Cochrane to announce as much early in February. No independent proof was offered to show that such a letter had been in fact received, or would in due course have been received, by Lord Cochrane before the 21st; so that the fact of the illness was no more clearly shown to be material, as likely then to be operating on Lord Cochrane's mind, than it had been at the trial. The single new fact which appeared was this: that it was not by Lord Cochrane's wish that the servants were left without examination. The Court found no reason to break through its most primary rules and order a new trial on the ground of evidence which might have been brought forward at the first hearing. If the servants were not examined, it was under the discretion of the counsel for Lord Cochrane. Even after Serjeant Best's hypothetical admission, it would have been perfectly competent for Lord Cochrane to insist upon their examination, had he taken the ordinary precaution of a reasonable man, under so grave a charge, and personally watched that all was done rightly to clear his character.

acter. And it was surely competent for him to verify, in some way or other, the fact of his having received the news of his brother's illness before the day of the fraud. It might be hypercritical to observe, that the first affidavit only speaks generally of his fear that 'some accident had befallen' that brother. Much as it might be wished for Lord Cochrane's sake that reason had been found to return upon the verdict, we cannot admit that the Court acted wrongly or unjustly in refusing him a new trial. The carelessness with which Lord Campbell has lent the shadow of his authority to the allegation that Lord Ellenborough refused a hearing to Lord Cochrane under a palpably unjust rule, is a sufficient measure of the value to be attached to his other statement, that at the trial the Chief Justice 'laid special emphasis on every circumstance which might raise a suspicion against Lord Cochrane, and elaborately explained away whatever at first sight appeared favourable to the gallant officer.'

Subsequently, Lord Cochrane found two witnesses, a butcher and a fishmonger of Lambeth, who swore on affidavit that they had seen De Berenger move from the chaise into the hackney-coach, dressed in green, and with no red about him. He also collected strong evidence against the general character and credibility of Crane, the hackney-coachman, whose testimony at the trial was uncontradicted, and was obviously received by Serjeant Best as true. Lord Dundonald, in his *Autobiography* (vol. ii. p. 359), states that he had the above proofs and much more *in his hand*, and available for his exculpation, when Lord Ellenborough refused to hear him. We are compelled to say that he has made a patent mistake; a mistake not perhaps unnatural in a man writing in extreme old age, many years after the events took place. Judgment was delivered on the 21st of June, 1814, the day after Lord Cochrane had stated, on the invitation of the Court, 'whatever might occur to him as fit to be presented to the Court to induce them to grant a new trial.'* Some of the proofs which, in the *Autobiography*, are set out altogether as then in Lord Cochrane's hand, refer to a conversation dated the 2nd of July. In the Report of Lord Cochrane's observations to the Court, there is no trace or hint of his having any direct evidence to offer in contradiction of that given by the prosecution, beyond that of the three servants, nor of any imputation thrown upon the character of Crane or other witnesses. In the laboured and passionate written invective delivered by Lord Cochrane in his own exculpation before the House of Commons on the 5th of July (as reported in *Hansard*), there is a detailed attack upon the

* Shorthand Report, p. 550.

credibility and character of Crane, but not a word of any direct evidence to contradict him or the waterman who swore to the dress of De Berenger at the Marsh Gate. Lord Dundonald may have brooded over his wrongs, till he believed that such evidence was actually in his hands when he addressed the tyrannical administrators of a 'crafty and corrupt system of jurisprudence;' but it is impossible to feel any doubt, that the respectable butcher and fishmonger of Lambeth (*valeant quantum*) came forward for the first time, after the member for Westminster had been expelled from the House. The only fresh circumstances which have, up to the present moment, been brought forward as a supplement to the materials upon which to judge of Lord Cochrane's innocence, are the discovery that Crane was a worthless black-guard, capable of inhuman cruelty to dumb animals, and the conviction of Crane some twelve years later, for a serious felony. No one now affects to doubt that Cochrane Johnstone was guilty. Few persons would feel any special interest, after so many years, in re-opening the question whether Mr. Butt—'whose misfortune (says Lord Dundonald) it was to have become the dupe of others, without the least benefit to himself'—was guilty or not guilty. If Lord Dundonald has succeeded in recovering his character as a high-minded and innocent man, incapable of the fraud imputed to him, that success is partly due to the vigour and constancy with which he has reiterated his assertion of innocence, and partly to the growing disinclination among his countrymen, as years have rolled by, to believe in the association of anything like a base and tricky spirit with the dazzling genius and heroic qualities of a great sea-captain. Most human minds are so constituted as to be gradually impressed by a statement made in the teeth of all appearances, in exact proportion to the vehemence and consistency with which it is repeated. The cogency of a chain of evidence, which at first (as in Lord Cochrane's case) convinces not only the jury but the great majority of contemporary observers, binds the mind with less force as its several links are worn away, and disintegrated in the public memory by time. Modern sentiment has given Lord Cochrane the benefit of a doubt which the public of 1814 (except the electors of Westminster) did not in general feel,* and has found him not guilty. But it seems by no means necessary to rush headlong to the further conclusion that he was not fairly tried.

* It is perhaps worthy of notice that the name of the late Mr. Charles Grant the elder, a man second to none either in sagacity or in a sense of honour, and totally opposed to Lord Cochrane in politics, is to be found among those who voted against his expulsion from the House of Commons.

It may seem a paradox to say that the best argument in favour of Lord Cochrane's innocence is to be found in the frantic virulence with which he flung about the wildest charges against everybody whom he supposed to be connected with the trial. When such violence occurs, the presumption is generally on the other side. Yet the ferocious and powerful, though unreasoning, declamation delivered by Lord Cochrane as his apology in the House of Commons, does certainly look at a distance like the spontaneous and spasmodic outcry of an excitable mind, almost goaded into madness by conviction on a charge which it felt not to be true. Sir Archibald Alison, who was present, was at once convinced of his innocence. Indeed it is possible that neither his contemporaries in general nor his own counsel had sufficiently reflected upon the extraordinary qualities of Lord Cochrane's character—his impulsiveness, his utter defiance of the opinion of others, and his habit of sudden and hasty action, which might have accounted for much that told against him. His mind was so peculiarly constituted, that we might be seriously misled in judging of him entirely by the common standard. But it is clear that, to the very end of his life, Lord Cochrane never permanently comprehended either the force of the presumptions against him, or the moral gravity of the conspiracy with which he was charged. In his letter from prison to Lord Ebrington, deprecating any parliamentary interference in favour of a remission of the punishment of the pillory, he writes as follows:—

‘I cannot allow myself to be indebted to that tenderness of disposition, which has led your Lordship to form an erroneous estimate of the amount of punishment due to the crimes of which I have been accused; nor can I for a moment consent, that any past services of mine should be prostituted to the purpose of protecting me from any part of the vengeance of the laws against which I, if at all, have grossly offended. If I am guilty, I richly merit the whole of the sentence which has been passed upon me.’

In the Autobiography, the subject of the prosecution is softened down into a ‘wretched hoax,’ a ‘trumpery hoax,’ and defined in this wise:—

‘It was that of one set of stockjobbers and their confederates trying—by means of false intelligence—to raise the price of time bargains at the expense of another set of stockjobbers, the losers being naturally indignant at the successful hoax.

‘The wrong was not then, and still is not, on the statute book. (!) Such a case had never been tried before, nor has it since—and was termed a “conspiracy:” or rather, by charging the several defendants—of most of whom I had never before heard—in one indictment, it was brought under the designation of a “conspiracy.” The “conspiracy”

spiracy"—such as it was—was nevertheless one, which, as competent persons inform me, has been the practice in all countries ever since stockjobbing began, and is in the present day constantly practised, but I have never heard mention of the energy of the Stock Exchange even to detect the practice.'

One more word on the trial and the sentence. Lord Ellenborough did refuse to adjourn until the case for the whole of the defendants had been opened, and sat till midnight. If the defence was prejudiced by physical exhaustion on the part of the counsel or the jury, it is a profound pity that he did so. Lord Ellenborough was himself at that time (and, we believe, for some time afterwards) almost incapable of feeling mental lassitude himself, and proportionately insensitive to the possibility that others might be less strongly organized. It should be remembered that, up to that period, the almost universal judicial practice, in cases involving the lives of criminals, was to finish the trial at one sitting, even if that sitting lasted till four or five in the morning, or to a still later hour. The sarcasm which describes how

'Wretches hang, that jurymen may dine,'

would have been truer if it had said, that jurymen did *not* dine, in order that wretches might suffer no delay in delivery or hanging.

The punishment of the pillory, to which, in addition to fine and imprisonment, the Court sentenced the two defendants who, if guilty, were among those who appeared to receive judgment obviously by far the most guilty, was severe beyond measure. The Court of King's Bench was undoubtedly anxious to mark with a more than Roman sternness, and by inflicting a more than common indignity, its appreciation of a fraud perpetrated in disregard of the interests of the whole commonwealth. It was the personal application of this indignity to a man who, like Coriolanus, had, as the public felt, 'behaved nobly towards his country,' even if he had also 'not behaved nobly,' that first created a wide sympathy for Lord Cochrane. We have it, indeed, on the confession of Lord Cochrane himself, in his letter to Lord Ebrington, that he should not have complained of the penalty as unduly severe, had he felt the accusation true. But it may fairly be said that, in the anguish of his soul at being pronounced capable of such a fraud, he could not appreciate degrees in punishment. It is not surprising that the sentence was not carried into effect so far as regards the pillory, and that that mode of punishment was soon after (with a slight exception) abolished for ever. Nor was the feeling against it of recent origin. Adam Smith had written half a century before,—

'The

'The judge who orders a criminal to be set in the pillory, dishonours him more than if he had condemned him to the scaffold. . . . Those slighter punishments, when inflicted on a gentleman, to whom dishonour is the greatest of all evils, come to be regarded among a humane and generous people as the most dreadful of any. With regard to persons of that rank, therefore, they are universally laid aside; and the law, while it takes their life upon many occasions, respects their honour upon almost all. To scourge a person of quality, or to set him in the pillory, upon account of any crime whatever, is a brutality of which no European Government, except that of Russia, is capable.

'A brave man is not rendered contemptible by being brought to the scaffold—but by being set in the pillory,' &c. &c.*

The responsibility for this sentence was shared, with Lord Ellenborough, by all the judges of the Court of King's Bench; and though prompted by high motives and plausible reasoning, it must be regarded as a grievous error in judgment and an unhappy instance of excess in penal severity. Nevertheless, upon a review of the whole of the proceedings, we cannot see that Lord Cochrane, up to the day of sentence, was treated in any respect, or in any quarter, otherwise than as any other defendant would have been, whose case had been presented to the jury and the Court under similar circumstances.

We have not space to follow Lord Cochrane through his adventures in the waters of South America and in the Grecian seas. They were marked by the same constant combination of daring coolness and ingenuity, the same flashes of genius, which had distinguished his earlier career. They were also marked by the same tendency to believe himself injured by all around him who were not staunch partisans of his own; a tendency for which there was probably much justification, in the greedy and jealous insincerity which is apt to embitter the relations of a factious, ambitious, half-constituted little state, towards the most disinterested foreign volunteer. The capture of the forts of Valdivia, with a force utterly incompetent to garrison them when taken, was an almost madly hazardous *coup de main*, of which even Lord Cochrane felt the rashness until it had succeeded. The cutting out of the Spanish frigate 'Esmeralda,' from under the guns of the fortress of Callao, was a gallant and seamanlike stroke, of which both the risk and the good fortune were better justified by previous calculation. We had occasion recently to refer to his equally remarkable services in Brazil.†

The peculiar qualities of Lord Cochrane's genius did not combine so successfully with the materials upon which it had to work

* 'Theory of Moral Sentiments,' part i. s. 3.

† 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cviii. p. 319.

in Greece as it had done among the Chilenos and in Brazil. The great attack upon the Turkish army intrenched before Athens, made by him, in combination with the forces under General Church and the patriot bands of Greek irregulars, resulted in absolute and murderous discomfiture. The Greek historian Tricoupi attributes its failure exclusively to the overbearing and unmanageable wilfulness of Lord Cochrane. Like some of the Persian chiefs at Marathon, Church and Cochrane had to save their own lives by plunging into the sea and swimming out to their boats. No brilliant cast of the die illustrated the game played by Lord Cochrane in the Greek seas, though it was played with his characteristic spirit and energy.

A small and lubberly guarda-costa in the service of King Otho, of not half the tonnage or half the armament of the 'Speedy,' is probably still to be seen where it was some three years ago, idly stationed in front of a ruined castle and a shabby town, on the unfrequented shore of the Gulf of Arta. On the hats of its scanty crew is painted the name KOXPAN. It would be difficult to imagine a memorial in sadder burlesque of the fame which was so nobly won in part, and which we should so gladly have seen won in its legitimate completeness, by one of the bravest and most brilliant sea-captains of the greatest maritime service in the world.

ART. IV.—1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to Inquire into the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction in the Metropolis, &c.* July, 1858.

2. *Report of the London Diocesan Church-building Society.* 1860.

3. *Final Report of the Metropolis Churches Fund, from July 1836 to May 1854.*

4. *Report of Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates.*

5. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Building and Enlargement of Churches.* 1860.

6. *Report of the London City Mission.* 1860.

7. *The Scripture Reader's Journal.* 1860.

8. *Baptist Hand-Book.* 1861.

9. *The Congregational Hand-Book.* 1861.

WE should think meanly of the judgment of him who hesitated to admit that the general condition of society in this country has much improved of late years, and is still improving. We are not only richer as a nation than we were,—greater, more populous, more civilized,—but we are
upon

upon the whole happier and infinitely more respectable. Our fiscal laws are in closer harmony than they used to be with the feelings of the people. Our penal code has lost its ancient ferocity. Our fields are better cultivated, our streets are better lighted, better paved, better cleansed. Our police is more vigilant and trustworthy both in town and country. Duelling has gone quite out of fashion, and of street-brawls and faction-fights we hear little, even in Ireland. Drunkenness is scarcely known among the upper classes, and many think that it is diminishing in the lower. Again, there is a large profession of philanthropy among us which is not all pretence—an almost ostentatious display of interest by the rich in the well-being of the poor. We have reading-rooms in our small towns and villages, model lodging-houses in our great cities, lectures everywhere, dissolving-views, Christian young men's associations, Church of England young men's associations, temperance societies, teetotal societies, saving-banks, and penny-clubs. And to crown all, the constitution and purposes of society itself have been elevated to the rank of a science, and the leading men of the age stand forward as its teachers. What more is left to be desired by the most ardent apostles of social advancement? 'Surely' (they will say) 'that nation may well be on the best terms with itself, in which the great body of the people seem to be contented; where the laws are not only executed without difficulty, but obeyed cheerfully, through a conviction of their fitness; where the widest possible scope is given to industry, the greatest freedom to trade, and in which State-prizes are brought within the reach of talent and perseverance without any regard to the accidents of birth or station, or even of political or personal influence.'

Nevertheless, there is a painful impression upon our minds that the benevolence of the age fritters away its strength by excessive diffusion. It has become too much a matter of fashion; and its displays not unfrequently offend the taste of those who are its objects, as much as they minister to personal vanity, egotism, and even to arrogance, amongst such as take the lead in them. You cannot be present at a school-feast, or sit down to supper with the members of a garden-allotment-club, without seeing the walls of the room placarded with texts, worthy no doubt of all reverence when read in their proper places, but surely not intended to be brought forward on such occasions as these. Working men scarcely care to be reminded at their meals that 'The rich and the poor are met together, and that the Lord is the maker of them all.' Neither can they be flattered when told, as they usually are, that the great purpose of these
suppers

suppers is to tighten the bonds of union between high and low, and that they, the low, ought to be very much obliged for the interest which their betters take in them. Of course they are, and of course they will be, provided the obligation be not crammed as it were down their throats. This is, however, not all.

We have fallen into a practice of insisting that in matters of charity the whole community shall take part in every effort. Such a mode of action has, no doubt, its proper field. In science, to learn what has been effected is to learn what remains to do—what realms are still unconquered. Thus the meetings of the British Association stimulate fresh men to fresh exertions. But those who have attended one of the religious and philanthropic meetings which London is accustomed to witness in every month of May, and have gone away after learning from a few well-chosen speakers, what need there is in some parish, or in some district, or in the metropolis itself, or possibly throughout the world at large, of a hospital, or of schools, or of churches, or of copies of the Holy Scriptures, or of missionaries,—and after making their donations, great or small, according to the importance which they attach to the object recommended to them, or the extent to which their feelings have been wrought upon by the eloquence of the speakers,—simply feel that some part of what had to be done has now been effected, that they at least have done as much as they conveniently could, that the rest of the work lies upon the promoters of the movement. They go home satisfied that they have done their duty, and they dismiss the matter from their thoughts.

But, it will be asked, is it not to these public appeals, and to the multiplication, through them, of small donations and annual subscriptions, that we owe the flourishing condition of the religious societies, which are accomplishing so much good in the world? Is this an attempt to make the poor ashamed of throwing their mites into the treasury, and the rich unwilling to share with the poor the luxury of doing good? Quite otherwise. We are far from holding cheap a principle of action, which, besides being approved by universal experience in our own day, is, when properly applied, consonant to primitive usage, and in agreement with the teaching of the New Testament. And very sorry should we be to grudge to the poor the happiness which never fails to accompany an act of self-denial practised at the call of duty. But we do hold cheap the philanthropy which leads individuals to throw upon the community at large obligations personal to themselves.

Nobody will deny that on the occurrence of a famine, such as
that

that which desolated Ireland a few years ago, it is the duty of all who may themselves be raised above starvation-point to contribute, as far as they are able, to the necessities of their neighbours. This is an obligation recognized and enforced by the legislatures of most civilized countries, where, in some shape or another, provision is made for cases of urgent distress. And, if recognized by law, the principle of a diffused benevolence may, in extreme cases, be advocated with still greater propriety at public meetings and through the press. The same rule holds good when the special trade of towns or of localities suddenly fails, as the trade of Coventry seems to have failed at this time. Nor can it be objected to when the necessity arises for providing dispensaries, Magdalen asylums, penitentiaries, and hospitals. For the whole community is interested in reclaiming its fallen members from vice, and in restoring its sick members to health and vigour. Neither do we question the fitness of appealing to the voluntary liberality of all Christian men for the means of diffusing the truths of Christianity through the world, for this is the obvious duty of the Church universal. But the moment we come within this circle, and it is a very wide one, we do our best, as it seems to us, to throw upon the public the work of individuals and to relieve the latter from their proper responsibilities. Take, as an apt illustration, the want of adequate provision for the moral and religious instruction of the people of England, particularly in large towns, and most of all in the metropolis. To what causes may this admitted evil be attributed? To the enormous increase, we shall be told, of the population within the last century—a never-failing consequence of a nation's growth in greatness—and to the lack of public funds out of which to supply the people with churches and teachers according to their need. Is this a satisfactory answer? We do not think that it is. Churches and religious teachers have never, as far as we know, been supplied to the people of this country out of any public fund. From time to time exceptional cases present themselves, of which we shall not fail to take notice. But, as a general rule, the people of England owe both their churches and their religious teachers to the operations of an unwritten law; the force of which, up to comparatively recent times, no one thought of disputing, and which rendered it obligatory upon the owners of property, whether kings, or nobles, or burghers, to see that their tenants and dependents had places of worship to repair to and ministers to instruct them in their duty to God and man.* How far it may be possible to make modern proprietors understand

* The admonitory exhortation of the Bishops to the people, A.D. 1008, urged the duty of building churches in all parts of the country.—Soames's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 212, 213.

that the moral obligation which their predecessors acknowledged is still binding upon them, we shall not here venture to say. But it appears to us that the time has come when the truth ought to be spoken, and we shall address ourselves to it the more readily because the history of the subject happens to be not only instructive, but interesting.

The reign of Edward III. is generally admitted to be, among those of the ancient English monarchs, in every point of view the most important. It was then that Parliament began to assert its proper influence in the State, and that, even on religious subjects, the disposition to think for themselves began to be manifested strongly by the people. We shall therefore take this reign as a starting point. And first with respect to population; we find that in the 51st year of Edward's reign, that is in 1377, a census was taken, which (upon a computation of which we need not here state the details) gives a gross total, for all England and Wales, of 2,323,802 souls, being rather less than the population of London as shown by the census of 1851.

Whatever may have been the origin of the division of counties into parishes, we know that it had taken effect in England long before the accession of Edward III. Neither is there any reason to doubt, that at the outset the boundaries of parishes were co-extensive with the boundaries of manors. Such at least is the opinion of Blackstone, who assigns as his reason, 'That it very seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more parishes than one, though there are often many manors in one parish.'^{*} The same high authority informs us, 'That the old parish churches of England were universally built at their own expence by the Lords of these Manors.' 'The Lords,' he says, 'as Christianity spread itself, began to build churches upon their own demesnes and wastes, to accommodate their tenants in one or two adjoining lordships, and, in order to have divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of the diocese in general; and this tract of land, the tithes whereof were so appropriated, formed a distinct parish. Which will well enough account for the frequent intermixture of parishes one with another. For if a Lord had a parcel of land, detached from the main of his estate, but not sufficient to form a parish of itself, it was natural for him to endow his newly erected church with the tithes of those disjointed lands; especially if no church was then built in any lordship adjoining to those outlying parcels.'[†]

^{*} Vol. i., p. 112, edition 1809.

[†] Ibid.

Before the Council of Lateran, in 1179, the English clergy had ceased to be paid out of a common diocesan fund, and parochial distinctions, as well for ecclesiastical as for secular purposes, were recognized generally. It is true that, as the rage for founding monastic establishments increased, the rights of the parochial clergy to their endowments were more and more encroached upon. Still the fact remains untouched, that whatever was done to ensure to the people of England the benefits of public worship and religious instruction was done, in old times, by wealthy individuals; who believed that they were fulfilling a duty to God, and consecrating, so to speak, the residue of their property to themselves, when they dedicated a fixed portion of it to His glory, and to the edification in morals and religion of their poorer countrymen.

The work of church building and church endowment was not completed in a day, either here or anywhere else. It went on gradually, as the need made itself felt; or as the consciences of princes, barons, and rich burghers moved them to seek the pardon of their past sins by purchasing the prayers of the Church in all time coming. There might be as much of superstition as of true piety in all this, but its results were in the highest degree beneficial to society. But, as might be expected in a rude age, arrangements excellent in themselves soon began to be abused. Not content with maintaining the sacred edifices and continuing the endowments which their predecessors had established, dying nobles began to bequeath the manors themselves to the Church; and the consequence was the growth of a state of things which at length became intolerable. The wealth heaped upon monasteries and priories was soon withdrawn from its proper uses. The lands with which they were endowed claimed exemption from the common burdens of the State; and the *regulars*, as the inmates of these religious houses were called, gradually absorbed all the influence and much of the property which belonged of right to the parochial clergy. Hence, indeed, the growth among us of vicarages, perpetual curacies, and poor stipendiary donatives, more especially in towns within or near which abbeys or monasteries arose. For the inmates of these abbeys, bringing the tithes of their manors to the common stock, employed one or more of their own body to serve the parish churches of which they were the patrons; and paid for the duties so performed in money, or with such proportions of the fruits of the earth as the heads of each conventual establishment considered expedient. Still churches and chapels continued to multiply. In the reign of Stephen they appear to have numbered between 5000 and 6000; in that of Edward III. they had

increased to 7000; in that of Henry VIII., just before the Reformation, to 9407, besides 645 religious houses.* Taking then the population at these two latter periods respectively, in 1377 at 2,323,802, in 1509 at 5,000,000, we find that in the reign of Edward III. there was in all England one church for about every 332 of the people; in the reign of Henry VIII. one church for every 500.

Look next to London, and observe to what extent its inhabitants were provided all this while with spiritual teachers and pastors, and with places in which to worship Almighty God and to receive religious instruction. In the reign of Edward III. the population of London, within and without the walls, taking a radius of eight miles from Paul's Cross, seems to have amounted to 34,371 souls. Its parish churches numbered 126; its conventual chapels 13; making in all 139; the exact number specified by Stowe, when at a later period he fixes the population at 45,000. Here, without doubt, was a perfect superfluity of church accommodation; but the excess became year by year less marked. In 1509 Stowe's 45,000 Londoners had increased to 200,000; in 1603 to upwards of 300,000; and in 1696, as we learn from Gregory King, Lancaster Herald-at-Arms, to 479,000. Other events had besides occurred, tending, even more than this steady increase of numbers, to alter the proportions between the space afforded in the London churches and the number of persons resident in and around the City. The Reformation, vast as were the benefits which it conferred upon us, created no desire to build new churches, far less to restore to the parochial clergy the endowments of which the religious houses had robbed them. On the contrary, as abbeys, with their manors and tithes, fell to the Crown and were by the Crown made over to Court favourites, many of the chapelries previously served by the monks were suppressed;† while, in appointing incumbents to impropriate benefices, their endowments were most iniquitously, and, for the Church, most ruinously, kept down to the scale at which the deposed abbots or priors had settled them.

In this direct diminution of places of worship London did not participate. It retained its full number till 1666, when the great fire occurred, which, besides consuming about 13,000 dwelling-houses, many public halls, gaols, bridges, and St. Paul's Cathedral, burned down not fewer than 89 parish churches. Of these 85 had stood within the walls, and 4 without, though the latter,

* Cardinal Wolsey's Journal.

† Camden tells us that in his day the churches which Cardinal Wolsey had estimated at 9407 were reduced to 9284. But besides this, not fewer than 2374 chantries and free chapelries had been swept away.

being in the borough of Southwark, were, like the former, in close relation with the City. For Southwark, which in old times had been a royalty, was purchased by the City from Edward VI., and being erected into a new ward—Bridgeward Without—it became subject, like the old wards, to the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and City magistrates.

A calamity so gigantic as the Great Fire of London lay far beyond the reach of private benevolence. Even the City, large as its corporate revenues had become, shrank from approaching it. It was a national misfortune, and the nation recognised it as such. The Sovereign subscribed liberally towards the restoration of his capital, and Parliament voted a subsidy for the same purpose. Meanwhile private citizens were not backward, and to their honour be it remembered that they thought more of rebuilding their churches than of anything else. After crowding for a while into the twelve which had escaped the flames, the Londoners directed their churchwardens to meet and to open in the several parishes subscription-papers, which were not slow in being filled up. The rich, vying one with another, contributed freely out of their abundance; the poor gave out of their poverty. To Parliament and to the Corporation was left the charge of rebuilding the 13,000 dwelling-houses, the Royal Exchange, the Custom House, the 52 companies' halls, the gaols, the bridges, and St. Paul's Cathedral. But the parishioners in separate parishes, or where these were small and lay contiguous, by twos and threes, took upon themselves the obligation of restoring their own churches. This is the first instance on record of a church-building movement to which the public, in any sense of the term, was invited to contribute. And it proved most successful. Without any great gatherings, without any stirring speeches, money enough was collected, chiefly from the wealthy merchants, to rebuild 43 out of the 89 churches, the endowments of which were settled at the same time by Act of Parliament on what was then considered to be a very liberal scale.

When the great fire took place, the population of London had considerably fallen off. The plague alone is supposed to have devoured 100,000 persons; and partly on that account, partly because many families which fled to escape the contagion never returned, streets and lanes which in 1664 were crowded, had in 1666 become comparatively empty. Ninety-five churches therefore, the number of which renovated London could boast, were probably sufficient, or nearly so, to accommodate the whole of its adult population. Within the walls indeed this was eminently the case, as it continues to be the

case down to the present day ; for there the population seems never to have got beyond the capabilities of fifty-seven churches. But in the extra-mural parishes, a dearth of church-room soon began to be experienced. For example in 1696, when the sum total of citizens within the walls was taken at 72,000, there were collected in the thirty-eight parishes without the walls 405,000 souls ; in other words, 10,526 persons and a fraction for each parish church, allowing the odd 5000 to have attended public worship in Westminster Abbey. Now let us assume for argument's sake, that Mr. Mann's calculation is the right one, or, with a view to simplify the matter, let us take 50 per cent. of the population as the proportion for which it is necessary to provide accommodation in places of public worship, and it will be found that within little more than thirty years from the great fire, and from the movement which arose out of it, there was room for Londoners without the walls, in their parish churches, only at the extravagant rate of 5000 persons for each church.

Such are the beginnings of that deplorable state of things, which at the close of every successive lustre seems to be only growing worse. The population of London has increased, and is increasing. Two hundred years ago it had come up to the very verge of the means then available for supplying the people with the most ordinary religious instruction ; it soon overleaped that verge, and is now far beyond it. Not that the desire has ever been wanting to remedy the evil. The Church has made repeated attempts to overtake the growing masses, and so have other religious bodies. But both Church and dissent have failed : the one because its strength has been a good deal misapplied, the other from the weakness which is inherent in the very nature of dissenting communions. Let us, however, return for the present to our narrative of facts.

The century succeeding the Revolution of 1688 was not remarkable for the fervour of its religious sentiment. Still the Church, considered as one of the great institutions of the country, continued to be powerful. Statesmen therefore heard with shame from bishops and other pious individuals that the Church was losing its hold upon the people, and Queen Anne's Government demanded and obtained from Parliament a grant, in order to erect fifty additional churches in the metropolis. But it did not occur to the directors of this operation that the first thing to be considered in such cases is, how most effectually to supply an acknowledged want. A fastidious age required that churches built in the capital of England should be ornamental as well as convenient, and to the ornamental portion of each fabric much of its convenience was sacrificed. The skill of Wren had been brought

brought into play after the great fire. He gave us St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Clement Danes, St. Dunstan's in the East, St. Michael's Wood Street, with others too numerous to be mentioned. Gibbs and Hawksmoor, and James and Archer, and Flitcroft, his favourite pupils, were now called upon to furnish designs; and St. Mary's in the Strand, St. Martin's in the Fields, St. Mary's Woolnoth, St. Ann's Limehouse, St. George's in the same district, St. George's Bloomsbury, St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Luke's Old Street, St. John's Westminster, and several others arose at their bidding. All these were, according to the taste of the times, gorgeous edifices; they were likewise very costly; and the consequence was that out of the fifty churches ordered to be built, only eleven arrived at completion. Hence when the last had been consecrated, and the grant was exhausted, little or no progress appears to have been made towards equalising the church room in London with the assumed demand for it.

If any attempts were made by the Church to improve upon this state of things, between the period at which we have now arrived and the early part of the present century, they were so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve notice. Here and there a proprietary chapel sprang up, in some district peopled by those who were able and willing to pay for the use of it. But this was rather a mercantile than a pious speculation; or, if sometimes undertaken from a religious motive, it was rather in the interest of a narrow party zeal than with a view to the general good. It put money into the pockets of the proprietors, and ministered to the religious instruction of the rich; but it did nothing for the poor. At last, however, a better spirit seemed to be awakened. In 1815 the House of Commons was persuaded to pass a resolution, 'That it would be necessary and becoming to make some great demonstration of thankfulness to Almighty God for the return of peace, by promoting the building of churches.' There, however, the matter rested till 1818, when Doctor Yates, one of the chaplains of Chelsea Hospital, published a little work, entitled 'The Basis of National Welfare,'* which, being quoted with approbation by Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords, produced a strong effect upon the public mind out of doors. The feeling was not allowed to die out. A few earnest men, including, among others, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, the late Lord Kenyon, Mr. John Bowdler, and Mr. William Cotton, met, and drew up, and presented to the Prime Minister, a strong memorial on the

* He had previously published 'The Church in Danger,' to the appearance of which the resolution of Parliament in 1815 was, we believe, mainly attributed.

subject. That same year a million of money was voted for church-building purposes; which was followed in 1824 by a second grant of 500,000*l.* But the result was such as we cannot state without indignation and shame. This immense sum, which if wisely distributed, and as our Northern neighbours would say '*supplemented*' by private benevolence, ought to have left no corner of the London of that day without its Church and resident minister, passed into the hands of Commissioners. These unhappily took counsel with professional architects, and a few such monstrosities as St. Pancras and Mary-le-bone having been produced, the movement came to an end. The funds supplied by Parliamentary grant were exhausted. It was considered hopeless to apply for more, and private persons being deterred from coming forward by the enormous expense attending the little that had been done, the metropolis was left almost as destitute as ever of churches to receive the poor, and of clergymen to minister among them.

It is not uninstrusive to observe the change which has taken place in public feeling with reference to this matter. Prior to the Reformation, landlords (aided indeed by general oblations of the people) considered themselves bound, not indirectly but directly, to build, and, when the necessity arose, to enlarge churches for the accommodation of the tenants and dependants on their estates. The tenants, indeed, looked for this at their hands, especially when manors and townships had come into the possession of religious houses. Nor can it be said that the custom died out entirely as soon as England threw off her spiritual allegiance to Rome. In many rural districts, and in some even of our smaller towns, churches are to be found which, if not entirely built, were renovated and enlarged at the sole expense of the lords of the soil subsequently to the Reformation. But the practice fell rapidly into disuse. Still the conviction remained that, in the ratio at which population increased, places of worship ought to be multiplied; and, in default of individual zeal to perform the work, the nation, as represented by the Houses of Parliament, was called upon to do so. Hence the parliamentary grants,—first in the reign of Charles II., next in Queen Anne's reign, by-and-by in the latter part of the reign of George III., and last of all in the beginning of George IV.'s reign. Up to this latter period the national duty of sustaining and extending the national Church seems to have been acknowledged. We need scarcely add that it has never been acknowledged since. On the contrary, even the old law, which imposes upon parishes the obligation to keep in repair existing churches, is now struck at. And should the movement succeed, the last link

link in the chain which has heretofore connected the religious instruction of the people with the possession of landed property will be destroyed: for the landlords of England, on whom the burden of Church-rates ultimately falls, will thus be released by Act of Parliament from an obligation, the fairness of which they as a body have never disputed, and by which we believe that a great majority of them still desire to be bound.

Not unobservant of the course into which public opinion was running, the gentlemen whom we have named above took counsel with others, likeminded with themselves, and established the Society, which became ere long incorporated by Act of Parliament, for promoting the Enlargement and Building of Churches. The nature and designs of this society are sufficiently indicated by its name. It is an association of private persons, subscribing their money for a definite purpose, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and managed by an executive committee, with the usual staff. Its objects are to do in all England, as far as its means will allow, the work which was formerly done by the owners of property, which, being discontinued by the owners of property each on his own estate, devolved upon the nation at large; and which the Government and the Legislature, on behalf of the nation, seem determined not to do any longer. For a while indeed the Sovereign so far broke this fall, that he countenanced—for he can hardly be said to have supported—the society's efforts. From time to time a King's letter was issued, and read by all clergymen to their congregations, recommending to the good will of the people the objects for which the society existed, and the society itself as the great promoter of these objects. But there were not wanting those within the Church itself who complained of the preference thus given to the Incorporated Society over other associations which the complainants more especially favoured. Accordingly, in 1853, the Queen's letters came to an end; and the income of the society, which in its palmyest days had never risen above 60,000*l.*, fell all at once to 25,000*l.* a-year. It is now, we believe, reduced to 10,193*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*, without any prospect of increase.

We have never heard that the affairs of the incorporated society were managed otherwise than with the strictest regard to economy. Looking to the amount of funds at its disposal, it has certainly done great things since it came into existence. It might, we think, have done still greater, had there been less of fastidiousness in the architectural tastes of the managing committee. But let us not speak disparagingly of such results as the following. There have been built in all England and Wales within the years 1818 and 1860, chiefly through the impulse given

given by this society, 1197 new churches and chapels. In the same interval 697 decayed or insufficient churches have been rebuilt; and in 2316 churches such a re-arrangement of seats has been effected, as to double, and in some cases to quadruple, the amount of church accommodation. The entire gain in sittings amounts to not less than 1,092,200, of which 850,424 are free. Now surely this is a balance on the right side, of which they who have contributed to bring it about may well be proud. But more remains to be told. The society, by the expenditure of 596,785*l.*, has been the means of eliciting private donations for local purposes to the amount of 4,198,858*l.* Thus, by observing the wise rule, to help only those who are willing to help themselves, it has multiplied its own money-power six-fold, and left its impress for good on no inconsiderable portion of the community.

If these exertions had been made and all this money spent within the bills of mortality, not much more, so far as London is concerned, would have been left to be desired. 850,000 free sittings, of sittings open to the first comers, would have gone a great way to supply with church-room the poor and the working-classes of the metropolis. The society, however, was bound by its constitution to respond to calls for assistance, from whatever quarter they might come; and it dealt with London exactly as it was pledged to do with other places. Calls from London came in but rarely, and could therefore rarely be attended to. Out of the 4210 grants voted between the date of the society's incorporation and April of last year, only 219 went to the three metropolitan counties conjointly. To the metropolis itself not more than 84, none of which exceeded 1000*l.*; while several fell as low as 50*l.*, and even as 20*l.*

In the mean time the stream of population was setting with a mighty current from the rural districts, and pouring its volume into our great seats of industry, such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and, above all, London. It appears from the census returns of 1801, that in the City and its suburbs, including Greenwich, Westminster, Southwark, &c., there were congregated together at that time 958,863 persons. The census of 1851 gives us a total population, within the same limits, of 2,362,236. And if it be true that there are added to this number from year to year 60,000 souls, the census of 1861, when its results are made public, will probably show that little short of 3,000,000 of human beings dwell within the circuit of the bills of mortality.

Coincident with this steady influx of the poorer and operative classes into large towns, is the not less steady efflux from these towns,

towns, of capitalists and the employers of labour; so that, as we lately had occasion to observe,* the rich find a home for themselves in the midst of fresh air and country scenes, at least in the new and airy parts of London or its suburbs, while the poor whom they employ in their extensive and growing concerns are crowded in the seething alleys of London, or in the streets which are springing up in Spitalfields, or Hoxton, or in Bethnal Green, or in Islington, or in some new town which is formed, as at Plaistow, or Bromley, or Bow, within the compass of which there is no one, if we except the incumbent, qualified by education or social rank to look after the accumulating masses.

The opening out of every great thoroughfare, the widening of every main street (as Lord Derby so forcibly stated in the House of Lords the other day), breaks in upon whole clusters of miserable tenements and throws them down. What are the people thus suddenly rendered homeless to do? The result generally is that they seek new and narrower lodgings in places already crowded to suffocation, and the apartment in Seven Dials or St. Giles's which was too small to afford decent accommodation to a single family, becomes the common abode—the home it cannot be called, of two, or of three, or even of more than three families.

Again, the progress of commerce calls for new docks; the extension of railway systems requires new lines and new stations; the demand for machinery leads to the establishment of new foundries; and the growth of manufactures collects a denser population year by year in particular localities. Is any provision made by the owners of the soil, or by the companies who purchase the land and begin their works upon it, for the moral and religious instruction of these masses? Does any proprietor, or director, or shareholder consider himself bound to live among his people, that they may know him and benefit by his example; or to build and endow a church, or a chapel, or even a school for the accommodation and moral training of the thousands of men and women and children who become his tenants and dependants? Seldom indeed do we meet with anything of the sort. On the contrary, streets of small houses spring up as if by magic, each calculated to hold a certain number of families; wretched dens enough, without any of the appliances even of modern decency attached to them; and small shops, including beer-shops, multiply themselves. But farther than this the care of the proprietor or the company never seems to extend; sewerage and paving are alike neglected.* As an example of the manner in which this law of modern society works, take the case of Plaistow as it is

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. cviii. p. 349.

described by the Rev. Mr. Stooks. That gentleman, the able and painstaking honorary secretary of a society of which we shall presently speak, being called before the Lords' Committee in 1858, gave the following evidence:—

'About four or five years ago, a company began to form the Victoria Docks, in Plaistow. The site on which the Docks are being formed is three miles from the parish-church. The income of the incumbent is very small—I believe under 200*l.* a year. A large population, chiefly of labourers, was immediately on the spot, and in the course of a year some 4000 labourers assembled there. The incumbent, Mr. Marsh, a very excellent and a very self-denying man, for one year got a grant from "The Additional Curates' Aid Society," and when that was dropped he himself paid 90*l.* or 100*l.* for a curate to work in this outlying part of his parish, which he could not attend to himself.

'Do you happen to know what his endowment is?—I think his whole income is stated to be under 200*l.* a year.

'Is he a man of private fortune?—None whatever. He opened a school in a shed, which he formed by roofing over a space left where two houses had been built and no house between them; and in that roofed-over space service was also held on Sundays. This is a remarkable proof of what energy will effect. The circumstances of the case attracted the notice of some gentlemen living in the neighbourhood, and they called public attention to the sacrifices made by Mr. Marsh, and to the necessity of something being done. That appeal, by the exceeding energy of the gentlemen who took it up, has been very successful. They have collected enough to erect an iron church, and they are preparing to build a school-church. Schools are opened, too, in a much better building than at first, in an old bowling-alley. They have collected a large school, and have a good schoolmaster. I have been down there several times, and have been in communication with the clergymen, and they tell me that the people are exceedingly pleased with the exertions which have been made; that both their churches and their schools are very well attended, and that they are received with every kindness. One of the clergymen said—"I have never been in any cure where I found more heartiness and more real good-will."

'Was there or not a gentleman who took particular interest in Plaistow?—Yes; Mr. Antonio Brady.

'Will you state, as far as you know, what his operations were?—He is a clerk in a Government-office; a gentleman, living at Plaistow, a very energetic man, and a man eminently desirous of working for God in the Church. He was unwearied in writing and putting various articles in the "Illustrated London News," in the "Household Words," and in every way bringing the subject of Plaistow before the public. The sanitary condition of this part of Plaistow is very bad. I am almost afraid to say how many acres of open sewer there are round this new town called Hallsville; but the main sewerage of eastern London flows into and very often overflows those Plaistow Marshes. That has
been

been one great difficulty. Mr. Brady and other gentlemen have been in constant communication with the various authorities to improve the drainage; but it is a perplexing question, since the level of the meadows is lower than that of the Thames.'

Now hear Mr. Brady himself:—

'The population has much increased, and is about 4500. I think it is likely to increase very much more, as the docks are about to be extended. One may expect 20,000, or 30,000, or 40,000, as the trade of the docks increases; there is a forest of masts there already. Evaporation and soakage are the only means of escape for the sewage. . . . On the 8th of January last year I had occasion to go down to that district, and my attention was called to a little school-shed, wherein I found the poor clergyman of Plaistow had been educating near 200 children in a school which cost only 14*l.*, including every fixture and expense connected with it. He was 100*l.* in debt for that school; and it occurred to me that such a man, doing so much with so little, was deserving of help. I invited him to my house, and consulted him as to what could be done, and the result was that after he left me that evening I wrote the Address which I hold in my hand, which has been circulated. . . .

'Will you explain your plan?—The plan was simply that we should not wait for permanent endowments or expensive churches, but build schools, and collect children in those schools, and have short services in them; and thus train them up to the fuller services of the Church when we could get them; we thought we could win the affections of the parents through the children, and the effort has been very successful.

'What is the amount?—The Mission has been at work just one year, and this is the balance-sheet made up to the 31st of last March: of actual money received there was 2779*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, of which we have spent 1433*l.*, leaving a balance of 1345*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* In addition to that, we have had sites given to us, and we have promises amounting to 1500*l.* not yet paid; and we have subscriptions to the amount of 400*l.* a year, which we hope to preserve to pay the clergy till the church is self-supporting or endowments can be provided.

'From whence did these subscriptions come?—From every corner of the kingdom. I think we have issued 30,000 circulars; and the most gratifying fact of all connected with the mission is the extreme interest which the poor take in it. There are upwards of 400 who have subscribed sums varying from a farthing to 2*s.* 6*d.* Our object was to give them an interest in the work. We wanted them to give the value of one brick towards the fabric. It is found by experience that the poor value what they pay for; that there is a manly independence about them which does not like eleemosynary assistance. I am sure, from my experience, that even schools might be made self-supporting.

'The school in which you have this congregation?—Yes; varying, according to weather, from 150 to 200.

'You

'You have enlarged that school?—No; we have taken the Bowling Alley; and it is a very interesting thing: it was a gambling place, and the very lowest resort of the very low people there.

'Is it called a Bowling Alley?—Yes, it was used for bowls; it was an American bowling alley; people used to congregate there, and scenes of the vilest debauchery were going on. When we were treating for it, a colony of Mormons were seeking for it, but we immediately outbid them, and I am glad to say we have prevented them from making a settlement there at all. We hope that we have done a treble good. We have prevented their coming, and we have prevented the Bowling Alley from being used for a bad purpose, by turning it to the very best of all, viz., the worship of Almighty God and the education of youth.

'Is it covered in?—Yes; at Christmas last, Miss Coutts gave the children a treat there; she came down with the Countess of Falmouth, and waited upon them in that Bowling Alley. There were more than 200 children present.

'Is there Divine worship in that Bowling Alley?—Yes; it is the only church that we have in that district; and I hope in a few months to replace it with a noble school-church. We are about to build very fine schools—the plan being already approved by the Privy Council.

'Do you contemplate using these schools as places for Divine worship?—Yes, for schools in the week-days, with instructive lectures and music, so as to induce the grown-up people to come; and on the Sunday we mean to turn them into a church.

'Has the Bishop consented?—Yes. We intend to begin with short services; I do not mean mutilated services, but the Litany or the morning service.

'Have you considered how long the iron church is likely to last?—I think that there is no limit to the duration of it, if it is kept in repair. I had the iron galvanized; but I thought it was also necessary to have it painted. I knew by experience in the navy, that the process of corrugating the iron more or less affects the galvanizing, the air gets at it, and it becomes oxidated. This I hope to avoid by painting, which will fill in all the invisible cracks made in the process of corrugating.

'With all those charges the cost was about 650*l.*?—That was the contract price.

'How many will it hold?—Four hundred. It was 750*l.*, including the hassocks and the warming, the matting, and the furniture for the vestries; we have made it very complete.

'Do the people take a warm interest in it?—They appear most grateful for it, and attend regularly.'

After stating that the Dock Company, though at first refusing to assist, had latterly agreed through its separate members to subscribe 100*l.* respectively towards the proposed church, and 100*l.* towards the general purposes of the mission, Mr. Brady is asked—

'How

'How do you mean to raise the stipends for the clergy?—I have promises of about 400*l.* a-year from different people. Some give 10*l.*, some 20*l.*, some 10*s.*, some 5*s.*, and some 2*s.* 6*d.* We have 400 poor who have subscribed sums varying from a farthing to 2*s.* 6*d.*

'How are they (these sums) collected?—Mr. Marsh sends round some of his lay-agents; these are the Sunday-school teachers and Scripture-readers; and he himself goes about, and his wife: he is most indefatigable. These subscriptions are collected at the houses of the poor, and the people run out and say, "Do not pass my door; I should like to give something." That shows that if you only throw yourselves upon the poor, and work for them, you gain their affections.'

Sir Morton Peto, it appears, the lessee of the docks, though a dissenter, has given half an acre of land, worth about 600*l.*, as a site for a church; and Mr. F. S. Thompson, of Ilford, has given a whole acre, valued at 1000*l.* The North Woolwich Railway on the other hand, though scarcely less busy than the Dock Company in crowding the locality, seems to consider that the moral and religious condition of working-men is no concern of the Railway.

'With regard to the Victoria Docks, there is a railway communication with them, is there not?—Yes.

'From which railway?—It is from two; the North Woolwich line goes through the place, and the Tilbury line goes through a part of Plaistow.

'Is the railway communication only partially effected, or is it completed?—It goes right through.

'You do not expect any more works on the railways?—Yes; there is a large station where they are going to make a manufactory for the repair of engines in Plaistow, which will be near the station which they have opened within a few weeks. The population is increasing hourly, and the erection of those docks will probably bring 6000 or 7000 souls when they begin the excavations. It will be an evanescent population, as they will be principally navvies, who will leave when the work is done; but when the docks are finished there will be labourers for the docks who will take their place. There is one thing which I considered a great reproach to this country: foreigners came here and complained that they came to a Christian country, and found no place of worship; there were these docks in the midst of this dismal swamp, and no church; the Americans, especially, noticed it, and that is one reason why we put the iron church close to the dock gates. The dock company have been very kind, they have left the dock gates open during the hours of divine service, and they have published notices of the hours of service for the benefit of the crews, who are not included in the estimate that I have given; they are literally a floating population.

'Have you received any assistance from the Railway Company in those objects?—No.'

It would have been both kinder and wiser had the gentlemen connected with the Dock Company made proper arrangements at the outset for providing adequate accommodation of church and school for the people in their employ. As to the Railway Company, it stands alone. It does not rival the munificence of Sir Morton Peto or Mr. F. S. Thompson. It gives no site, and absolutely refuses to subscribe money. Poor Plaistow! had Providence not directed towards it an individual so energetic and full of faith as Mr. Brady, its growing thousands would have been doubtless left to grovel in the depths of physical and moral degradation; and its large-hearted incumbent, utterly broken down, must have rested from his labours long ago, either in a prison or in the grave.

The Crown itself does not set a proper example in such cases. This is shown by the condition of the parish of Plumstead, near Woolwich. Its population has grown within the last ten years from 2000 to 14,000, a result which is entirely attributable to the increase of the public works in the arsenal. Now the Crown, besides that the workmen are employed in its service, is one of the principal landowners in Plumstead parish, having expended, in 1856, not less than 80,000*l.* in the purchase of a large portion of the marshes; yet the Crown has steadily refused to do anything towards strengthening the hands of the over-worked incumbent, except by making a few unwilling grants towards church and school buildings, the entire amount of which falls short of 3000*l.**

There is not in every reeking portion of London and its suburbs a Mr. Brady. Thousands and tens of thousands of human beings are living, as for years they have lived, in Shoreditch, in Bethnal Green, in Stepney, in Islington, aye, and in Marylebone, St. George's Hanover Square, and St. James's also, for whose souls no one appears to care, and to whom the great truths of the Gospel are practically as little known as if the land of their birth were a heathen land, and not the great bulwark of Protestant Christianity. And that too in spite of the almost superhuman exertions of Bishop Blomfield, whose name will never be forgotten for this among other good works, that he early saw where the Church's weakness lay, and, when exercising the guidance of the diocese, did his best to remove it. To say that the late excellent Bishop was always happy in his plans, and uniformly successful in carrying them into effect, would be to predicate of him more than can be said of any

* See the very interesting evidence of the incumbent, the Rev. W. Acworth, before the Lords' Committee, pages 104 to 105.

human being. But if zeal and earnestness in a holy cause entitle the worker to the gratitude of his own and of future ages, Bishop Blomfield deserves, and will undoubtedly obtain, that highest of all sublunary prizes. A few words will suffice to explain in part what he did.

Bishop Blomfield was transferred from the see of Chester to that of London on the translation of Bishop Howley to Canterbury in the year 1828. He had been an early member of the Incorporated Church Building Society, in the general operations of which he took a great deal of interest; but his attention being now directed in a special manner to the spiritual destitution of his own diocese, he held repeated conferences with men whom he could trust, and a determination was arrived at to make a great effort to apply a remedy to the evil. The result was, the issue of a pastoral letter, bearing date Fulham, 11th July, 1836, in consequence of which was the institution of the Metropolis Churches Fund, of which the ledger remained open from 1836 to 1854, and to which contributions still continue to be made, though they come in very slowly. The entire sum collected in the course of these eighteen years was 186,787*l.*, to which the Bishop, with his usual munificence, contributed not less than 6500*l.*; the Duke of Bedford, instigated by this example, gave 1000*l.*; the Archbishop (Howley) of Canterbury, 1000*l.*; and the Corporation of the City of London 500*l.* We miss, however, in the subscription-lists the names of other great London proprietors. But the Bishop's efforts did not end there. 'After he had raised,' says Mr. Cotton,* 'as much money as he thought he could obtain from the metropolis generally, it occurred to him to take one of the most desolate parishes which could do nothing for itself, and try if he could evangelise that parish, in the hope that it would give great encouragement to other persons to follow the example.' The desolate parish in question was Bethnal Green, where 70,000 souls were gathered together with only three churches, affording accommodation for 5000, and five clergymen to minister among them. Again the Bishop's labours were crowned with marked success. In the course of fourteen years—in the interval, that is to say, between 1839 and 1853—upwards of 80,000*l.* were collected. The Bishop on this, as on a former occasion, set a noble example. The Corporation of London gave 1000*l.* and Mr. William Cotton 1800*l.* The Eastern Counties Railway Company likewise appears to have been more liberal than the Woolwich Company in the Plaistow case: it gave for school purposes exclusively 200

* Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 1858.

guineas. The East and West India Dock Company gave 605*l.*; the Goldsmiths' Company 500*l.* The house of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, and Co. was more munificent: by three instalments it contributed altogether 1700*l.* All the rest of the money came in from collections in churches, or by donations, varying from 50*l.*, in a few instances 100*l.*, to 5*s.* Here, again, we have looked in vain in the lists of subscribers for many names which we expected to see. Various donations seem indeed to have been presented anonymously—one to the amount of 6770*l.*, another of 400*l.*; and we venture to express the hope that these, or some of them, came from the great owners of London property. But we must at the same time add, that, according to our view of the matter, it is desirable in all such cases that the names of the donors should not be withheld. There is a very general, and, we think, a just conviction that liberal contribution in such cases is one of the duties which fairly and obviously attend upon property and the many privileges which it confers; and nothing would have a happier effect than the knowledge that this principle is admitted, and acted upon by those to whom it especially applies.

That we are not reasoning wide of the mark is proved by the fact, that the comparative success, first of the Metropolitan and next of the Bethnal Green Church fund, led almost immediately to similar attempts elsewhere. Movements began in St. Pancras and in Westminster—the former of which was patronised by the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis Camden, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Southampton, and Lord Calthorpe, all proprietors more or less extensive in St. Pancras parish—while the latter was taken up by the Bishop of the diocese, the Duke of Buccleuch, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The sums collected in St. Pancras were not, we lament to say, very considerable: they sufficed to add barely 8000 sittings to the amount of accommodation already provided. We speak of things as they were in 1854. In Westminster attention seems to have been chiefly directed to providing the churches already in existence with additional curates. Meanwhile private persons—some of them in no way connected, as far as we are aware, with the localities, but moved by a sense of duty to God and to their fellow creatures—came forward in a spirit worthy of earlier times, and built and endowed churches and schools at their own expense. Such was the act of Bishop Blomfield himself, to whom St. Stephen's, Shepherd's Bush, is no inappropriate monument—such of Miss Burdett Coutts, the most munificent benefactor to the Church within recent times. We cannot bring ourselves to withhold the names of those who have acted so nobly.

Churches

Churches recently built by Individuals in the Diocese of London.

Angerstein, Mr., M.P.	..	Greenwich, St. John.
Barnett, Miss .. ..	..	St. Anne, Highgate Rise.
Bentinck, Archdeacon	..	Holy Trinity, Vauxhall.
Blomfield, Bishop ..	..	Hammersmith, St. Stephen.
Cotton, Mr. W. .. ..	..	{ Bethnal Green, St. Thomas.
		{ Stepney, St. Paul.
		{ Westminster, St. Stephen.
Coutts, Miss .. ..	..	{ Deptford, St. John.
		{ Limehouse, St. John.
Cubitt, Alderman ..	..	Christ Church, Isle of Dogs.
Davies, Mr. H. D. ..	..	St. Mary's, Spring Grove, Hounslow.
Eyre, Mr. H. S. ..	..	Marylebone, All Saints.
Foyster, Rev. H. S. ..	..	St. Pancras, St. John.
Haddo, Lord .. ..	..	St. George's East, St. Mary.
Lewis, Misses .. ..	..	Ealing, Christ Church.
Pembroke, late Countess of,		Haggerston, All Saints.
Stuart, Rev. E. .. ..	..	St. Pancras, St. Mary.
Walker, Rev. Dr. ..	..	Kensington, St. Columb's.
Mr. Beresford Hope and		{ All Saints, Margaret Street.*
Mr. Henry Tritton ..	..

Now Building.

Hubbard, Mr., M.P. ..	..	Holborn.
Monk, Misses .. ..	..	Westminster, St. John, St. James the Less.

Of these various efforts, and of others less gigantic, which the space at our disposal will not permit us to specify, the grand results were as follows:—The late Bishop of London had the happiness, in the course of his incumbency, to consecrate for the diocese of London alone not fewer than 197 new churches. Of these 90 lay beyond the limits of the metropolis, 107 within these limits. The sum expended in accomplishing this great work was 536,000*l.*, of which 266,000*l.* were provided by the Church-building funds. One hundred and forty-six additional clergymen were at the same time brought into work, and 106,000 additional sittings provided in the metropolitan district. Was the evil long complained of and sorely felt thereby cured? Far from it. While the Church was with infinite labour building places of worship and providing seats by the score, the population of London was increasing by the hundred. We gained, in the eighteen years between 1836 and 1854, 106,000 sittings: there were added to the population in the same interval 600,000 souls; and whatever may have been the efforts subsequently made to build new

* We believe that others than Mr. Hope and Mr. Tritton contributed towards the building of this church.

churches and to enlarge the old, we know too well that they have not only not gained upon this sad disparity, but that the disparity is at the present moment more marked than ever. The following are the terms in which the Lords' Committee speak in their Report of the poorer districts in the east and some of the central portions of London :—

‘ In the parish of Shoreditch, having a population of 114,370, there is church room for only 1 in 11, and 17 clergymen have the charge of about 7000 each.

‘ In Stepney, there is a population of 90,447, church room for 1 in 10·8, and every clergyman has the charge of 6460. St. Dunstan's, the ancient parish church, is stated to have a population of 40,000—elsewhere stated 35,000—with only one church in a corner of the parish ; on one side of the district are 10,000 souls, without church, chapel, or school of the Church of England—and not a single room capable of holding 20 persons.

‘ In St. James's, Ratcliff, having nearly 10,000 people, there is church room for 1040, and one clergyman only.

‘ In St. Mary's, Whitechapel, the parish church, there are 16,000, with church room for 1700, and three clergymen. In St. Mark's are 16,000, with church room for 1500, and only two clergymen.

‘ In Christ Church, Spitalfields, are 20,950, church room 1200, three clergymen.

‘ In Newington, the population is 70,000, church room 6570, ten clergymen. In St. Luke, Old Street, there are three parishes, having 42,825 population, church room 4816, and five clergymen.

‘ In St. James's, Clerkenwell (the parish church), having a population of 27,600, there is only one church, holding 1700, and three clergymen. In Pentonville chapel 12,000, with a church holding 600, and two clergymen.

‘ From the evidence respecting Southwark, it appears that the district of the old parish church, St. George the Martyr, contained till within a few weeks 35,000 persons, from which a district of 7000 is now detached, leaving a population of 28,000, with one church holding 1300, and three licensed chapels ; but there are upwards of 11,000 who have no accommodation in any place of worship. The moral and social condition of this parish is characterised as “ very awful ” (in some parts of it, known by the name of the Mint, and Kent Street, specially so) ; though with striking indications of improvement.

‘ In Lambeth, the rector states the population of the whole parish to be 150,000, in 14 districts. In his own, the rectory district, are 27,000, with church room for 1460, of which 800 sittings only are free. To raise the church room in the whole parish to 58 per cent. would require additional church room to the extent of 45,991.

‘ The return of the secretaries of the Bishop of Winchester shows that in the parts of the metropolis in that diocese, viz., Bermondsey, Camberwell, Clapham, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, and Southwark, the population amounts to 336,117, with 29 churches, and 74 incumbents
and

and curates, showing on the average 11,590 persons to every church, and 4604 to every clergyman.

'Such and so great is the spiritual destitution of the poorest and most populous districts in the remoter parts of the metropolis. In turning to other portions of it, the state of things, though different, is scarcely less painful. Taking, for instance, the important parish of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, which may in many respects be considered as the connecting medium between the two extremes of the highest and the lowest of the London population: in this parish there are 17,000 souls, of which no fewer than 10,000 are, not all indeed of the very poorest class, but not any in a condition to pay rates. For these there is only one church, holding about 1350 adults and 300 children in all, near 1700, or one for every tenth part of the population. Of these 1700 sittings only 250 are free, and of these 250 in the opinion of the Incumbent 100 are not at all fitted to accommodate adults. For all the appropriated sittings a rent must be charged; but as this is a parish church, subject to the common law, such rents are generally acknowledged by the parishioners to be illegal; and being known to be so, some who occupy the seats refuse to pay, and there is no attempt to enforce payment. This refusal to pay, therefore, has gone on extending itself, till the pew rents have gradually been reduced from 300*l.* per annum to about 105*l.*, which goes towards paying the beadle, the organist, and the sexton. But no attempt is stated to have been made to throw open the appropriated sittings, for which no rents are paid; but 150 fit sittings only are offered to the 15,700 parishioners, who having the same acknowledged legal right as the hundreds who are seated in the church, are all actually excluded from it. The rector has a clear income, after paying part of the stipend of one curate, of only 190*l.* per annum, arising mainly from Easter offerings, 80*l.* of which are contributed by six individuals, the remainder by donations ranging from one to two guineas.

'The rector, with two curates, has the cure of 17,000 souls in his parish, in which there is, as he states, "a frightful amount of infidelity;" this is the crying evil they have to contend with; infidelity in all its shapes, extending not only to the denying of the Christian revelation, but even to the grossest and darkest heathenism; "in fact they have not any idea of the existence of a God. Being the centre of London," he continues, "it seems to be the focus into which all evil contracts itself; and thus it is continually multiplying itself in my neighbourhood, and then it discharges itself again into the outskirts of London." In a subsequent part of his examination, the witness stated that the large amount of infidelity in his district extends actually among the better classes. Some of the very worst streets of London are in his parish. Irreligion, in short, and vice are so rampant in it, that the rector without adequate accommodation in his church, and without sufficient aid from curates, states that it is quite impossible for him to cope with the immense amount of spiritual destitution around him, emphatically closing his testimony in these

words: "I do not know what to do; it is a most painful position to be in."

This is a frightful picture—possibly a little overcharged—yet let not our readers imagine that it has no parallel nearer to the residence of the Court. Between Belgrave Road and Westminster Abbey there lies a region of which it is not going too far to say that nothing in Clerkenwell or Shoreditch can fall below it in the depth of its moral degradation. Around Chelsea Hospital, as well as in the great aristocratic parish of Kensington, stand whole blocks of buildings, into which no respectable woman, unless she be bent on an errand of charity, would dare to enter. Nor is this all. The fairest portions of this magnificent City are in many instances but screens which hide from the eye of the casual observer the corruption which festers behind. What sinks of iniquity and shame girdle in Portman Square, Montague Square, Hanover Square, Grosvenor Square, St. James's Square! And even in the region of Belgravia, recent of growth though it be, it is better for him who shrinks from coming in contact with vice and suffering, not to dive deeper than the mews and stable-yards which abut upon Belgrave, Eaton, Chester, Eccleston, and Warwick Squares.

But surely if this be a true representation of the case, the evil must be attributed to causes different from those which have operated with such terrible effect in the east of London. It cannot be said that west of Charing Cross and north of the river there is any lack of churches, or of clergymen, or of resident gentry, to exercise a moral influence over their poorer neighbours. Are we not, on the contrary, struck, every time we revisit London after a short absence, with the graceful appearance of one or more new spires which, overtopping as many churches designed in the purest architectural taste, seem to have sprung up as it were in a night at easy distances one from the other? And is not all this region from Charing Cross to the remote parts of Kensington peopled during half the year by the very cream of English society? How, then, can it be said that here, at least, there is spiritual destitution? and if spiritual destitution there really be, how is the fact to be accounted for? We cannot better answer these questions, so far as they bear upon the condition of the three great mother parishes in London West, than by referring to the evidence given before the Lords' Committee by the rectors, the Rev. Henry Howarth, of St. George's, Hanover Square; the Rev. E. Kempe, of St. James's; and the Rev. C. J. P. Eyre, of Marylebone; from which it appears that in these parishes the deficiency in church accommodation for the poor is quite as great as in the districts east of the Royal Exchange.

So

So vanishes our dream of adequate church-accommodation in the three great and wealthy mother-parishes of West London. In what state do we find the districts recently cut off from two of them, extending from Westminster Abbey at one extremity to Putney Bridge at the other, and comprehending all that space which lies between St. James's Park and Knightsbridge road on the right hand and the river on the left? In regard to the number of consecrated buildings which we encounter while passing from point to point, this portion of London is perhaps better provided than any other. Not fewer than fifteen churches have sprung up there within the last thirty years. In addition to the old and new Chelsea parish churches and to the chapels of Chelsea Hospital and of the Royal Military Asylum, there are moreover Park-Place Chapel, the chapel opposite Buckingham stables, Eaton-Place Chapel, and Dr. Thorpe's Chapel in Belgrave Square; none of them, we believe, consecrated, but all licensed: so that we find twenty-one places of worship in which the service of the Church of England is regularly carried on within an area of perhaps two miles and a half in length by one mile in breadth. But by whom are these places of worship frequented? Most of them, all indeed except St. Stephen's, which Miss Coutts not only founded but liberally endowed, are virtually closed except to such persons as can pay for admission. Built for the most part by subscription, and destitute of endowments, they depend for everything upon the letting of the pews. To the fund so raised the clergy look for their stipends. Out of the same fund are paid the organists, the pew-openers, the clerks; there is but this same fund to trust to for necessary repairs, for providing the sacramental elements, and for washing. In some instances, such as St. Peter's, St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's, St. Paul's, Wilton Crescent, and even Holy Trinity, the sums raised by pew-rents suffice to meet these various demands. In others so far is this from being the case, that we really cannot conceive how the clergy exist. Indeed, we know that they could not exist at all were they wholly dependent on what they receive from their congregations. Yet it is a noteworthy circumstance that in all cases, whether the pews let readily or hang upon the hands of the churchwardens, the poor never enter these places of worship except in the smallest conceivable numbers. In St. Peter's, St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's, and St. Paul's, there is literally no room for them. Some rows of open benches on the ground-floor, with a few back seats in the galleries, are indeed free; and here and there on the ground-floor may be seen well-dressed men and women, whose appearance indicates that they belong to the small-tradesman class or to the class of artificers.

But

But the free seats are for the most part occupied by the servants, male and female, of the ladies and gentlemen who hire the pews. As to the other churches, half empty though some of them habitually are, the poor cannot be persuaded even to approach them. To what causes we are ourselves inclined to attribute this melancholy state of things an opportunity will be taken by-and-by to state. For the present we content ourselves with drawing public attention to the fact, that the handsome churches which we see and admire in the new London parishes on both sides of Hyde Park are exclusively the churches of the rich. The general result of a system which has been too long and too steadily at work among us, cannot be better described than in the words of the Report of the Lords' Committee:—

'It appears that Middlesex, the county which may be considered the central seat of the civilization, the enterprise, the wealth, and power, as well as of the government of this great empire, is actually the very lowest of all the counties of England in the provision made for Divine worship by all the denominations. As regards the Church of England, it is the lowest of all but two, those two being the county of Durham, having provision for only 17·6 per cent., and Northumberland 18·1—Middlesex 18·7.'

Mortifying as to every true son of the Church such a confession must be, it becomes doubly painful when he considers that this provision, pitiable at the best, is made, not for rich and poor indiscriminately, but almost entirely for the rich. Out of the 18 per cent. sittings in London churches, we venture to say that less than six are occupied by working men and their families. Indeed, you no sooner pass the line of Temple Bar and High Holborn than you come upon an enormous city which, for some reason or another, seems to consider its temples as erected for the convenience of those alone who are able to pay for the accommodation provided. Nor is this all. The city in question has arisen and extends itself, without churches, without schools, till, by constant begging, the clergy, a very small section of the laity co-operating with them, raise funds, often from the remotest parts of the empire, and build wherever sites can be procured. And yet the property on which the city of West London stands is vested in comparatively few proprietors, to whose wealth it is continually adding. The principal of them are:—St. Pancras: Earl of Dartmouth, Earl Somers, Lord Calthorpe, Skinners' Company, Brewers' Company. St. Martin's: The Crown, Dukes of Bedford and Northumberland, Marquis of Salisbury, and Marquis of Exeter. Marylebone: Duke of Portland, Lord Portman. Bloomsbury: Duke of Bedford. Hampstead (including Kilburn): Sir T. M. Wilson,

Wilson, Dean and Chapter of Westminster, General Upton, Eton College, the Eyre Trustees. Highgate: Lord Mansfield, Lord Southampton, Earl of Dartmouth. Chelsea: Earl Cadogan, Representatives of Mr. Sloane Stanley and Mr. Gunter. St. Margaret, Westminster: The Crown, Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Listowel. St. James, Westminster: Sir R. Sutton. St. George's, Hanover Square, and Belgravia: Marquis of Westminster. Paddington: Mr. Thistlethwayte; Bishop of London, or rather the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

And here the question naturally arises, What becomes of the poor? Are they entirely neglected? No; not quite. That which the Church fails to do, it may perhaps be said by some that dissent has partially effected, though only to an extent which proves two things: first, that voluntaryism can never reach the classes which most require that religion should be pressed upon them; and next, that there is such a thing as separation without doctrinal dissent, and that there would have been comparatively little dissent in England at all had those upon whom the moral obligation lay taken care to provide as the need presented itself churches and clergymen, especially in great towns, for their tenants and dependents. A few words in order to establish the latter of these positions before we go on to describe what we shall take the liberty of calling the irregular efforts which have been, and are still made, to shed some rays of light into the dark places of this great city.

The growth of dissent, using that term in its well-understood sense, was till comparatively recent times very slow in this country. We cannot here go into its history: suffice it to say that so inconsiderable was the Nonconformist body in 1603, that the census for that year shows—Of communicants, according to the ritual of the Church of England, 2,050,033; of recusants, including members of the Church of Rome, only 8465.*

The history of dissent under the two first Stuarts and during the Commonwealth is but too well known. On the Restoration, Puritanism was found intolerable. The rebound led, as usual, to extremes in an opposite direction, and the King's endeavour to reconcile religious parties came to nothing. A new Act of Uniformity cast out from their benefices 2000 ministers, most of whom, no doubt, were mere intruders, though some were eminent for piety and personal worth, and a few for their learning and ability. Such was the origin of that systematised nonconformity which, if wisely dealt with at the outset, might not impossibly have disappeared altogether. It received a legal toleration in 1688, and has, mainly through the neglect of

* Har. MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 280.

their duty by the lay as well as clerical members of the Church of England, so extended itself that, according to the census of 1851, it now comprises at least one-third of the entire population.

Though the Toleration Act secured to all dissidents* from the doctrine and ritual of the Established Church, perfect liberty of worship, there were certain conditions annexed to the boon.† Nor does it appear that, till the middle of the last century, dissent as opposed to the Church of England, far less as rivalling it, made way to any notable extent. Presbyterianism has been slightly revived of late, chiefly, we believe, through the zeal of Dr. Cumming, and can now boast of three Presbyteries (which, however, may be regarded as merely an offshoot of the Scotch Establishment). The Congregationalists or Independents are much more powerful. Fostered by Cromwell, himself one of the body, Congregationalism fell into disrepute after the Restoration; but in 1812 it could boast of 1024 places of worship, which have since been increased to 3244, with accommodation for 1,063,136 worshippers.

Next in importance are the Baptists. In 1716 there were in all England only 247 Baptist congregations. In 1790 these had grown to 432, and there are now in all England and Wales not fewer than 2789. The Baptists are a very energetic body, for they have established six Theological Colleges in different parts of the country, and the sums which they expend annually on missions exceed 60,000*l*.

The Quakers, or Society of Friends, in the year 1800, possessed 413 meeting-houses. These had diminished in 1851 to 371, and are still, we believe, diminishing. The case is different with the Unitarians, whose denial of the divinity of Christ long excluded them in name, though never in fact, from the benefits of the Toleration Act; and who, between 1720 and 1730, were joined by many of the old Presbyterian ministers, with their congregations and endowed chapels. Since that date, and especially since 1813, when they were placed by Act of Parliament on the same footing with other Protestant Dissenters, the Unitarians have taken higher ground. The latest returns show that the number of their congregations amounts in all to 223.

Besides these more important sections of dissent, there are to

* We need scarcely observe that Roman Catholics and impugnors of the doctrine of the Trinity were especially excluded from the benefits of this Act.

† The conditions were, that Dissenters should continue to pay tithes and other dues, should take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and certify their places of worship to the Bishop and the Justices of Peace. Their ministers were likewise required to sign 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the 39 articles of the Established Church.

be found, in England and Wales, Moravians, Glassites, Swedenborgians, Irvingites, and Plymouth Brethren. They are inconsiderable in point of numbers, and their numbers are not on the increase. Of Moravian places of worship the census of 1851 gives us 32; the Glassites boast of 6; the Swedenborgians of 50; the Plymouth Brethren of 132; the Irvingites of 32. But additional even to these we have 222 places of worship, most of them mere rooms, belonging to the Mormons or Latter-day Saints; with not fewer than 580 individual congregations, each of which claims to be a church perfect in itself, or assumes some title which is intended to show that it is made up of men who, for truth's sake, are willing to put all specialities both of belief and ceremony into abeyance. What the exact number of persons adopting this latter mode of worship may be there are no means of ascertaining. We believe that it is very inconsiderable.

We have reserved to the last such notice as our limits will permit us to take of by far the most influential, as well as the most numerous of all the religious bodies which stand apart from the Established Church. The Methodists—including under that head the Original Connexion, the New Connexion, the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodists' Association, the Wesleyan Methodist Reformers, the Calvinistic Methodists, subdivided into the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists—possessed among them in 1851, 7043 places of worship. A good many of these were indeed mere rooms. But we have the admitted fact that during the last ten years many spacious Methodist chapels have been built, so that we shall probably not concede more than the Connexion in the aggregate has a right to claim, if we accept as the sum of its chapel strength the figures set down in the latest census, with an addition perhaps of one or two hundred more. The number of persons actually belonging to these various congregations is not so easy to settle. For the Methodists claim as their own all who can be counted at their services, whether these be regular frequenters of the chapel morning and evening, or come occasionally, or in the evening only. They overlook or ignore the fact, that in many places where the parish churches are not open for evening service, the humbler and more devout among church people are much in the habit of going wherever their own beautiful Liturgy is read, or a discourse interesting from the manner of the preacher, and level with their capacity, is expected to be delivered.

The Wesleyans, and more especially the Original Connexion, deny that they are dissenters at all.—That their founder, John Wesley,

Wesley, entertained no purpose at the outset of running into dissent: that he was in some degree forced by circumstances to take that step, of which his conscience to the day of his death disapproved, is indeed most true. But we must, without intending the slightest discourtesy, continue to class with Dissenters the followers of that good man, who set up their own form of ecclesiastical government as distinct from that of the Church, if not antagonistic to it.

Assuming this estimate to be substantially correct, we find throughout all England and Wales, in 1851,* 17,459 separate places of Protestant Dissenting worship, as a supplement to 13,854 churches and chapels belonging to the Church of England. Add to these 506 Roman Catholic chapels, 3 chapels belonging to the Greek Church, 10 foreign reformed congregations, with 53 Jewish synagogues, and we have a grand total of 30,959; which being further swelled by 3508 rooms, gives not fewer than 34,467 places in which, once a week at least, English and Welsh congregations are accustomed to meet for purposes of worship and instruction. It appears moreover, that the sittings provided in all these places of worship are sufficient to accommodate 9,467,374 persons, of which sittings, however, only 3,947,371 are free. Of these the Church of England supplies in all 4,922,412, of which 1,803,773 are free sittings. The rest are provided by the various nonconforming bodies, among whom, however, so far as free and appropriated seats are concerned, there is a still greater disproportion on the wrong side than in the Church. Still, upon the whole, if these churches and chapels happened to be so placed as that all were equally accessible, the amount of accommodation for public worship in England and Wales would leave us little to complain of. Our population amounted in 1851 to about eighteen millions, of all ages; our sittings in churches and chapels to rather more than nine millions, that is to say, enough for rather more than one-half the entire population. Unfortunately, however, our churches and chapels are so placed as to be least accessible where they are most wanted. They abound in the rural districts, they are deficient in large towns. We have plenty of church accommodation to offer where comparatively little is needed; we have none, or next to none, where very much is required.

And this brings us to consider the state of London, as it is affected by all the church and chapel building which has been going on since the commencement of the century. Of the total

* It is in every way worthy of remark that the Dissenting interest successfully resisted all inquiry into their numbers in the census of 1861.

inadequacy of the churches to embrace the population we have already spoken. There were found, on a certain day in 1851, 458 churches and Episcopal chapels within the bills of mortality, containing accommodation for 409,834 persons only. The non-conformist chapels, numbering on the same day 639, afforded accommodation to 291,889. Now the entire population of London amounted to 2,362,236, showing that if all the churches and chapels of all denominations had been filled, not one-third of the entire population of London could, under any circumstances, have attended public worship at the same time.

Church-room is barely adequate if it be capable of accommodating fifty-eight per cent. of the population in a given district. But we have already shown that, as far as the Church is concerned, the London poor, and especially the poor of London West, partake very little in the boon, such as it is. Of the 18·7 per cent. for whom the Church provides, 12 per cent. at least belong to the paying classes. As regards Dissenters, things are even worse. It appears that the amount of accommodation provided within the bills of mortality by all the Nonconformist bodies put together, including Roman Catholics, foreign Protestants, and Mormons, scarcely reaches eleven per cent. But dissent necessarily implies a pecuniary contribution, and, therefore, very few of the absolutely poor are anywhere to be found among its votaries. We have Nonconformist meeting-houses in abundance wherever small shopkeepers and substantial tradesmen reside. Commercial Road, Stepney, for example, can boast of three. New North Road, Westbourne Grove, Kensington, the King's Road, are all sufficiently furnished; but we look in vain for meeting-houses in the east of London, except under very peculiar circumstances, and they are of rare occurrence in the slums of Westminster and St. Giles's. Indeed, the fate of the single chapel in Philip Street, Hoxton, which has changed hands repeatedly, and is now with difficulty kept up by the Primitive Methodists, shows that there is no vigour in dissent to deal with abject poverty, any more than there would be in the Church of England were she deprived of her endowments to-morrow. Accordingly the Rev. W. W. Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel, after describing the state of his parish with its 16,000 inhabitants and its one church capable of containing, when quite full, 1700 people, is asked—

‘Do you usually visit the Dissenters’ people who are sick?’ His answer is—‘We make no difference. We visit all who are sick, never asking any questions. In the whole of the years I have been in Whitechapel—twenty years and more; nearer twenty-one—I never, to my knowledge, met a Dissenting Minister.’

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In like manner, the Rev. W. Cadman, of St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, being asked—

‘When you say there are 11,000 persons for whom there is no church accommodation, does that include many Dissenters?’—Replies, ‘They have no accommodation in any place whatever.’

‘Do you know what places of worship there are in your parish for Dissenters?’—Very few in the parish itself. There are two chapels, I think, which are perhaps capable of containing about 1700 or 1800 between them.

‘Is Dissent diminishing or increasing in your opinion?’—Diminishing, if I may judge from the fact that the three chapels which I mentioned being now licensed were once Dissenting chapels. I suppose they found that they could not by voluntary efforts maintain them.’

So also the Rev. Bryan King, of St. George’s-in-the-East, replies to the question—

‘Are there many Dissenters in your parish?’—There are not many Dissenters; in fact, the people are too poor to support either Dissenters or any teachers without extraneous aid.’

Such, too, is the tendency of the Rev. Canon Dale’s testimony—a gentleman whose efforts to improve the spiritual condition of St. Pancras parish are beyond all praise. In that enormous district, comprehending a population of 200,000 souls, while the Church provides for 28,000 worshippers, Dissent accommodates 16,000 only, and accommodates these, not in Agar Town, or Somers Town, or St. John’s, but at Highgate, in the vicinity of Russell and Gordon Squares, and in other quarters inhabited, to a large extent, by well-to-do shopkeepers and tradesmen. Mr. Rivington likewise, a most intelligent and well-instructed witness, vouches indirectly for the same facts. His printing-office is in Clerkenwell, a favourite locality with that comfortable class from the ranks of which dissent is mainly recruited. Being asked by the Bishop of Winchester whether Dissenters have, to a great extent, supplied the want of accommodation in the Church, he says:—

‘It is rather difficult to answer that question. I think that the poorer classes who are religiously disposed will go to a Dissenting chapel, even if they belong to the Church of England, rather than be without the means of religious worship.

‘Have you found that Dissenters in general have built chapels or sent missionaries into those populations where the want of church-accommodation has been the greatest?’—I think it varies very much. In the parish of Clerkenwell, for instance, I see by the report that the Dissenters have rather more accommodation than the Church of England; but I have always myself held that it was not right on the part of Churchmen that they should allow the poorer members of their own communion to be dependent upon Dissenters for religious teaching.’

Here,

Here, then, we touch the weak point in the system of dissent, as it must be in all religious systems, which in these days of physical and economical progress depend wholly for support on voluntary contributions. Under such circumstances you cannot communicate religious instruction except to persons who, by subscribing to maintain religious teachers, prove that they stand the least in need of it. All among the rich who are indifferent—all among the poor who have nothing to give—exclude themselves or are excluded from the ministrations of a voluntary Church. The former will not come to you, the latter cannot. On the other hand, as often as wealthy men build and endow churches or chapels, they succeed in collecting multitudes within the sound of religious teaching, at the same time that they largely increase the value of their own property. The late eminent shipowner, Mr. Green, acted thus in the parish of Poplar, and the following statements on the subject appear in the evidence of Mr. Bazeley, the rector of All Saints:—

‘Is dissent very rife in your parish?—Dissent has somewhat a peculiar feature in Poplar. It has been mainly created, I may say, within the last twenty years by the money of a single individual.

‘Have you any objection to state the name of that individual?—I believe it is so notorious that I need not; it is the eminent ship-builder the late Mr. Green; he is now dead; not Mr. Richard Green, but his father, Mr. George Green.

‘Is it continued by his son?—The late Mr. George Green left dissent endowed so permanently that he spent 100,000*l.*, as I am informed, in the last ten years of his life in dissent in schools and chapels.

‘What description of dissent did he specially encourage?—He did not profess to be a Dissenter himself, nor could I ever ascertain what his own views were; but the chapel he built, I believe, is ministered by an Independent minister. He contributed to build a very large Wesleyan chapel also; and he re-opened a small chapel that I hoped to purchase myself for the Church of England in the Isle of Dogs, but he overbid me.

‘Did he show zeal in overbidding you?—Considerable zeal.

‘Did he employ a person to bid, so as to convince you that he was determined to have the church?—I was told so, in the case of another Dissenting building close to the church.

‘He was of no special denomination himself, but only a Dissenter from the Church?—So I made out from conversation with Mr. Green. We were on very good terms; he was not a man to quarrel with, but a very amiable old gentleman.’

Is it certain that the declension of Mr. Green from the Church was not very much the fault of those Churchmen with whom he principally came in contact? We have heard that he was not a
dissenter

dissenter when he and the incumbent of his parish first became acquainted; that he was merely one of that great multitude of Churchmen—of Low Churchmen as they are called—who object to crosses and flowers on the communion table, and to genuflexions and intoning in the performance of the daily service. Had it been fairly understood that the Church of England is neither an ornamented communion table nor an intoned service, there seems to be little reason to doubt that all the money which Mr. Green expended in building and endowing dissenting chapels and schools, might have gone to the erection and endowment of churches and church-schools. Such errors, however, are not confined to any one party. There are now in abeyance within the parish of Islington funds for the endowment of a church with the sum of 200*l.* a-year, because the rector will not allow the representatives of the donor—the present representative being a lady of his own way of thinking—to present. The rector, it appears, would rather that Islington went for ever without the advantages provided for it, than that by possibility at some future time a High Church patron should intrude a High Church clerk into the benefice.

Moved by the contemplation of the state of things which we have described, men of earnest minds have been hurried of late into proceedings, of which we should be sorry to speak except with respect, but which, like the operations of guerrilla corps on the flanks of an invading army, effect some good at a very disproportionate expenditure of strength and money.

The London City Mission came into existence in the year 1835. It originated with the late Mr. Nasmyth, a 'man of a peculiarly sanguine mind,' who got together a few friends equally sanguine with himself, held a meeting, and issued an appeal. The appeal in question invited the public 'to supply funds for the support of 400 missionaries' (all laymen), 'being the number supposed to be necessary for the metropolis.' The Society's Report for 1860—for it grew into a Society—is now before us, and it thus describes both the dawn and the noonday of the London City Mission:—

'When the London City Mission was formed there was no Pastoral-Aid Society, no Additional Curates' Society, no Scripture-Readers' Association, no Metropolitan Relief Association, with grants in encouragement of voluntary visitation, no Ragged School Union and no Ragged Schools, no Model Lodging-houses, no organization for sanatory purposes, no Penny Banks, no Open-air Missions, no Diocesan Home Missionary Society, no Special Services for the People, no Bands of Hope and no National Temperance Society, no Refugees

OR

or Reformatories for the young, or even for men, no Mothers' Meetings, no Meetings for United Prayer in almost every parish,—nor is it easy to enumerate how many other means of improvement to the working-classes, which have happily sprung up since the Mission was instituted, to the institution of so many of which the Mission has led, and in the institution of some number of which the Mission has taken a prominent part. The late Bishop of London had not then issued his appeal for "at least fifty new churches" in the metropolis, and neither the Metropolis Church Fund nor the Metropolis Chapel Fund had been originated.'

We have in these sentences a pretty accurate enumeration of most of the Societies, purely religious or purely benevolent, or of a mixed character, which carry on their operations in London, and which, more or less, waste their strength by acting independently or in rivalry one of the other. We have a fair share also of the assumption which is common in such cases, of the extraordinary merit due to the Society which blows its own trumpet. But let that pass. The London City Mission has not been idle. It began with three missionaries—it now employs 375. Its funds, when first instituted, might be counted in crowns; it now collects and disburses annually little short of 40,000*l*. It sends its agents, at an average cost of 90*l*. per man, into all parts of London, and assigns to each his district, within the limits of which he is pledged strictly to confine himself. Professing entire exemption from sectarianism, the Association places these agents under superintendents, who are clergymen of the Church of England, or dissenting ministers, or laymen, either churchmen or dissenters, as the case may be. The Society itself is managed by a committee, consisting entirely of laymen, and has a Board of clerical examiners, the majority of whom seem to be dissenting ministers. It circulates many tracts, but confines itself to such as are either examined and passed by its own Board, or published by the Religious Tract Society. It instructs its missionaries to visit from house to house, to hold prayer and Bible meetings, to inculcate 'upon all persons visited the necessity of attending the public worship of God, but to specify no particular church or chapel, leaving to those you visit the selection of the place most accordant with their own views, provided that in that place the great doctrines of the Reformation are faithfully taught.' Its missionaries are further authorised to preach in the streets, and to hold meetings in doors or out for public worship and instruction, subject to this one restriction, that such meetings are not to be held in the vicinity of a church or chapel while the ordinary morning service is going on.

The Church of England, it will be seen, derives no particular assistance

assistance from this Society. Where the incumbent of a parish is favourable to the movement, the Society willingly places one or more of its agents under his supervision, and it is fair to add that if he express any preference for churchmen over dissenters, churchmen are sent to him. That they must all be disciples of a particular school of theology we need scarcely stop to observe. Still, if they are communicants, men who partake with us at the Lord's table of the same bread and the same cup, we shall act very unwisely to reject them, because their views on some points of abstract faith, or of form, happen to differ a little from our own. On the other hand, if the incumbent prefer employing agents selected by himself, the Society is not therefore careful to stand aloof. In such a case the Society appoints its missionary to act under the dissenting minister, if there be one in the parish, or under a layman, if there be no minister, paying no heed whatever to the incumbent's protestation that the services of its agent are not required.

The Society's last Report rejoices over an immense measure of success. We would thankfully believe, with the Society, that so much success has really been attained. We accept their estimate, however, as far as the evidence of our own personal experience will allow, and are quite ready to admit that, bad as the state of London is, it would have been worse had not this and other Societies of a kindred nature done their best to stem the tide of evil. But the point on which the City Mission mainly prides itself, whether with perfect justice or not, is the following:—

‘Among other remarkable illustrations of regard to the Gospel during the past year manifested by the working-classes of society, there is one which is too important to be passed over in this Report, and which more especially demands notice, as so many of the missionaries have been deeply interested in it, and taken a very active part in the management of its details,—we refer to the opening of the theatres for public worship. The manner in which the most unlikely persons have thronged to hear the Gospel there, and the devoutness and attention with which they have listened to its glad tidings, as proclaimed to them there by some of the most eminent clergymen and ministers of the day, have been most gratifying, and beyond what could have been supposed. Never before, probably, in our day have masses of people, so exclusively of the very class needing to be reached, been brought together for such a purpose in any buildings, fully establishing, what this Committee have so often affirmed, that, although prejudices against the ecclesiastical and conventional arrangements peculiar to our churches and chapels have hitherto kept them, almost to a man, from these places, there is now a readiness to listen to the Gospel when preached to them in buildings more peculiarly

liarily frequented by their own class, and where these prejudices do not find a place for exercise.

"As to the people coming through curiosity (writes one of the missionaries), what better than curiosity or fashion are the motives which draw together a large proportion of other congregations? And as to the Gospel being polluted by being preached in a polluted place, might not this argument have availed for Satan to have prevented the Gospel ever having been preached in the world?"

'Another missionary writes: "So far from the place being a difficulty with this class, some of the people I visit argue: 'This is a good movement, because a man don't like going into a church after cursing and swearing all the week, but he don't have such thoughts when he is only going to a theatre.'"

'Many of the poor have also said to the missionaries: "We don't mind our clothes there."

"I had before tried wholly in vain," writes a third missionary, "to get those I have to visit to churches and chapels, but I no sooner gave them a bill of the theatre services, than they at once said, 'We will go *there*,' and they went the very next Sunday. The people at the theatres have behaved as well as if they had been in a cathedral."

Nine years subsequently to the formation of the London City Mission, the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association was formed. Its objects are so clearly set forth in the name which it bears, that a very few words will suffice to make them intelligible to those among our readers, and their numbers must be small indeed, who may not have heretofore heard of it. Its originator was, we believe, Mr. Kingscote: Lord Ebury, if we recollect right, presided at the first public meeting in 1844; and ever since the Society has engaged laymen to visit from house to house and to read and explain the Bible, under the supervision of such incumbents of parishes as are willing to employ them. There is the best evidence to show that the services of these lay readers have been extremely valuable. Working up on all occasions to the parish minister, and to him alone, they have been the means of bringing many persons to church, or otherwise under the influence of his ministrations, whom, without their help, he might never have been able to reach. The Society is accordingly prosperous. It began with an annual income of 3488*l*.; its income had increased in 1859-60 to 9529*l*. The number of readers employed has kept pace with the growth of its funds. Its patrons are the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester.

Aiming at higher objects, and following a less irregular course, the 'Additional Curates' Aid Society' and the 'Pastoral Aid Society' take in hand to furnish curates, or the means of providing them, to incumbents who, because of the poverty of their

benefices and the extent of their cures, are unable to overtake the amount of work which is thrown upon them. These societies do not, however, confine their attention exclusively to London. Like the Incorporated Church Building Society, they consider the whole of England and Wales as their province; and they do their business in a spirit of rivalry, not to say of hostility, one towards the other. 'The Curates' Aid Society' is supported principally by High Church, the 'Pastoral Aid Society' by Low Church subscribers: the former allows the incumbent, to whatever party he may belong, to choose his own curate; while the 'Pastoral Aid Society' interferes in the choice, by requiring that the curate's opinions shall be satisfactory to itself. England and Wales are thus kept, as far as possible, from feeling that the true Church spirit is one of harmony and love, not of disputation and controversy. Finally, the present Bishop of London has established a diocesan mission, which as yet has gone no farther than this,—it sends out clergymen, paid or unpaid, who deliver on the evenings of week-days sermons to the poor, in such churches as may be lent to them; or preach morning and afternoon at the corners of streets, in lanes, and on commons. Whether the mission will by-and-by take the shape of a missionary college—the only organisation which in such a state of society as that of London holds out any prospect of effecting permanent good with machinery of this sort—is more than we can say. The Bishop, we believe, would willingly guide his society to that goal; and establishments of the sort might become highly valuable, if they were managed by sensible Protestant men, and in a sober and Protestant spirit. Unfortunately, however, some of those with whom the Bishop is associated are so nervously afraid of the very ghost of Popery, that they cannot separate in their own minds the abuse from the use of means, to the excellency of which all experience—from the days of St. Augustine and his followers, and even of St. Columba, to those of our living colonial and missionary bishops—bears the strongest testimony. We must be content, therefore, for the present to work as we are doing, though every sensible man in England feels that the advantages secured by efforts so disjointed and spasmodic fall infinitely short of what the same amount of zeal would achieve were it more systematically directed.

Of all that is doing in the way of home missions, by religious bodies avowedly opposed to the Church of England, it would take much more space than is now at our disposal even to speak. We must be content, therefore, with observing that every sect, communion, and denomination has its home mission—that some of these sects, such as the Wesleyans and the Mormons, are
essentially

essentially missionary in their constitution—that lay-preaching and lay-leadership at common prayer are sanctioned by them all, and that in not a few instances artizans and tradesmen of the very humblest order serve on the Sunday one, sometimes two, or as many as three chapels in different parts of the town. To say of such a state of things that it is an unmixed good, would be to profess what we really do not believe. Illiterate men, unless they be guided by inspiration, can hardly fail when expounding God's word to mix up a great deal of error with truth; and the wretched state of London in regard to morals and religion proves that not by such efforts as theirs are any lasting impressions to be made. Still, incapable as the Church of England seems to be of coping with the moral pestilence which besets her, who shall hesitate to acknowledge that imperfect teaching is better than none at all, and partial error preferable to entire religious darkness? The question, however, naturally presents itself,—Is this state of things inevitable? Has the Church of England really become so powerless that she cannot do her own work both at home and abroad? Surely not, if Churchmen will only be induced to perceive that the Church is neither an abstract idea, nor an aggregate of some 15,000 or 20,000 ordained ministers; but a body composed of lay as well as of clerical members, each bound by the terms of his membership to undertake obligations which have never, since Christianity first established itself in the land, been violated with impunity. What are these obligations?

We have explained how at the outset places of worship were provided and endowed by the owners of the soil, who were in early times the only wealthy class. We have shown how, subsequently to the Reformation, the burden which the soil used to bear was handed over to the state, and how from time to time cases of urgency were met by grants of money voted by the Legislature. This practice—justified in some degree by the rapid growth of our town population, but ill directed, because crudely and compulsorily taken up—began to be objected to as soon as dissent, to which the want of adequate church-room largely contributed, gained strength; and it was finally abandoned in 1824, since which date no grant for Church-building purposes has ever been proposed in the House of Commons. Whether this be a right state of things—whether the Legislature in its collective capacity ought to be indifferent to the growth of absolute irreligion among us—or whether any way of action is now open to it which will not lead to more harm than good, we leave to statesmen to determine.

Let us now turn our attention exclusively to the Church, and endeavour to ascertain first, what is really wanted to place her

in her proper position ; and next, how much we have a right to expect from individual churchmen in order to effect that object.

We want a large addition to our church accommodation in great towns generally, but above all in London. We want a large addition to the number of our working clergy, and we want also endowments, so that our new churches may be free, and the clergy able to subsist without looking for their maintenance to pew rents, Easter offerings, or other contributions from their flocks. All these we want, not in the squares and handsome streets of Belgravia, and Tyburnia, and Kensington, but in Islington, Spitalfields, St. Pancras, Marylebone, Shoreditch, St. George's in the East, Southwark, Lambeth, the districts in and about Plaistow, the Tower Hamlets, Greenwich, Woolwich, Wapping, Rotherhithe, St. Giles' in the Fields, St. Clement Danes, St. George's Hanover-square, St. James's, St. Martin's in the Fields, and in the city of Westminster.

The demand which aims at supplying all these wants cannot be a moderate one. A thousand additional churches, with a single curate to each, would barely suffice, all over the metropolitan district, to assign 2000 persons to the care of one clergyman ; for the population of London cannot now be less than 3,000,000, whereas the sittings actually provided will accommodate, both at church and chapel, barely 700,000 persons. The number of churches in existence is under 500, and there is not one of these churches (except perhaps in the half-empty parishes of the City) but must be pronounced to be under-manned rather than over-manned, so far as concerns the body of clergy at work within the district attached to it.

No sane man, with facts such as these staring him in the face, would propose the erection of even 500 Gothic churches, no matter how chastely or even severely designed. No Gothic church with which we are acquainted was ever built in modern times for less than an average expenditure of 5*l.* per sitting ; and if to this be added the expense incurred by the purchase of a site, the total charge seldom falls short of 7*l.*, or it may be 8*l.* a sitting. But, apart from considerations of expense, there is something in the aspect of handsome churches which seems, in the present state of public feeling, to repel the poor. They rarely enter such places, whether free seats be offered or not, except in very small numbers, and after a good deal of previous training in rooms of far more humble appearance. Stately spires and pointed window-frames without, elegant shafts with arches and corbels within, frighten away the classes whom we are desirous of bringing under the influence of religious training. This is a fact which seems to be established by the nature of the congregations

congregations which assemble night after night in Westminster Abbey. You find there, besides the aristocracy of the land, many tradespeople, with a few mechanics and their families; but of the poorest classes of all there is scarcely a sprinkling; whereas the experiments tried in the theatres seem to prove that these classes are not afraid of hearing God's Word read and preached because it is God's Word, but because they are unwilling to be seen in places which they regard as intended not for outcasts like themselves, but for 'respectable' people. Surely if we desire to overtake the masses, we must seek them on the ground where alone they appear to be approachable. Let us give them such buildings as they prefer; yet so construct and manage these buildings as that, without any shock to the feelings of the most fastidious, they may, on fitting occasions, and at stated seasons, become places of religious worship and instruction too, in the localities where they are planted, and to the very people who frequent them for secular purposes.

We should be very sorry to damp the expectations of those who, if we may judge from their printed Reports, look to Exeter Hall and theatrical services as the only infallible means of evangelising London. That here and there, in the course of these services, conversions occur, is hardly to be doubted. A wretched outcast, rendered excitable by the shattered condition of his nerves, hears something in a sermon which throws him into hysterics, and he leaves the hall or theatre in a frame of mind entirely changed from that in which he entered it. He would give the world in his agony for one half-hour's conversation with the preacher who has thus eloquently described his condition. But this is impossible, because the preacher is unknown to him even by name. Probably he came up from Liverpool, or Manchester, or Birmingham, to deliver this single sermon, and next Sunday his place will be taken by a preacher from Colchester perhaps, or Carlisle, or from one of the fashionable parishes of London West. The second preacher may or may not strike the same chord in the sinner's heart; but if he do, all that is produced is only a repetition of the same strain of wild Æolian music which excites, agitates, and then dies away. What the wretched man needed from the first was a minister to seek to—his own minister—one whom he has seen daily passing to and fro in his own street, who will not only receive him kindly, if he turn his foot towards the parsonage or the curate's lodging, but will come to him in his garret or his cellar, and speak to him there as 'a discreet and learned minister of God's Word' can alone speak, of mercy before our Father which is in Heaven, and of the price which was paid for man's redemption. We say that the
awakened

awakened sinner needed this from the outset—and not he alone, but tens and twenties of sinners besides, who, though less violently agitated, were pricked at the heart like himself; and if sought out and worked upon under the pressure of remorse might have been saved. With the machinery now at our command, however, this is simply out of the question. What clergyman knows even the faces of five out of every thousand of the shifting crowd which Sunday after Sunday throngs the minor theatres during these desultory services? And if, by frequently observing the same face there, he begins at last to recognise it, how is he to reach his hearer, or his hearer to reach him? No doubt City missionaries and Scripture readers, sparsely scattered among the millions of London, do their best; but will any one compare for a moment the influence which these good but unlettered men are capable of exercising with that of a body of ordained clergymen regularly educated, trained to the work, and throwing themselves heart and soul into it? We write in no spirit of hostility to the schemes which are now in the ascendant, because, as far as they are able to carry us, we are ready to go with them; but of this we are quite sure, that if the religious world, and especially the Church of England, be content to stop where we are, the result will be bitter disappointment.

The course which we would take the liberty of recommending to Churchmen is this: Consider every parish and district church now existing within the bills of mortality as a nucleus whence religious instruction is to be spread over the *whole* district, be it great or small, which the law of the land has attached to such church. Suspend therefore for the present all desire to build new churches and to set apart new districts, except where streets and squares spring up, such as from the size and nature of the houses must be occupied exclusively by the rich. The rich, if they stand in need of churches, will build them for themselves, and to the pew-rents of churches so built may safely be left both the payment of the clergy and the accumulation of funds wherewith to supply the requirements of public worship and to keep the fabric in repair. But everywhere else, in the east, in the south, in the north, and in the west, build rooms, so constructed that they may be made use of as schools in the mornings and evenings of week days—as concert and lecture rooms on the evenings of these days—as chapels or places of worship on Sundays and other great holidays of the Church. Plant these rooms in the lowest localities; make them of size enough to contain 500 worshippers each; fit them up as plainly and economically as you can, but take care that they are well warmed, well lighted, and of pure ventilation.

ventilation. Do not expend one shilling upon needless ornament (it is not desirable to make them like churches externally), and so crowd them together that each shall become the centre of a population, say of 2000 souls, with its resident missionary curate, selected by the incumbent, and approved and licensed by the Bishop. The time may come when both the tastes and moral and physical condition of the people shall be so improved, as that they will desire more stately churches, and make an effort to obtain them. When this happens your rooms will still be available for school, and lecture, and concert purposes. But begin with a room; for if by such means you cannot bring the people steadily to seek the Church's ministrations, there seems no ground of hope that you will be able, humanly speaking, to bring them to such ministrations at all.

We have said that in order to supply the spiritual wants of London a thousand such chapel-schools would not be too many. We have good authority for stating likewise that, with proper management and economy in the choice of materials, they could be well built, and fitted too, for about 2*l.* a sitting. The great expense would, indeed, be the cost of the sites, which, taken over all and making allowance for occasional free gifts, can scarcely be put down at less than half the cost of the erection. This would raise the total expenditure say to 1200*l.*, or even to 1500*l.* But it would scarcely be desirable to plunge headlong into so gigantic an undertaking. That which we are anxious to see is a beginning made to this experiment. Take any one of the darkest places in the metropolis—Shoreditch, for example, or Rotherhithe, or Agar Town, or, better still, St. Luke's, Chelsea, or St. John's, Westminster. Tell off your district, whatever it may be, into sections containing 2000 or 3000 souls in each, and build there as many chapel-schools as may suffice to occupy the entire ground. If the experiment succeed, then go forward with it elsewhere, but always by parishes. If it do not succeed, assuming that as many as six chapel-schools have risen under your hands, the whole amount wasted will not exceed 9000*l.* But will it be wasted? Competent authorities declare that it will not. In St. Peter's, Stepney, the experiment has been tried, though necessarily on a very small scale, and the following are the results. Mr. Rowsell, whose school-church has (according to Mr. Stooks, the Secretary of the London Diocesan Church Building Society) been eminently successful, gives his evidence as follows:—

‘The name would denote, perhaps, first, that I wish to combine in a room two things, a school in the week-day, and an opportunity for nursing for the church on the Sundays. I found so many thousands
did

did not attend church at all, and I found that their reason constantly was their clothes, and the length of the service, that I tried to meet the necessity by having a room of this kind. I consulted the late Bishop of London, who said that he was very glad it had fallen into my hands, and gave me 50*l.* at once to do it. The present Bishop entirely sanctioned it, and came and opened it, and I have short services in the school on Sundays. I leave out portions of the service, but never alter a single prayer.

‘By what authority do you act?—Under Lord Shaftesbury’s Act; it is not a licensed room, but it is with the Bishop’s full concurrence.

‘It is not even licensed?—No. I have a great many meetings there; tea meetings and elocution classes, and I try, as far as possible, to associate with the labouring classes in their hours of leisure. I find those hours were the hours of all others that they least know what to do with, and when they most want sympathy and counsel. I read to them sometimes from “Shakespeare,” and sometimes I read the “Times” newspaper, and talk with and mingle with them, and my wife and daughter too: in this room we can do that; we never celebrate the Holy Communion there, or administer any baptisms; it is not a licensed room.

‘You do not indicate any special sense of solemnity?—On the contrary, I constantly wear my hat; and if I see a man with his hat on, I say, “You may have it here; it is not a church.”

‘In order to keep up the notion of that being not a church?—Yes; and by nursing for the church, the result has been this, that it has crammed our church with the poor to such an extent now, that we cannot hardly give them room on a Sunday; they come from the school-room to the church.

‘You used the phrase “nursing up for the church;” you mean that the school-church should have that as its end?—It is a handpost to the church.

‘You understand that as the object of the school-church?—Decidedly, to guide them to church.

‘And that they should feel that this was to be a leading to the church?—Yes; it teaches them prayers which they never heard before; many have been taught the Lord’s Prayer there; and by saying it constantly, and talking with them, we find, by teaching them prayer, that they have a desire to go to church.

‘And you are enabled to show to them the meaning of a particular prayer?—Yes; going into the meaning of the prayers, and explaining them to them, and they have a desire to pray.’

The question as to whether or not the Sacraments should be administered in these school-churches may fairly be left for decision at some future time. Our great object now is to get the school-churches built, and so to man them with able, willing, and popular missionary ministers as that they shall be well filled on the evenings of week days while concerts and readings are going on, and crammed as often as Sunday comes round with men and
women

women in rags, if it must be so, but anxious to make their peace with God and to learn their duty.

In offering such suggestions as this, it is best to fix on some particular locality, and to say to those who are likely to be moved by our reasoning, 'Come, and help us to begin the work there.' Now, St. John's, Westminster, is close to the homes of the aristocracy. So is St. Luke's, Chelsea. Great lords in abundance are more or less connected with them as holders of property; so are the Dean and Chapter and the Church Commissioners, through the Church property which has fallen to them. Let us begin there, and see whether 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* cannot be raised for the purpose of stocking these parishes with chapel-schools after the model proposed above. Some machinery will, of course, be required to collect and manage the fund, and happily we possess just such a machine as is wanted in the Diocesan Church Building Society. Composed of Churchmen of all shades of opinion, and having the Bishop of the diocese at its head, this association has worked, ever since the flow of the metropolis fund grew slack, unostentatiously, economically, and impartially. At first it confined its grants in aid to church-building, to the purchase of sites, and the erection of parsonage-houses. It has latterly devoted a portion of its small income to the supply of additional curates where they are most wanted; and at one of its recent meetings it passed a resolution, 'That for the future a large share of the Society's attention should be directed to the building of places of worship, especially for the poor.' We find, from a printed paper put forth by the Society, that this resolution means exactly what we are now proposing. The Society is anxious to accumulate church-schools, and will thankfully receive and administer, under the Bishop's superintendence and in co-operation with local committees wherever they are formed, whatever sums of money the generous and the wealthy may be inclined to furnish. That money will be forthcoming when sought for in earnest there is every reason to believe, because something has been done of late in this direction, though not much. The Crown, for example, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Westminster have each promised to pay to the Diocesan Church Building Society 10,000*l.* in ten years. Looking to the amount of the stake which they hold in the metropolis, we trust that we shall find them ere long giving ten times as much, when the practical good which they can effect is set palpably before them; and there are other great proprietors who are able and, we doubt not, willing to follow so good an example. Sir William Cubitt has shown, by his munificence in
Surrey,

Surrey, that there needs but a hint to lead him into similar acts of munificence where they are still more urgently required. But, besides these magnates, surely we may look for aid from scores of men of extensive means residing near the proposed theatre of our experiment, and therefore well placed to observe how it answers. If the movement succeed in St. John's, Westminster, or in Chelsea, it must go on and succeed elsewhere; and the present generation may live to see the whole of London dotted over with schools in which the children of the people are well instructed in secular things, and the people themselves imbued with those pure religious principles which are the surest, indeed the only, means of leading men both to fear God and honour the Queen.

But is there not still a difficulty to be surmounted? Assuming that the Crown, and the lords and commoners, here referred to, are moved to supply funds for purchasing sites where sites are not given, and for building and fitting up chapel-schools, to what source are we to look for paying the curates to whom we commit the management of these chapel-schools districts? We answer, without hesitation, to the Church property in London which has fallen to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, till it shall be exhausted, and then to the beneficence of private Churchmen. But the London Church property in the hands of the Commissioners will not soon be exhausted. It is very large now, and in the course of three or four years it will become still larger. The Paddington estate alone, of which the see was virtually deprived in 1836, makes already a considerable return. The confiscated Finsbury estate yields an annual income of 7000*l.*; in 1866 it will yield 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* To say that this overgrown metropolis, which furnishes such an enormous revenue to the Church, is to derive from it no special advantage, seems to be a complete violation of all our notions of moral right. No doubt the Ecclesiastical Commission Act has left the question wholly in the hands of the Commissioners, for although, when the tithes of a parish fall into the hands of the Commissioners, that parish has the first claim upon the tithes, yet it is not so with the rents; but the same authority which made an unjust and improvident law has power to unmake it, and there is every ground both of reason and expediency for requiring that in the present instance it should be unmade. The reason of the case is this:—They who endowed the bishopric and the chapter endowed both for special purposes. If the legislature had not stepped in, and deprived the bishop of the greater portion of his estates, he would have been bound as a proprietor, and doubly bound as a spiritual person, to devote his surplus income to Church extension

extension within the diocese. And the chapter, which came into existence in order to be his counsel in all things, must have followed in this respect the example which he set. What right have the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to evade responsibilities which they have deprived both the bishop and chapter of the means to discharge? In regard to expediency, it is very clear that, so long as you leave the heart of a great empire unsound, its members must do their work imperfectly. But London, which comprises a full sixth of the entire population of England and Wales, is, so far as church accommodation goes, the most destitute portion of the empire. Are we wise in leaving it in this state, with funds so large and so constantly accumulating, and arising from London itself, at our disposal?

Here, then, are the outlines of a plan elaborated after a good deal of consideration, and submitted with much humility, though without any misgiving as to its feasibility, to public criticism. It implies some sacrifices, both of money and of prejudices, on the part of individuals; some zeal in such as are willing to take the lead in it, and some deflection from the beaten limits of thought both by the people and the Legislature. We must put in abeyance, for example, our old fastidiousness as to rendering God's house worthy in all respects of the purposes to which it is dedicated. The highest purpose for which the house of God exists is to win souls to Christ, and the edifice which best achieves this purpose must in His sight be the most becoming. We must fuse into one High Church, Low Church, Broad Church, and No Church. The battle which we brace ourselves to fight is not one of ceremonies and ornaments, or of this or that article of abstract belief. It is the war of religion against irreligion—of morality against immorality—of order and decency and respect for the laws against the opposites of these principles. To support such a war as it needs to be supported we must give liberally of our time and of our substance, knowing that every gift in a holy cause brings as much benefit to the giver as to the receiver. We shall be satisfied if to the minister of each chapel-school a permanent endowment can be secured of not less than 150*l.* a-year. This is, indeed, very little, but it will suffice, because these ministers of chapel-schools must be considered as missionary curates; acting, indeed, more than other curates under the immediate eye both of the diocesan and of the Crown—but still only curates, responsible to the incumbents with whom they are locally connected. They must at the same time be held to establish the first claims, according to the success of their operations, on the preferments of which the Bishop and the Crown are the custodians; and the knowledge of this fact will

will certainly not be without its effect in bracing and sustaining their energies to a work, which, though arduous and trying, especially at the outset, is surely not beyond the compass of human strength. For, not to speak of the help which is never withheld to such as seek it, our missionary curates, if they can command no other companionship, will at least enjoy that of their clerical neighbours round about them ; and their spirits, when they begin to droop, will be cheered by the reflection that, in addition to the consciousness of duty done, the sympathies of a watchful public are with them. How different at this moment is the condition of that handful of clergymen whom we have scattered at random amid the mass of practical heathenism which swelters in the East of London ! They come up full of zeal from the Universities, many of them young, not a few men of considerable mark ; they fling themselves into the missionary undertaking, as they call it, and in less than six months, from the absence of all sympathy and all results, they become broken-hearted. But plant your curates, like sentinels, within hail of one another, form by their instrumentality a chain of well-connected religious posts running through the dark places of this great city, and we venture to foretell that ere long results will be produced far surpassing the most sanguine of our present expectations. Only let us be careful in the selection of our men, and all the rest must follow as a matter of course. This seems to be an age of lay agency. Such curates as we have now in our eye will not be slow in gathering lay agents round them. The best of all Scripture-readers and district visitors are the poor who visit the poor, not for the sake of the annual stipend which is paid to them, but for the love which they bear to the souls of their neighbours ; and we may safely refer to Mr. Rowsell, Mr. Brady, and many other competent judges, for confirmation of this statement, that a clergyman who makes himself beloved for his work's sake finds no difficulty in getting the very poorest of his people to work with him.

Here we would gladly bring our essay to a close, but there is an obverse to the picture, from the contemplation of which it would be unwise to turn absolutely away. It is a fact well known to the police, and not to the police only, but to every man who has had an opportunity of observing the state into which the masses are falling, that there never was a time when the temper of the lower orders in this country was less satisfactory than it is now. There are whole streets within easy walk of Charing Cross—there are miles and miles of lanes and alleys on either side of the river below London Bridge—where the people live literally without God in the world ; where there seems to be no knowledge

ledge of the difference between moral right and moral wrong ; no belief whatever in a future state, or of man's responsibility to any other authority than that of the law, if it can catch him. We could name entire quarters in which it seems to be a custom that men and women should live in promiscuous concubinage—where the most frightful debauchery goes on night and day in the lowest public-houses—where the very shopkeepers make a profession of atheism, and encourage their poor customers to do the same. Nor are other, and to the mere politician, more alarming signs of the times wanting. Socialism, in one form or another, is making prodigious progress among our workpeople generally. It has its teachers, who know exactly how to adapt their language to the feelings and capacities of those to whom they are sent ; and they are indefatigable in their endeavours to make converts. To the rude, the old doctrine of indiscriminate confiscation is preached ; to the more thoughtful, a different view of the case is presented. In private rooms, in the dwellings of journeymen and mechanics, small social meetings take place, which attract no attention from without, but within which dangerous and enticing themes are continually broached and enlarged upon. Whether it has been with a view to conciliate socialism that the principle of taxation has been so much modified of late years we do not pretend to say ; but of this we are quite sure, that no merely fiscal arrangements, however excellent in themselves, will touch the root of an evil so insidious and so full of peril to society. They may suffice to keep the surface of things smooth till times of trouble come ; but woe to the nation which in time of trouble has not been taught to look higher than to the decrees of earthly sovereigns or the enactments of earthly legislatures.

ART. V.—*Handbook of Painting—The German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools. Based on the Handbook of Kugler.* By Dr. Waagen. Two vols. 1860.

SEVEN years ago we noticed Dr. Waagen's three volumes on the 'Treasures of Art in Great Britain.'* A fourth volume has since completed the work. It is not perhaps much to say in Dr. Waagen's praise, that the blundering criticisms of Mr. Coningham and the persistent malice of Mr. Morris Moore have not tended to shake his authority as a critic or to make us less mindful of the services he has rendered to art in England.

* Quarterly Review, No. 188.

He has now re-written Kugler's 'Handbook of the German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools of Painting,' adding to it much interesting new matter derived from his own investigations and from books recently published. The work, enlarged to two volumes, and illustrated by excellent woodcuts, forms a valuable addition to Mr. Murray's admirable series of art-manuals.

As Director of the Royal Gallery of Berlin, and from his intimate acquaintance with the principal art-collections of Europe, Dr. Waagen was well qualified for the task he has undertaken. His careful and laborious research, his quickness and accuracy of observation, and his judicious criticisms render the work he has produced eminently useful, not only to the intelligent traveller who would seek profit and amusement in the galleries of the Continent, but to the collector and student. He has been fortunate in securing the services, as his translator, of the accomplished lady who has before introduced his literary labours to the English public.

We prefer Dr. Waagen's style to Kugler's. The latter too often indulges in that vague German declamation, which appears to those who are not followers of Mr. Carlyle to consist of the very smallest amount of meaning conveyed in the largest possible number of big-sounding words. His criticisms frequently show an affectation of sentiment and an attempt at discovering hidden and mystic meanings in common things, which seem well-nigh ridiculous to the matter-of-fact English reader. Dr. Waagen has generally avoided these faults of style, although he is not always free from them. For instance, we find such a sentence as the following in the description of a picture of St. John the Baptist:—'In the lively action of the last-named saint is seen the energy which characterises German sculpture, while the warmly-coloured head with the aquiline nose shows a burning eagerness to bear witness to Him whose symbol, a weakly drawn lamb, is upon his arm'! (i. 48). His descriptions, although perhaps a little dry, and sometimes too technical for the general reader, are clear and intelligible, and his observations just and sensible. They may be depended upon, as he tells us that he has himself examined, with very few exceptions, every picture he describes. If we have any fault to find with the translator, it would be for the use of conventional art-terms and phrases which may be very good German, but do not bear transplantation into our vernacular. For instance, there is the word 'motive:' whatever meaning may attach to it in German, it certainly does not signify, in simple English, 'the original intention or the principle of action, attitude, and composition in a single figure or group,' notwithstanding the
high

high authority of the English annotator of Kugler's '*Schools of Painting in Italy*.'* In the volumes before us we find endless changes rung upon it: we have 'angular motives in the draperies' and 'speaking motives,' 'ill-understood motives,' (i. 17), 'violent and rather clumsy motives' (i. 38), 'animated and free motives' (i. 82), &c. &c. A German critic describes a picture of the death of King Charles I. as 'excellent in the motives and admirable in the execution'! 'Singing angels showing a high stage of development,' may answer to the German conception embodied in the stout winged messengers of the early Teutonic painters, or the flabby nondescripts of Rubens and his school, but the epithet of 'highly developed' scarcely admits of respectful application to these sacred members of the celestial hierarchy. 'Objective' and 'subjective,' boastfully paraded in Germanized English books, threaten, to our great discomfort, to become 'household words.' Even young ladies deep in German philosophy are now taught to lisp them.†

German writers undoubtedly deserve the credit of having done more than any others to generalise and to reduce to a system the laws relating to art. They have, indeed, carried this spirit of generalisation and of analysis so far that it is frequently fatal to the exercise of the taste and the imagination. Their criticisms are consequently often pedantic and unsatisfactory as regards the highest merits of a work of art, and appear cold and unsympathising to the English reader. They were, however, the first to point out the importance of art to the philosophical study of the history of the human mind, and, consequently, of human civilization. They first treated the fine arts as outward manifestations of the various phases of man's development and of the condition of society at any given period, showing how they followed the course of this development, and did not in any way promote it. Thus the study of the arts became invested with a double interest. Whilst affording exquisite pleasure to the cultivated taste and delightful and pure enjoyment to all, they furnish, at the same time, important illustrations of the history of our race.

Acting upon principles founded upon these considerations, Dr. Waagen adopted in the Berlin Museum the system of chronological arrangement, according to schools. The importance he has thus given to the gallery confided to his care must be evident to every educated and intelligent man who visits it. He

* Vol. i. p. 18.

† We would suggest that a more copious index, not confined to the mere names of artists, should be added to Dr. Waagen's work: its usefulness would be much increased.

has made a collection, inferior in pictures of intrinsic value to others on the Continent, one of the most instructive and interesting in Europe. Although the truth of the principles upon which the Berlin Gallery has been arranged is now generally recognized, they have not been applied to our National Gallery. Yet no one is better qualified than Sir Charles Eastlake, by his intimate acquaintance with the history of art (in which he is without a rival), his judgment and taste, and his general acquirements, to place that collection upon a footing worthy of the country. We have little doubt that he would have done so long ago had he not been weighed down by the fatal burden of trustee administration. It must not be forgotten that the Berlin Gallery has been brought together within a very few years, and that had our Government, or rather the trustees, for the blame really rests with them, shown the same enlightened zeal and knowledge as those who have had the management of the magnificent museum in the Prussian capital, we might have had a much finer and a completer collection.

Dr. Waagen has, in the volumes before us, followed Kugler in tracing the gradual rise of painting in the various schools which flourished in the three great divisions of Teutonic art—the German, Flemish, and Dutch. Although the epithet of ‘Teutonic’ may not apply strictly to all the schools he describes, yet we will use it, in default of a better, as a convenient term, to distinguish them from those which illustrate to the south of the Alps the other great development of painting in the Middle Ages. We propose to give our readers a slight sketch of the history of this Teutonic art.

The condition of painting, as well as of architecture and sculpture, amongst the Italian and Teutonic races—as amongst the Greeks and Romans—has depended mainly upon that of their political liberty and their religious social institutions. A close parallel may be drawn between the history of the fine arts in Italy and in central Europe. In both countries there were flourishing cities more or less independent of each other which attained, chiefly through commerce, great wealth and power. In them popular rights were long protected by municipal institutions. Their liberties were invaded, and gradually perished, as wealth and luxury made their inhabitants less sensible of the inestimable value of freedom. Their prosperity and their civilization declined with their liberties. The histories of Florence, Siena, Milan, and Venice, almost find their counterpart in the histories of Cologne, Augsburg, Antwerp, and Brussels. It is specially remarkable that the only two countries in Europe which could furnish this contrast were, at the same time, the only two in which

which independent forms of art flourished. Each city had its school of painting, which rose and fell with its freedom and prosperity. There is, however, this difference in the history of painting in Italy and in central Europe, that, from the revival of the arts in the 13th century, Italy was always about one century in advance, although the process and stages of development were very nearly the same in both countries.

Judging from the illuminations of MSS. of the 9th to the 13th centuries, and from the bronze gates of Hildesheim and Augsburg Cathedrals, of the beginning of the 11th, the arts had fallen less low in Germany than they had in Italy previous to the great revival. The influence of Roman art long lingered in the centre of Europe, as in England and Ireland. It had degenerated, it is true, into a very rude imitation of classic forms, but still the classic element was to a certain extent preserved. Its development into new forms depended upon the nature of the advancing civilization of the Teutonic races. This was the so-called 'Gothic civilization,' which consisted of the peculiar characteristics of the northern races fashioning themselves under the joint influence of Christianity and the remains of Roman civilization. In the 8th and 9th centuries, when the last traditional forms of Roman art were seen in the mural decorations of the great basilicas of Rome, Ravenna and Milan, Charlemagne adorned his cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle with mosaics, and his palaces with wall-paintings. On the dome of the church were the four-and-twenty elders offering their crowns to Christ enthroned in glory—a common subject on the roof of the apse of Italian churches of the same period;—on the walls of the palaces were the exploits of the mighty Emperor himself, and of his warriors, besides various scenes from Roman history. We may form some idea of the style of these pictures from the Frankish miniatures of the same epoch. The general design retained traces of its classic origin, and was not without a certain merit; but the technical execution was probably barbarous in the extreme.

In the 10th and 11th centuries the classic types of form and composition gradually disappeared before the influence of the Teutonic spirit, working out a new civilization based upon, though not copied from, that of Rome, and which, seeking an expression of its own in art, soon produced important monuments. There arose in England, Normandy, and Germany, cathedrals and other edifices far exceeding in the grandeur of their designs, in the richness of their ornaments, and in the beauty of their sculptures, any contemporary buildings to the

south of the Alps. It was the turn of the North to influence the South—to repay the debt it owed.

Unfortunately, nearly all the wall-paintings, as well as moveable pictures, of this period have perished. We are again obliged to have recourse to miniatures to be able to judge of the state of art. Upon them, however, the most skilful painters were employed. Dr. Waagen has given a short account of the most important. Amongst them are the Bamberg MSS. (1024), with their gorgeous bindings of carved and jewelled ivory,* now in the Royal Library at Munich. In them the grand and essential types of the classic style—the just proportions of the human figure, and the broad and artistic delineation of drapery, debased as they may have been by the German artists, but still traceable in their rudest works—have almost entirely disappeared. The characteristics of Teutonic art are now strongly defined. Nature is copied in her lowest and most vulgar rather than in her highest and best features. The human figure is hideously distorted in form and countenance. The folds of the draperies are small and angular, the arrangement of the figures rude and conventional. On the other hand, we already trace that attempt at elaborate minuteness of execution, that feeling for rich colour, and that desire to impart strong individuality of character, which afterwards eminently distinguished the Van Eycks and their school. In the architectural backgrounds and in allegorical figures introduced into sacred subjects—as the sun, the moon, and the ocean—the influence of the classic and heathen civilization and mythology is still distinguishable.

During the 11th century painting throughout the whole of central Europe, whether in Germany or the Netherlands, had nearly the same leading characteristics. Very slight differences of colour and technical execution enable the practised connoisseur to distinguish between different schools: the element is the same in all. We see the same Teutonic spirit struggling through the debased remains of Roman civilization, and seeking in art an expression coinciding with the development of German and Flemish nationality, and with the intellectual and political progress of the northern races. But the condition of the arts oscillated, as it were, with that of the people. In the middle and latter half of the 11th century, when Germany, during the long reign of Henry IV., was a prey to anarchy, the progress of painting was not only stopped, but a backward

* The ivory carvings are of a higher style of art than the illuminations, and are probably of an earlier date. They show a strong classic influence.

movement may be detected. During the 12th, and up to the middle of the 13th, there is rapid advance, keeping pace with that of popular liberty. These changes must again be sought for in the illuminations of MSS. and in some rare ivory carvings—a class of works which furnish important evidence of the condition of the fine arts during the middle ages.* The tendency of Teutonic art now becomes well defined. It is separating itself in its leading principles more and more from classic art, and taking a new direction of its own. Its prominent features are a remarkable energy, and the attempt to give individuality by striking contrasts and exaggerated expression. Human feelings and emotions are indicated by contorted action and violent gesticulation; vice and wickedness by hideous distortion of the human countenance and by absurd caricature of the human form. There is an absence of almost all attempt to portray noble and elevated sentiment or calm dignity. The distinguishing characteristics of the latter Teutonic schools are already clearly indicated—the individuality of the heads of the Van Eycks, the minuteness of finish of Memling, the subtle observation of nature of Holbein, the low buffoonery and vulgar wit of Teniers, and the grotesque earnestness of Albert Durer.

A few paintings, belonging to the 13th century, are still seen in the churches of Germany. Such are the elaborate series of Scripture subjects on the wooden roof of St. Michael at Hildesheim, and the wall-pictures of the transept of the cathedral at Brunswick. These works, as well as the illuminations of MSS. of the same period, are in advance, both in design and execution, of any contemporary remains in Italy. This opinion may be at variance with the assertions of Italian writers on art from Vasari downwards, but it appears to us capable of proof. Teutonic art of this age shows, with all its rudeness, a far more vigorous and original conception than that of Italy. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly will it appear, that the revival of the arts in that country was mainly owing to the influence of the northern or Teutonic element which had crossed the Alps. We have pointed out in a previous article how the architecture of Italy was affected by it.†

Whilst the introduction of Gothic architecture into Italy gave a great impulse to wall-painting, in central Europe it had precisely the contrary effect. This arose from the peculiar modifications it underwent in the south, to adapt it to the

* This may be seen in the valuable collection of casts of ivory-carvings, extending from the Roman period down to the 15th century, published by the Arundel Society.

† Quarterly Review, No. 212.

climate and to the habits and sentiments of the people. Amongst the northern races the principal masses, such as the side walls of the interior, were broken by innumerable columns, or were pierced by ample windows filled with painted glass. The vaulted ceilings were covered with a network of intricate tracery. Scarcely a foot of stone was left without its sculptured ornament. In the Gothic edifices of Italy, on the contrary, large flat surfaces were left. To exclude the glaring light of the southern sun, windows were comparatively few and small. Painting took the place of carved decoration. Hence when the forms of Gothic architecture prevailed in Germany and the Netherlands, wall-painting, that branch of the art which leads to the noblest development of form, and offers the widest field for the exercise of the imagination, became altogether secondary, except for the object of mere subordinate ornamentation. It was in the altarpiece that religious subjects were chiefly represented for devotional and instructive purposes. In Italy, on the contrary, the necessity for painting blank walls felt by men who revelled in colour, and who were eminently susceptible of being excited by the representation of Scriptural subjects, led to the general introduction of wall-painting on the largest scale. The sides of churches were covered with vast pictures of a religious nature; and the greatest painters of the day, in consequence of the demand, devoted their genius to this branch of their art. Easel-pictures became of subordinate value. This led to the great advance in painting in Italy during the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. The order of things was now reversed. Henceforward it was Italy that influenced Teutonic art. And this change corresponded with the progress of the intellectual culture of the two races. In Italy the northern element had become thoroughly absorbed into the Italian, serving to give it fresh life, which displayed itself in the marvellous intellectual and political regeneration of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Dr. Waagen, we think, goes much too far when he claims for Netherlandish painting 'freedom from all foreign influence, exhibiting to us the contrast between the natural feeling of the Greek and of the German races in this department of art—these two races being the chief representatives of the cultivation of the ancient and the modern world, and exhibiting the contrast in a purity and distinctness not traceable in any other form' (i. 51). In Italy the Christian art of the middle ages was classic art modified by the Teutonic influence resulting from the great infusion of northern blood into the Italian races. In central Europe, on the contrary, the contemporary Christian art was based upon the Teutonic element, modified in the first instance
by

by the direct influence and traditions of the old Roman and heathen civilization, and subsequently by the Italian or revived classic civilization, which rapidly spread to the north of the Alps in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The distinctive character of Teutonic Christian art is especially seen in the representation of Scripture events. Although the Flemish and German artist may have looked upon sacred persons and subjects with the same reverence and religious awe as the Italian painter, yet when he came to paint them, he could not resist the tendency to bring them to the lowest human level by the coarsest realistic treatment. The Saviour, the Virgin, the Prophets, the Saints, and all the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church became in his pictures nothing more than ordinary human beings, usually of the ugliest and most vulgar type. His object was to give mere individuality to the characters represented, and not to attempt to carry out any ideal conception of them. The great Italian painters adopted opposite principles. Even when the grand conventional style of the 14th century gave way to the more realistic treatment of the 15th, the types were selected and idealised, and the painter strove to embody an elevated and poetic conception of the persons and scenes he had to represent. The fact is, there has ever been a traditional influence essentially classic and pagan in the Roman Catholicism of Italy. All its ceremonies, pomps, and observances show it. The Italian painters have consequently invested Christian art with something of the refinement and grace of ancient classic art and Greek mythology. Among the Teutonic races this religious influence has never existed. If any heathen influence remained, it was derived from the wild and mysterious legends born in the icy fogs of the north. At any rate, the imagination which invented those strange and unearthly tales also fashioned the representation of the sacred legends of Christianity.

One of the first characteristics of the Teutonic schools was the early pursuit of landscape-painting as a separate branch of the art. A minute copy of inanimate nature must always be more interesting than a minute representation of the human form. Whilst vice, disease, toil, and the endless influences of artificial life have degraded from its perfect type so large a portion of mankind, the works of nature beyond man's control for ever retain their beauty, freshness, and purity—the clouds with their ever-changing forms and ever-varying hues, the sky with the golden glow of the sunset and the tender twilight of the dawn, the earth with its countless flowers and its waving trees, the sea with its sunny gleam and its rippling blue. In Nature there is indeed nothing so humble and so mean as to be unworthy of our interest and

and our wonder. But in her works there are degrees of beauty; and in representing them, the difference between the Teutonic and Italian painter lies in the selection, precisely as it does in the selection of human types. The one, true to his instincts, paints that which he sees before him without choice, and without attempting to combine those features which may be brought together without departing from the truth, and which, from skilful contrast, produce the greatest impression upon the mind; the other seeks to unite them in one beautiful whole, in harmony with the scene or event he wishes to represent, and the sentiments he desires to call forth. Thus, whilst in the religious pictures of the German and Flemish schools the minutest architectural and other details are executed with an astonishing nicety, they form no really essential part of the picture, and add nothing to the impression which the event portrayed may be calculated to make upon the spectator.

Whilst in the 14th century Giotto, Memmi, Orcagna, the Lorenzetti, and the many masters of the Italian schools, were covering the walls of churches and town-halls with those great works which, however deficient in the highest technical qualities, have never been surpassed in purity and elevation of conception and in poetry of invention, Flemish art can scarcely show one painter of any note. Dr. Waagen can mention only three paintings of this period. In one of them, 'Christ Blessing Joan of Constantinople,' a wall-picture in the Hospital of La Belouque, at Ghent, the Saviour wears the dress of the day, with hunting-cap and feather—a curious example of the early tendency of the school to treat every subject, however sacred, in the most realistic manner. A more ideal character, showing apparently some Italian influence, is given to the paintings on an altar-chest at Dijon, executed at the very end of the century by one Melchior Broederlein, a Fleming. This Melchior, and one Jean de Hassell, an illuminator of MSS., are the only two painters of this period whose names have been preserved.

The most interesting of the German schools was that of Cologne, as it has a continuous history, and preserves its peculiar features for nearly three centuries.* It appears to have exercised no small influence over painting in many parts of Germany and the Netherlands. The spirit of Italian art is seen in its earliest existing works, especially in the conventional arrangement and action in representations of the Holy Family. The colouring, particularly in the flesh, has the warmth of the Sieneſe school,

* The history of this school can be best traced in the interesting public gallery at Cologne, and in the cabinets assigned to a chronological arrangement of the works of its principal masters, in the fine collection at Munich.

and that 'sfumato,' or misty fusion of the tints, which is altogether Italian. The folds of the draperies are rounded and natural, and not angular and artificial. Much intercourse must then have existed, no doubt by means of commerce, between this great trading city and Italy. It is not improbable that the builders of Cologne, whose fame extended through Europe, may have visited Italy, and have brought back Italian paintings, or have learnt the methods then practised in Italy; or that Italian architects, such as the masonic fraternity of Como, may have visited the banks of the Rhine. The oldest works of the school belong to the latter half of the 14th century. The name of one master had been preserved by a tradition, recently confirmed by the discovery of an entry in a chronicle of Limburg, written in 1380. 'About that time,' says the chronicler, 'there was a painter in Cologne called Wilhelm, who was considered the best master in all Germanland, and painted every man of whatever form as if he were alive.' Upon this Meister Wilhelm is fathered every picture of the period. One or two in the public gallery at Cologne, attributed to him, have a deep religious sentiment, a tender and lovely colour, and a simple innocent expression, which remind us of the works of Fra Angelico. In the 15th century the best representative of the school was one Stephan Lothener, familiarly called Meister Stephan, a man of great consideration in his time, as we learn from the records of his native city. There is a charming little picture by him in the Cologne Gallery—the Virgin and Child in a bower of roses, surrounded by a flight of graceful angels—full of delicate feeling and a very rainbow of tender hues. But the work which best shows his powers is the altarpiece in the Cathedral. Albert Durer notes, in his journal, that he paid two silver pennies to have its folding-doors unlocked, a fee which is still exacted from the traveller. The highest qualities of the Cologne school are here united with those of the school of the Van Eycks. The Virgin and Child, the female figures, and the worshipping kings, are marked by a beauty and elevation of type which, inferior as it may be to that of the Italian painters, would seem almost beyond the Teutonic conception of womanly beauty and manly dignity. At the same time the jewelled robes and ornaments, the golden armour, and a thousand beautiful details, show a marvellous technical skill. The brilliancy of the colouring, still bright and transparent after the lapse of four centuries—approaching in splendour, as Dr. Waagen observes, the effects of Venetian oil-painting—proves to what perfection 'tempera,' when well understood, may be carried. The 'Last Judgment,' in the public gallery, attributed to Stephan, betrays, in the disgusting

disgusting depravity of its forms, and in vulgar coarseness of expression, the tendency of his national character. The last painter of any importance who represented the school flourished in the first half of the 16th century. He curiously attempted to reconcile its older forms with the modern Italian influence. His name is unknown. One of his principal pictures, the 'Death of the Virgin,' in the Cologne Gallery, in parts suggests an imitation of Andrea del Sarto.

Passing over the other schools which flourished in the 14th century and the early part of the 15th in Germany, and produced painters whose names and works have for the most part perished, let us turn to that of the Netherlands, which now took a direction of its own, and carrying to the highest perfection the true qualities of Teutonic art furnishes us its best examples. As in Italy a long succession of painters led to Giotto, so in the Netherlands there was a gradual development of painting culminating in the Van Eycks. These great masters hold in Teutonic art the same place that Cimabue and Giotto hold in Italian. It is as difficult to trace the history of Netherlandish painting before Hubert Van Eyck, as that of Italian painting before Cimabue, except in the illuminations of MSS. and by the study of contemporary sculpture. By carefully comparing these Dr. Waagen has been able to give a very interesting sketch of the subject.

Notwithstanding the great fame of Hubert Van Eyck, his master is not known. It is conjectured that he learnt his art from one John of Bruges, a very skilful illuminator. There was, however, a whole family of painters of the name, and Hubert was not the first of them. One Joes Van Eyck and Margaret his wife were admitted to the guild of painters of Ghent twenty-one years before Hubert. They may have been his father and mother. The family, at the beginning of the 15th century, appears to have consisted of three brothers and a sister. The eldest brother, Hubert, is believed to have been born in 1366 at Maaseyck, a small town near Maestricht. The second, the well-known Jan or John, was born some years later; according to Dr. Waagen, in 1396. Of the youngest, Lambert, nothing is known. Dr. Waagen attributes to him, but doubtfully, a picture now in a private collection at Louvain. Margaret, the sister, followed the calling of her brothers, and attained to great repute in it; but none of her works remain. She is believed to have been an excellent miniature painter, and some of the illuminations to a fine MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris are attributed to her. Hubert was probably the teacher of his brothers and sister in his art.

Hubert's fame has been eclipsed by that of Jan Van Eyck,
whose

whose name has been so widely connected with the discovery of oil-painting. But Dr. Waagen has shown, with Kugler, that he was equal, if not superior, to his brother. He had a more elevated conception of character and a more poetic imagination. The great step made by Hubert in painting was in the technical part; in depth, brilliancy and harmony of colour, and in the consequent power of representing objects with wonderful truthfulness. In these qualities he surpassed the Italian painters of his time. This success he partly owed to the improved use of oil as a medium. In composition both he and his brother John adhered to the conventional arrangement still prevailing in the Netherlands and Germany. One of the most celebrated of Hubert's pictures, 'The Triumph of the Church,' now in the museum of S. Trinidad at Madrid, calls to mind by its composition and conception the frescoes of the previous century in the Spagnuola chapel at Florence.

In the celebrated altar-piece of 'The Worship of the Lamb,' painted by the two brothers for the cathedral of S. Bavon at Ghent,* are united all the highest qualities of the first period of Teutonic art. In the beginning of the century in which it was painted a vast commerce, and a consequent spread of wealth and learning, were rapidly leading to that love of liberty which ended in the glorious struggle recently described with so much graphic power by Mr. Motley. Flanders and the Netherlands were in advance, in civilization and desire for freedom, of Germany, then distracted by civil wars. It was a natural consequence that they should take the lead in the arts. The principal seat of the Netherlandish school of painting changed with the principal seat of trade and wealth; from Bruges to Antwerp, and from Antwerp to the free cities of Holland. The greatest work of the school, 'The Adoration of the Lamb,' was painted for a representative of Netherlandish civilization, the burgo-master of the then rich and flourishing city of Ghent, Judocus Vyts.

In this picture the spiritual and conventional art of the middle ages was probably carried to as high a degree of perfection as the Teutonic artist was able to attain. In parts indeed, especially in the magnificent representations of the Almighty, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist, now unanimously assigned to Hubert, there is a severe grandeur of ex-

* Part of this great picture, including the Adoration of the Lamb and the Adam and Eve, is still preserved at Ghent. The upper panels with the magnificent figures of the Almighty, the Virgin and the Baptist, the Singing Angels, and the two portraits are in the Royal Gallery of Berlin. The rest of the picture, representing the Torments of the Damned, has been lost.

pression, an elevation of conception, and even a stately beauty of type, which approach the masterpieces of the Italian schools, and suggest a comparison with the works of Leonardo da Vinci. But in spite of the acknowledged excellence of these figures, the judgment and feelings may be misled and influenced by the Teutonic tendency to realistic coarseness of expression and type in other parts of the picture. It is on this account, no doubt, that so eminent a critic as Sir Joshua Reynolds dismisses this great work with a passing remark upon its technical qualities. Indeed he could scarcely fail to be struck with admiration at the harmony and richness of its colouring, and the wonderful skill displayed in its minutest details; whilst his taste was shocked by the Teutonic element, so opposed in spirit to that which had inspired the Italian masters whose works he had so carefully studied and imitated.

Whilst Hubert displays his genius in the conception of the figures we have mentioned, John is seen to the best advantage in the portraits of Judocus Vyts and his wife. The likenesses are evidently of the utmost fidelity. There is no attempt to give elevation of character, without sacrifice of truth, by suppressing or softening insignificant and meaningless details. We have before us to the very life the cunning old burgomaster, with an eye never shut to business, as crafty and as obstinate as the representatives of his class were in Leicester's day. Every pimple on his ruddy cheek and every furrow on his stolid brow are duly recorded. Every hair of the fur which lines his ample garment may almost be counted. And yet, with all this minuteness of detail, everything is 'in keeping' and in perfect harmony.

Although Hubert had been the first to use the improved method of oil, it was by the works of John that it became known in Italy, and produced so great a change in the technical part of painting. John consequently enjoys the fame of having been the discoverer. They both had the same remarkable command over the brush, and the same facility of execution, which render their works of the highest artistic value.

John, more than Hubert, influenced the Netherlandish school. His fondness for minute detail, the sharp abrupt folds of his drapery, and his realistic conception of sacred personages, were easy of imitation, and, like all peculiarities, soon degenerated in others into mannerism. Their exaggeration became the characteristic features of Teutonic art. His numerous imitators hold the same place in Central Europe during the 15th, and part of the 16th century, as those of Giotto did in Italy for one hundred years after his death. His influence is more or less evident upon every painter, whether of Germany or the Netherlands, during this period. It may,

may, indeed, be said to have lasted nearly a century longer, until the new style had been completely established by Rubens.

The most important of the scholars of John Van Eyck were Dierick Stuerbout, Roger Van der Weyden the elder, and Hugo Van der Goes. Stuerbout's works have frequently been confounded with those of Memling, to which they bear some resemblance, chiefly in a certain solemnity given to religious subjects, without departure from the pure realistic tendency of the school. His backgrounds especially, although executed with a wonderful minuteness, have sometimes a very grand and impressive effect, as in a small picture in the Munich Gallery, representing 'the Betrayal of Christ,' in which the yellow moon, past her full, gleams from the dark sky and sheds a pale light over a gloomy landscape and a crowd with torches advancing towards the Saviour.

Roger Van der Weyden the Elder, better known as Roger of Bruges, and celebrated by Giovanni Sanzio in his poem as one of the glories of Flemish art, both travelled and painted in Italy. But his genius was too Flemish to be influenced by what he saw there. Yet he must have been in Florence when Ghiberti and Donatello by their sculptures, and Masaccio and Fra Filippo Lippi by their paintings, were fashioning the new school of Italian art. His great skill and the brilliancy of his colouring no doubt attracted their attention, and with the reputation he had obtained in his own country contributed to spread the technical principles of the Van Eycks in Italy, as it had already done in central Europe. The National Gallery has lately acquired an excellent work by him—an Entombment of Christ, painted on cloth. It affords a striking example of his power of conveying earnest and truthful sentiment by vulgar types, and with the coarse mannerism of his school. Hugo Van der Goes helped to spread the influence of Flemish art in Italy. He was employed by a distinguished Florentine family, the Portinari, to paint an altarpiece for the church of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, which they had founded. A little picture by him in the Munich Gallery—St. John in the Island of Patmos—shows that he was not deficient in poetry of conception and depth of feeling.

But the painter who after the Van Eycks carried to the highest perfection the peculiar qualities of this school was Hans Memling. He was removed by a whole generation from them, but had been taught their principles by Roger Van der Weyden. His genius was essentially Flemish. But the love of the most minute imitation of common nature, and the realistic spirit which worked without selection of types, were modified in him by a strong feeling

feeling for beauty and grace. He was thus led to soften some of the harsher and coarser features of the Van Eyck school. His draperies are less angular and artificial in the folds; his delineation of the human form is less hard and dry; the expression of his heads less vulgar and commonplace; his compositions less conventional. Still he never attains the real dignity and elevation of expression, the graceful flow of line, and harmonious symmetry of Italian art. He had unrivalled powers of representing upon the very smallest scale, and with a delicacy of execution seemingly almost beyond the reach of the human hand or the human eye, events of the greatest interest and variety, and often scenes of deep feeling and solemn grandeur. He carried miniature-painting to a perfection that no other artist has attained, as in the celebrated Breviary in the Library of S. Mark at Venice. A vast number of illuminations adorn this magnificent volume. They are not all by Memling. Associated with him were two artists, natives of Ghent, Lieven de Witte and Gerhart, inferior to him, but still of no ordinary merit. Memling's work is easily distinguished by the refined expression of the heads, by a certain grace, and by the details of architecture, of landscape, of rich draperies, and of an infinite variety of objects. His best pictures have perhaps too much of the character of miniatures, and consequently fail in general effect; as the well-known 'Seven Joys and Seven Sorrows of the Virgin,' in the Pinacothek at Munich. A number of events in the history of the Virgin and of the Saviour are here represented in one great landscape. The figures, although in some cases so small as to require a magnifying-glass to be properly seen, are distinguished by a surprising variety of expression and action. The most tender grace and almost an ideal beauty are given to the Virgin in the Nativity, the deepest feeling and emotion to the actors in the scenes of the Passion, the strongest individuality to all the figures introduced. If Memling had displayed on a large scale the sense of beauty and dignity and the freedom of execution which distinguish this picture, he would have been one of the greatest painters of any time. The celebrated reliquary in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges has much of the same character. Memling's feeling for the most poetical phases of nature, and his power of availing himself of them to give sentiment and pathos to his subject, are well illustrated in a small work in the Munich Gallery, of S. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ over a broad stream, whose rippled surface is mottled with an infinite variety of tints by the golden light of the setting sun. Although Dr. Waagen mentions several works of this great painter in England, the National Gallery is without an example.

Very

Very inferior in feeling for beauty to Memling were Quentin Massys and Lucas Van Leyden. Massys was born in Antwerp in 1460. The anecdote that he abandoned his craft of a blacksmith to study painting that he might win the hand of a woman of higher condition than himself is disproved by the fact that he came of a family of artists. His works display a singular delicacy of feeling in the details, and much vigour of expression, and their colouring is clear and harmonious; but they are disfigured by a tendency to caricature and a preference for the representation of common life and vulgar forms. The originality of the well-known picture in Windsor Castle, of the miser hinting, by a coarse expression of fun, to the spectator that he has outwitted his companion who is counting out the money, is questioned by Dr. Waagen, but admitted by Kugler.

Lucas Van Leyden, born in 1494, was a painter of greater powers and more vivid imagination than Massys. His vigorous engravings are not uncommon, but his pictures are very rare. It has, however, long been the fashion in Italy to attribute to Luca d'Ollanda, as he is called, a vast number of inferior Flemish and even German works of his time. The reason for his popularity to the south of the Alps does not appear. He probably visited Italy, if he did not actually study there. An Italian influence may, we think, be seen in a beautiful little picture by him in the Munich Gallery, representing the Virgin and Child, the Magdalen, and a kneeling suppliant. The landscape background is highly poetical in conception, and is treated with more breadth than is usual in Flemish art: the architecture is altogether Italian in character: the heads are well modelled, and have an earnest expression, not without dignity: a pale yet warm colouring distinguishes him from other masters of the Netherlandish school. Like Massys, however, he was essentially Teutonic in his love of vulgar and ugly types.

In Germany the Van Eycks were more followed in their realistic tendency, in the coarseness and vulgarity of their types—so congenial to the German mind—than in their best features. Thus to the Westphalian school belong those prodigies of ugliness by the so-called Meister von Leisborn and his followers, with which the National Gallery was deluged some years back. The feeling for the fantastic in composition, in the human form and in draperies, is seen in the works of Michael Wohlgemuth (1434-1519), which are, however, distinguished by a remarkable earnestness of expression and great dramatic energy. Almost the only German painter of this period who shows any real spiritual tendency and a sense of beauty is Bartholomew Zeitblom, of Ulm. From a certain purity and earnest religious feeling

feeling in his works, he holds in the German schools the place that the Umbrian painters hold in the Italian. But the greatest German masters were chiefly distinguished from those of Flanders by a profound philosophy, generally conveyed in quaint but expressive allegory, and by a conception of Nature singularly poetical, yet altogether northern in spirit. They delighted in the representation of her darkest and most terrible side, and of the staples of northern mythology, demons, spectres, witchcraft, and supernatural phenomena. At the same time they loved to indulge in gross caricature and rude satire, and seemed to find pleasure in stripping human nature of all dignity and refinement. The two painters who united the best features of this German art were Holbein and Albert Durer.

The discovery of printing and of engraving on wood and copper had considerable influence upon the German schools of painting. The minute and delicate execution of details, and the decision and vigour of touch required in etching, were well suited to German painters, the most eminent of whom were also engravers. One of the first who followed with success the two arts was Martin Schongauer, or Schön, who flourished at Colmar in the middle of the 15th century. His engraving of St. Anthony tormented by Demons, in which the grand and expressive head of the saint contrasts strangely with the grotesque and monstrous forms around him, so greatly excited the youthful imagination of Michelangelo that, according to Vasari, he carefully copied it in pen and ink. Of his skill as a painter the National Gallery now possesses an admirable example in a small picture of the Death of the Virgin. This remarkable work shows us how these German painters could reconcile the coarsest realistic treatment with the deepest feeling and the truest sentiment. Whilst the expression of the dying Virgin is most refined and touching, nothing could be more commonplace and uninteresting than some of the disciples gathered round her. But the defects of the picture are almost overlooked in its masterly execution and the depth and richness of its colour, not unworthy of the best masters of the Flemish school.

In Germany, as in the Netherlands, schools of painting rose according to the commercial prosperity and freedom of the great cities. The two most celebrated were those of Augsburg and Nuremberg. In Augsburg a family of painters of the name of Holbein is found as early as the first half of the 15th century. In 1459 Hans Holbein, the grandfather of the great painter of the same name, executed a picture of the Virgin and Child for a chapel of the wealthy and enterprising merchants, the Fuggers. It is now in the Maximilian Museum at Augsburg; and although

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it has been rudely treated by modern restorers, and is marked by the defects of the school, it shows the work of a conscientious painter seeking to advance his art by the careful study of nature. Two of his sons, Hans and Sigismund, distinguished themselves as artists, especially the eldest, of whom several pictures are to be seen in the Museum of his native city. One of considerable size, and in several compartments, of the Life of S. Paul, and another of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, strongly recall the manner of his son in the modelling of the heads, in their rich and powerful colouring, and in the masterly execution of the details. Although he is generally weak in drawing and in composition, and sometimes carries the German tendency to represent the ugly and the deformed to an outrageous length, yet he not unfrequently shows himself capable of much grace of design, as in the figure of the Virgin in the 'Presentation,' in the Munich Gallery, and even of some grandeur and elevation, as in the 'Christ Crowned with Thorns,' in the same collection. Altogether he was not unworthy of being the master of his son, the well-known Hans Holbein the younger.

This truly great painter carried the German branch of Teutonic art almost to the highest perfection, developing to the utmost its best qualities. He holds in it, indeed, nearly the same position that Leonardo da Vinci, whose works he seems to have especially studied, holds in Italian art, or rather would have held, had he given his vigorous mind wholly to the pursuit of painting. He was inferior to Albert Durer in originality and poetic fancy. But he shows a more intimate acquaintance with the varied passions and emotions of men, and a power of representing them with greater truth and refinement. Had he been an Italian, and not a German, he would have been in the very first rank of historical painters. The coarse or grotesque phase of his genius displayed itself, not, as was the case with most of the German painters, in mere distortion, ugliness, and caricature, but in profound satire and irony, as in his celebrated 'Dance of Death.' As a portrait-painter he was undoubtedly superior to Albert Durer, giving to those he represents a greater elevation, refinement, and dignity of character, and showing a purer feeling for form and colour. Born in the powerful free city of Augsburg, with its vast commerce and extended relations with all parts of civilized Europe, Holbein held a kind of cosmopolite place in art, developed by his residence in many foreign countries and courts, and by intercourse with some of the first men of his day. Albert Durer, on the other hand, seems never to have shaken off the influence of early education, or to have resisted the tendency
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of the German character to revel in coarseness of expression and vulgar caricature.

Holbein was contemporary with the greatest masters of the Italian schools, whose works were then universally sought. He probably felt their influence at an early age. Dr. Waagen believes that as a youth he studied in Italy. The 'S. Barbara' and 'S. Elizabeth of Thuringia Feeding the Poor,' in the Pinacothek at Munich, wrongly assigned to the father, but undoubtedly youthful works by the son, are marked by a delicacy of feeling, a grace, and a simplicity which suggest an imitation of the Italian painters of the 15th century.

Had not the wall-paintings which Holbein executed at Basle and elsewhere unfortunately perished, they would have afforded the best means of comparison between his genius and that of the great Italian masters, especially as he appears to have taken Mantegna for his model. We should have seen what a Teutonic painter of his vivid imagination, and his power of giving rapid expression to his conceptions, could accomplish in the highest department of painting. Of his easel-pictures representing Scripture subjects, the best is probably the well-known 'Virgin and Child, with the Family of the Burgomaster, Jacob Meyer, of Basle,' in the Dresden Gallery.* It is now judiciously hung at the end of the German and Flemish schools, of which it forms the culminating point, as opposed to the masterpiece of Raphael, the 'Madonna di S. Sisto,' placed at the opposite extremity of the building as the crowning glory of Italian art. No two works could illustrate more forcibly the relative characteristics of the two great developments of painting and the intellectual condition of the races which they represent: the one material—bound as it were to earth, and portraying nature with the greatest truth, but without any feeling for the highest order of ideal beauty; the other spiritual—soaring to heaven, and seeking to elevate the human form and sentiments to the utmost limits of the imagination. There is something in the simple character of every-day life in Holbein's picture which appeals at once to our sympathies. All the actors in the scene seem to be of ourselves, and to have hopes, joys, and sufferings in common with us. The Mother and Child themselves are cast in the same human mould as the group of kneeling suppliants. It has even been disputed whether, in the infant in the Virgin's arms, Holbein intended to represent the sick child of the burgomaster taken under her fostering care,

* Dr. Waagen prefers the 'replica' of this fine picture in the possession of the Princess Charles of Hesse at Darmstadt: vol. i. p. 192.

or her divine Son. In the masterpiece of Raphael there can be no such doubt. The mother is the Queen of Heaven, almost too glorious and too pure to partake or sympathise in human joys and sorrows. The child she bears is no child of this earth. In both there is an indefinable expression of majesty which no painter has been able to reproduce. The same distinctive characteristics mark the technical qualities of the two works. In the one there is a profusion of minute details wonderfully painted—the jewels in the Virgin's crown and in the kneeling maiden's hair, the rich materials of the robes, the elaborate architecture, and the intricate woof of the carpet. In the other a general, vague, undefined treatment of the subordinate parts—the rolling clouds, the clustered heads of the cherubim, the drapery falling in large masses—give an air of grandeur and mystery to the subject corresponding with the painter's conception of the holy group.

The peculiar tendency of Holbein's genius well fitted him for a portrait-painter of the highest order. His intercourse with many of the most eminent men of his time gave him ample opportunities of studying the best development of character. His portraits have, consequently, an elevated and noble expression frequently worthy of the greatest masters of the Italian schools. He was under thirty years of age when he came to England, recommended to Sir Thomas More by Erasmus, who had already sent his portrait to his friend as a proof of the painter's skill. Sir Thomas presented the artist to Henry VIII. at a banquet given for that purpose. The King was much delighted with Holbein's works, at once engaged him in his service on a salary of 30*l.* a-year, and subsequently took him to the memorable meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Holbein's long residence in England has enriched this country with many noble portraits by his hand. Not a few are public property at Hampton Court. It is to be regretted that the best are not transferred from thence to the National Gallery, which does not possess a single specimen of his works. One of his finest portraits out of England is that of Thomas Morrett, Henry VIII.'s goldsmith, in the Dresden Gallery, long attributed to Leonardo da Vinci—a proof of the profound impression that the works of that great painter had made upon Holbein, and of his imitation of them.

Opposed to Holbein as head of the Augsburg school was Albert Durer, the head of that of Nuremberg. His genius was essentially German; but in him the tendency to the vulgar, the grotesque, and the fantastic was elevated into a poetic and at the same time a philosophic conception of the various phases of human life. He possessed, too, a wonderful power of conveying his ideas

in the most striking allegories and in the most original and fanciful forms. No painter has excelled him in concentrating thought, meaning, and expression in a subject. As Kugler has well observed, his works are poems in themselves. His sense of the solemn, the sublime, and the mysterious, was essentially of the order which makes the great tragic poet. His invention was inexhaustible. In the versatility of his genius he rivalled the great Italian painters. But he surveyed and represented nature from a point of view exclusively his own. He was consequently always to a certain extent a mannerist in his works. It is principally on this account that his portraits are inferior to those of Holbein in refinement and dignity. The types he chose for his men and women were usually deficient in beauty, and their frequent repetition further led to mannerism. His colouring is brilliant and powerful, but is generally conventional. The influence of Italian art, derived from an early visit to Italy, may be traced in his works as in those of Holbein.

The character of Albert Durer is stamped in his well-known full-face painted by himself in the Munich Gallery. The clear grey eye, full of vigour and intelligence; the somewhat coarse, but resolute, mouth, with large underlip; the broad forehead, furrowed with lines of earnest thought; the serious and melancholy expression; the hair falling in rich but somewhat affected profusion over the shoulders; are drawn and modelled with the truth and power of Leonardo da Vinci. A certain want of refinement sufficiently marks the mind and hand of the Teutonic painter. In this wonderful portrait we see at one glance the man capable of producing 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil' and the allegory of 'Melancholy.' The first of these engravings Kugler declares to be 'the most important work which the fantastic spirit of German art has ever produced.' There is, indeed, a whole poem in that brave old warrior riding, with stern resolve, through the rugged valley of life, mindful of nought but his duty, turned aside neither by the fear of death nor the threats of the Evil One. Nor is there less philosophy or less poetry in that winged woman seated in the midst of the various inventions of man's skill, her head resting upon her hand, gazing upon the sun sinking into the calm distant landscape, and pondering with unutterable sadness upon the realities of human life and the insufficiency of the human intellect to penetrate the great mysteries of creation.

It is not surprising that Kugler, and Dr. Waagen after him, should have placed the two celebrated pictures in the Munich Gallery, of the four Apostles, John and Peter, Mark and Paul, first amongst the works of Albert Durer. The former indulges in a rhapsody almost ridiculous when describing them. They
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are essentially Teutonic in character, carrying the naturalistic tendency to its highest development, and would naturally excite the enthusiasm of a German critic. In them we see that idealization of common types instead of the highest types which marks the distinction between Teutonic and Italian art. A comparison of Albert Durer's representation of S. Mark with that of the same Apostle by Fra Bartolommeo in the Pitti Gallery at Florence well illustrates this distinction. The same remarks apply to colour as to form and expression. There is an absence of delicacy and refinement in it. The complexion of S. Mark is cold and livid, that of the other three figures florid and coarse. The general balance of colour is, however, admirable. The draperies, though grand and dignified in treatment, are still in some places angular and abrupt in their folds. But notwithstanding the defects they may possess—defects inherent to this school of art—these are truly grand and noble figures, to be classed amongst those few pictures which, when once seen, make an indelible impression upon the memory.

The end of the 15th century and the opening of the 16th saw the first great change in Teutonic art, produced by the introduction of elements entirely opposed to the spirit and principles of the school of the Van Eycks. This was chiefly owing to an increased intercourse, political and commercial, with Italy. The fame of her artists had spread far and wide. The greatest princes sought their friendship, and eagerly acquired their works. Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto were invited to the Court of Francis I.; Raphael was the correspondent of kings; Michelangelo disputed with popes; and Titian became the companion of emperors. Teutonic art could thus scarcely escape the influence of Italy. An endeavour was made to reconcile the opposite principles of the two developments of painting founded upon opposite national characteristics. The attempt could only end in failure. A class of painters sprang up whose works, uniting the features most easily imitated or caricatured in both forms of art, possessed none of the highest qualities of either. One of the best-known of these hybrid painters was Jan Gossaert, commonly called Mabuse. He began by successfully adopting the manner of the Van Eycks. Many of our readers will remember his fine picture of 'The Adoration of the Magi,' sent by Lord Carlisle to the Manchester Exhibition. We wish such a work were in the National Gallery. It would be difficult to exceed the richness of its colouring, the admirable portrait-like character of the heads, and the beauty of its details. When compared with those he painted after his visit to Italy, it shows at once the evil result of a painter attempting to imitate the works of a school of which he

could not understand the principles or feel the true inspiration. Thus his 'Neptune and Amphitrite,' in the Berlin Museum, and his 'Danae' in the Munich Gallery, are, from their coarseness and vulgarity, almost disgusting. Painters of the same class were Bernhard van Orley and Michael Coxis and their followers, who finished by becoming mere clever copiers of the great Italian masters.

The works of these painters form the first step towards that complete revolution in Teutonic art which took place in the second half of the 16th century. The influence of Italian art soon superseded all others. Even the technical principles of colouring which had formed the glory of the Teutonic schools were abandoned for those of the great Italian colourists, and especially of the Venetians. Their grand broad manner was imitated. An impression consistent with truth was sought to be conveyed by well-disposed masses, and by the general effect, rather than by very minute details which would bear the closest scrutiny. At the same time the proportions and anatomy of the human form were more carefully studied from the model. But the true spirit of Italian art was not there. The feeling for natural grace, refinement, and ideal beauty was wanting. Even in the works of men of genius of a very high order, the realistic tendency, the proneness to vulgarity and coarseness, and to the gross and sensual side of human nature, could not be overcome. It is impossible to transplant a form of art peculiar to one race, wholesale to another.

Sir Antonio More, Frank Floris, Porbus the Elder, Martin de Vos, and Otto Vænius, are the principal painters who gradually developed this new school, and who form the connecting-links between Mabuse and Van Orley, and its great chiefs, Rubens and Vandyke.

The condition of Germany and the Netherlands may, of itself, sufficiently account for this change in Teutonic art. The heroic struggle against the infamous tyranny of Spain, and civil wars, were working a revolution in the character of their population, developed under new political, social, and religious institutions. The period of transition could scarcely admit of any settled expression in art. The calamities of war—burnings, sackings, and robberies—and the iconoclastic fury of the reformers, who ruthlessly destroyed what they considered the heathenish objects of worship in the churches, did not tend to the preservation of pictures, or to the encouragement of artists. Art was chiefly cultivated for the gratification of strange rulers, who had little or no sympathy for German or Netherlandish life and feelings. They sought the works of the Italian painters, and of those who
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imitated them, because they had become fashionable amongst the great and wealthy. The pageants, which celebrated short periods of triumph, were graced by allegorical pictures, representing the virtues and power of the conqueror, and the submissive loyalty and love of his unhappy victims, as absurd and fanciful in conception as they were poor and weak in execution. Most of them were probably by second or third rate Italian painters, or their imitators. When the Dutch had freed themselves from the Spanish yoke, their national character found one of its expressions in the fine arts, and especially in painting. On the other hand, in Germany, internal wars and an unsettled political condition were protracted for nearly two centuries, leaving no sufficient rest for the national character to form itself, and to give any new or decided impulse to art. After the middle of the 16th century she produced no painter of any importance. The arts did not rise again until the wonderful revival in literature and science which marked the latter half of the 18th.

The most eminent Netherlandish masters of the new school were Rubens and Vandyke. Both were essentially court painters. A direction was given to the genius of both through constant intercourse with foreign nations and foreign men, and both had gone early to Italy. Rubens had passed some years in that country—for the most part at Venice—where he diligently studied the manner of colouring of Titian and Paul Veronese. Neither did he neglect the severer style of earlier Italian painters, as we know by his beautiful study from Mantegna's 'Triumph of Julius Cæsar,' now in the National Gallery. His varied accomplishments, the singular beauty of his person, and the charm of his society, had made him very early the favourite of princes. No sooner had he returned to his native land than commissions for pictures poured in upon him.

Rubens, from the vigour with which he threw off the conventional trammels which had more or less bound those who preceded him, and gave full play to a genius of singular power and originality, holds in Teutonic art nearly the same place that Michelangelo does in Italian art. He shows the same indifference to the highest order of ideal female beauty, although he occasionally proves that, like Michelangelo, he was not incapable of appreciating it. He shows the same daring conception, the same inexhaustible invention, and the same mastery over technical difficulties. In both there is the same tendency to exaggeration of form and idea; but its direction differs in them. Michelangelo, moved by the spirit which inspires his race, exaggerates the best types of the human form and the noblest elements of human nature, giving to them a grandeur almost superhuman,

perhuman, but sometimes approaching the monstrous. Rubens, on the contrary, under the influence of his national character, often degenerates into extreme coarseness by the exaggeration of common and vulgar types, of the sensual element and of the animal passions in man. Hence we frequently turn from his pictures with disgust, notwithstanding the life and vigour they always possess. Fuseli quaintly says of them : 'The male forms of Rubens are the brawny pulp of slaughtermen ; his females are hillocks of roses : overwhelmed muscles, dislocated bones, and distorted joints are swept along in a gulf of colours, as herbage, trees, and shrubs are whirled, tossed, or absorbed by vernal inundations.' The taste of Rubens had been too much chastened by intercourse with the most cultivated men of his day to permit him to indulge in the grotesque caricature of the Teutonic schools. Yet, in spite of himself, he constantly shows a leaning to it. The impossibility of a man of even his genius freeing himself from the spirit of his time and from the influence of those who surround him is seen in his choice and treatment of subjects—in his mythological allegories jumbled up with historical events—his warriors, armed cap-a-pié, in the embraces of voluptuous nymphs—his brawny beauties, in full court costume, herding with naked models—his sensual Bacchantes and Fauns rollicking in drunken orgies. Such pictures, and, it must be added, most of his sacred subjects, can only excite wonder by their technical qualities—by their gorgeous colouring and inexhaustible invention, and the mastery over the difficulties of the art which they display. They must ever be repugnant to the purest and most refined taste. They can never command the same admiration or inspire the same pure and exalted sentiments as the great works of the Italian school, or even of the early and truly national Flemish painters.

If the highest order of painting consisted in the qualities which are here just indicated, joined to an imagination full of fire and vigour, then Rubens is scarcely to be surpassed by any painter of any age or country. In the representation of battles, of combats with wild animals, of the chace, of scenes of Bacchanalian riot and debauch, and of robust children revelling in fruit and flowers—in pictures which best display the fire and energy of his imagination—we see the highest development of Rubens's powers. His knowledge of character and the refinement he had acquired from mixing with cultivated men rendered him a portrait-painter of a very high, though not of the highest order ; whilst his love for Nature, and the richness of his colouring, give a great charm and even poetry to his landscapes.

Vandyke was a man of greater refinement, and of deeper and
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more elevated feeling than Rubens. But he wanted his fire and versatility. In mastery over the technical difficulties of the art Dr. Waagen places the two on the same level. Their education and career were not unlike. Vandyke also studied Titian and Paul Veronese in Italy, and sought to imitate their principles of colouring. The external influence under which he painted was also rather that of strangers than of men of his own race. Although he never reaches the ideal beauty or the sublimity of the great Italian masters, he generally excites a deeper sympathy and purer sentiments than Rubens. In his sacred subjects he shows some of that religious feeling which inspired the art of Italy in the 15th century. His tendency to idealization, and an exquisite taste, acquired from long intercourse with the most polished, cultivated, and exalted men of his time, rendered him eminently fit and worthy to represent them. His portraits have been universally acknowledged as models of the art. No painter has ever exceeded him in portraying the most courtly breeding, the most refined grace, and the most noble expression. Hence, although his portraits are marked by perfect individuality, they may be regarded as historical works, recording the types of the highest civilization and intellectual culture of his age.

The comparison between Rubens and Michelangelo may be extended to the influence they exercised upon painting. Exaggerated originality became in their imitators exaggerated mannerism. The peculiar style of both had reached the utmost boundary of truth. It had sometimes passed it. It could not be carried farther without becoming altogether unreal, and even monstrous. Its very imitation could not fail to degenerate into the utmost vulgarity and coarseness. Such was especially the case with the followers of Rubens, who approached him in little but mere technical skill.

We must now turn to the influence of the Reformation upon art. The great religious, as well as political, change which had taken place in the 16th century in Holland, produced a corresponding result upon painting. During the prolonged struggle consequent upon the extension of the Reformation in the Netherlands, art had been almost paralysed. In Germany the Lutherans had been more tolerant than the Calvinists. They even admitted religious pictures into their places of worship. A school of painting sprang up, founded upon the doctrines of the reformed faith, and upon an endeavour to represent sacred subjects in a Protestant spirit. Its works are marked, for the most part, by great weakness, and frequently by a repulsive coarseness of expression. At the head of the school may be placed Lucas Cranach, born

born in 1472. The friend of both Luther and Melancthon, he sought to convey their opinions and doctrines in his pictures, adopting even, as in his altarpiece of the Crucifixion at Vienna, the types and symbols of the Romish Church. He thus curiously and faithfully marks the transition then taking place in the religious convictions of the Teutonic populations of central Europe.

He was a painter of very unequal merit, rising at times to a dignity, and even grace, not unworthy of Luini, as in his picture of the 'Woman taken in Adultery' in the Munich Gallery; falling into the utmost Teutonic coarseness and vulgarity, as in the 'Fountain of Youth' at Berlin; and showing the greatest technical skill in details, and a rare feeling for rich and harmonious colour, as in the 'Samson and Delilah' in the Rath-Haus at Augsburg.

An entirely new school of art sprang up in Holland. Pictures were now sought as ornaments for private dwellings, or as mere objects of luxury. Religious subjects, being no longer required for churches, were either neglected altogether, or were made entirely subordinate to architecture or landscape, or to details of common every-day life. Thus the principles upon which the early painters had worked were reversed. The Dutch painters devoted themselves almost exclusively to domestic events; or to landscape, and the representation of animals, birds, fruit, flowers, and various objects of 'still life;' or exercised their imagination and ingenuity in inventing the most fanciful scenes of witchcraft and sorcery. They attained the highest perfection; for to the skill of the ancient Flemish masters they added the knowledge of atmospheric effects, of perspective, and of the laws of light and shade, and all the technical improvements which were the results of three centuries' experience and study, and were unknown to the early schools. Thus was founded the 'Dutch School,' which produced a long line of painters, who, debarred by the spirit of the country and age in which they lived from attaining the loftiest regions of painting, displayed powers of the highest order in its subordinate and inferior branches.

The fantastic and grotesque element in the Teutonic character was soon prominently displayed in this new school. Jerome Bosch, an engraver of skill as well as a clever painter, had led the way in the peculiar direction now taken by Dutch art. One of his representations of Hell, in which human ingenuity was almost exhausted in the invention of supernatural horrors and the tortures of the damned, hung, according to tradition, in the cell of the dying Philip II. It was no inappropriate subject. The droll and extravagant devilries of Bosch were imitated

imitated by Breughel and by a long series of painters ending in Teniers, who delighted in scenes of sorcery and witchcraft and in inventing new temptations and torments for unhappy saints.

The tendency to introduce the most sacred subjects into the lowest scenes of everyday life is already seen in the works of painters of the beginning of the 16th century, such as Pieter Aertszen and Buecklaer. Of the latter there is a very characteristic picture in the Munich Gallery: Pontius Pilate is presenting Christ to the people in the background of a market-place, in which frouzy fishwomen and brawny hucksters are selling their wares, surrounded by the vulgar incidents of low Flemish life.

Amongst those who painted domestic incidents, some sought their subjects in the polished and refined life of the upper and middle classes; others in the boorish humour and coarse licence of the common people. None attempted to idealize, elevate, or select their types. They merely reproduced with astonishing fidelity what they were in the habit of constantly witnessing. Of the first class were Gerard Dow, Terburg, Metz, Mieris, and De Hoogh; of the second, the younger Teniers, Adrian van Ostade, Brouwer, and Jan Steen. Each in his particular style reached that eminence which genius, however much controlled by external influences, and however ill-directed, must ever attain. Although there is nothing elevated or ennobling in their works, and many are utterly vulgar and commonplace, they are interesting and important because they represent, faithfully and vividly, the manners and habits of the time in which they were painted; and a truthful transcript of any condition of society, especially when it has passed away, must always be of value. They may fail to satisfy the taste of the cultivated and refined, they may be utterly condemned when compared with the highest standard of excellence furnished by Italian art; but it must be borne in mind that their authors could not conceive and execute religious subjects imbued with the pure and lofty sentiment, and the divine ideal beauty, of the great Italian schools. Their genius was shown in giving expression, with matchless technical skill, to the opinions and feelings of those amongst whom they lived. Neither Gerard Dow nor Ostade sought to paint pictures which their contemporaries could not understand, and into the spirit of which they could not enter. When Teniers attempted to represent a Scripture subject, his most sacred personages were Dutch boors, or the frequenters of a Dutch tavern. And he probably pleased and instructed his countrymen more than if he had been able to conceive figures of an ideal beauty, and of an elevated spiritual character.

Rembrandt,

Rembrandt, with the same tendencies as these painters, gave a certain ideal character to his works which places them in an exceptional position in the Dutch school, and indeed in the history of Teutonic art. This remarkable painter illustrates, however, no less than those we have described, its principal characteristics. He was a man of singular genius and originality. In some respects he stands almost alone in art. There is no painter before, nor any after him, with whom he can be well compared. A rich and poetical imagination was in him strangely combined with the intensest Teutonic love of the vulgar, the coarse, and the depraved. He seems to have rejected, wilfully, every type of beauty, and to have declared himself the champion of ugliness. Yet he loved works of art of the most refined and elevated character. He made himself a bankrupt in collecting them. In the schedule of his property, still preserved in the Court of Insolvency at Amsterdam, are included pictures by the first Italian painters—by Raphael, Michelangelo, and the great colourists of the Venetian school, and even examples of antique sculpture. His conceptions too are marked by a grandeur, a vigour, and an originality, worthy of a painter of the very first order. He has the power of exciting the imagination to a very high degree. No painter has succeeded, by such simple apparent means, in producing such great results, in conveying his thoughts, and in interesting the spectator. In this chiefly consists his genius. The impression caused by his pictures, as by his etchings, is like that of a dream, whose strange contrasts and fitful incidents have left a general image upon the memory, although all its details and circumstances are wanting. Masses of light and shade are so placed in opposition as to produce a mysterious and solemn effect. Indistinct forms float in the uncertain gloom. But by skilfully concentrating the attention upon one group or figure, he seems to reduce the confused mass into order, and to convey a definite idea to the mind of the spectator. Rembrandt thus acted upon principles the very opposite to those adopted by the Italian masters. They sought to influence the imagination and to excite the sympathies by definite beauty of form, and by rich, yet harmonious colour. They rejected all attempts at effect by violent and unnatural contrasts. Such contrasts give that stern and morose character to Rembrandt's pictures, especially when he deals with religious subjects, which, Kugler suggests, represents the sturdy Protestant republicanism of Holland.

The landscape-painting of the Dutch was founded upon the early Flemish school. Although a landscape by John van Eyck is recorded, Patenier seems to have been the first to practise this

this branch of the art in the second half of the 15th century. It was introduced into Italy, according to Vasari, by the Flemish. Patenier combined Scripture subjects with landscape, but they were treated altogether in a subordinate manner, and almost lost in a conventional and even grotesque, but not unfrequently grand and picturesque, representation of mountains, valleys, and the other great features of nature. He was followed by De Bles, Jan Breughel, the Brills, the German Elzheimer, and others of less note.

The fondness for copying what they saw in nature with the utmost truth made the Dutch very successful landscape-painters. But as they neither attempted to idealise nor to select, they could not be landscape-painters of the highest order. They portrayed with wonderful fidelity the rich pastures, the stagnant canals, the stunted pollards, and the cold grey sky of their native land. There was not much to appeal to the imagination in such subjects. They owe their interest and value to their truth alone. The great Italian painters, who had never practised landscape-painting as a separate branch of their art, but treated it as entirely subordinate to their religious and historical subjects, show even in the backgrounds of their pictures to what a perfection of ideal beauty they could have raised it. The blue hills and solemn skies of Perugino and Raphael, the purple-shadowed mountains and rich foliage of Titian and Giorgione, the bold rocks and shady pools of the Carracci and Domenichino, make an impression upon us such as no Dutch or German landscape, with all its wonderful minuteness of execution, could ever produce. This is no doubt partly owing to the different aspect under which Nature shows herself beneath the bright sky of Italy. And yet the landscapes of Rubens are most beautiful. The landscapes of the Dutch painters prove that their authors felt a keen sense of enjoyment in such scenes as their country afforded. This gives them, with all their homeliness and want of grandeur and beauty, a very pleasing character. Every true lover of nature must look with delight upon the soft glow of evening light glimmering amongst the dark foliage, in the pictures of Both and Hobbema,—upon the broad green meadows, studded with lazy cattle, in those of Berghem and Cuyp,—upon the tumultuous roll of the sea, or the crisping breeze darkening the face of the water beneath the scudding clouds, in those of Backhuysen and Van der Velde,—and upon the spreading lowlands, stretching for many a mile in dreamy solitude, and checkered by sunlight and shade, as in those of Koningh and Rembrandt. That a strong poetical feeling did sometimes guide the Dutch
painters

painters in the choice of their subjects, as it did the old Flemish masters, was undoubtedly the case. Many of our readers may remember, in the great Manchester Exhibition, that magnificent landscape by Rembrandt, belonging to Lord Overstone, of which Dr. Waagen well observes that 'a feeling of lofty melancholy and of intense solitude is expressed with astonishing mastery;' and may know Ruysdael's 'Jewish Cemetery,' in the Munich Gallery, in which the white gravestones gleaming in the watery sunbeams beneath the hoary ruin, the rainbow arching over the distant hills, the threatening storm-clouds, the eddying waterfall, and the spectre-like leafless tree, produce a feeling of solemn sadness.

The skill, inherited by the Dutch from the old Flemish school, in imitating the minutest objects in nature, makes them unequalled as painters of flowers, fruit, animals, birds, and of what is termed 'still life.' It would be impossible to exceed the marvellous splendour yet exquisite harmony of colour, and the astonishing power of modelling and truthful representation, almost amounting to deception, in the best works of this class of Jan Breughel, the two De Heems, and Jan van Huysum.

The tendency of Dutch art was favourable to the development of portrait-painting. Rembrandt's portraits are marvels of striking effect and individuality. But the want of elevation and refinement which characterised this school prevented it from attaining the highest rank in this branch of art. Yet Reynolds declared that the well-known picture by Vander Helst at Amsterdam, 'The Celebration of the Peace of Westphalia,' 'was perhaps the first picture of portraits in the world, comprehending more of those qualities which made a perfect portrait than any other he had ever seen.'

The decay of art followed rapidly upon the decay of political power and national prosperity in the Low Countries. Scarcely a Dutch painter of the 18th century deserves mention. There has been no revival in the condition of Holland which could lead to any fresh development of painting. The successful struggle for political independence, and the remarkable national prosperity which has been its result, have, on the other hand, given a decided impulsé to the fine arts in Belgium. The spirit of the old Flemish school, its tendency to minute finish, and much of its technical skill may be traced in the many 'genre' pictures which crowd the annual exhibitions at Brussels and Antwerp. Unfortunately the influence of France, felt in the manners and literature of the country, is also seen in the Belgian school of painting, as in the vulgar affectation and tricky execution of the works of Dyckmans, whose 'Blind Beggar' in the
National

National Gallery has unfortunately attracted a degree of admiration in this country by no means encouraging for those who had hoped for an improvement in public taste.

The present century has witnessed an extraordinary intellectual movement in Germany. It has hitherto mainly taken the direction of philosophical research, minute analysis, and broad generalization extended to every branch of human knowledge. Her political condition has not kept pace with her intellectual progress. She is still wanting in that grand development of national character which rests upon national independence and free institutions. She is yet in a state of transition, still uncertain as to her position in the civilized world, and as to the influence she should exercise upon it.

This condition of things is most faithfully reflected in the present state of the fine arts in Germany. They are likewise in a state of transition. There is no really great development of German art which represents worthily and completely any well-defined German national characteristic. Her learning, her research, and her philosophy have produced sculptors, painters, and architects who, unable or unwilling to seek for inspiration in existing national sources, have with characteristic patience studied art as they would history or the sciences, have gone to ancient Italy instead of to Germany for their masters, and have endeavoured to revive the spirit and traditions of the middle ages. Such an attempt could only end in failure. A few remarkable men have produced works of great merit, as far as careful study, technical skill, or profound knowledge may be concerned. But they want that living reality, that fire, that expression of national opinion and national character, which can alone form a really great school of art. Their style is cold and lifeless. The frescoes which disfigure, rather than adorn, the public buildings of Munich, and the worthless modern pictures in the public gallery of that city, prove how little the utmost patronage of art is calculated to promote its highest development, unless it proceeds from popular sentiments and convictions. There is more vigour in the wall paintings of Berlin, as might be expected from the more independent and influential political position held by Prussia. Austria has not produced a single painter, architect, or sculptor of any distinction. The easel pictures of those Germans who have studied in Italy, and have made the works of the early Italian masters their models, are, to our mind, as uninteresting as they are weak and poor in colour, composition, and sentiment. They are mere feeble imitations. The only true national German art is probably seen in those light and less important works, many under the genuine old German form of etchings, which represent the fantastic

tastic and somewhat gross features of the Teutonic race, its love of the supernatural, and of broad satire. They are, consequently, as popular in other countries as they are in Germany.

Vast changes are impending in Central Europe. The feeling for unity and independence, awakened and impelled by recent events, may ere long lead to a more vigorous and popular organization of the German nation; and one of the results may be the development of an original and characteristic school of Teutonic art.

- ART. VI.—1. *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa in the years 1849-55.* By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L., &c. London, 1857.
2. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa.* By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf. London, 1860.
3. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa.* By Richard F. Burton, H. M. I. Army. London, 1860.
4. *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue (commonly known as the Niger or Tsadda) in 1854.* By William Balfour Baikie, M.D., R.N., F.R.S., in command of the Expedition. London, 1856.
5. *Narrative of the Niger, Tsadda, and Binue Exploration, including a Report on the Position and Prospects of Trade in those Rivers.* By T. J. Hutchinson, Esq., H. B. M. Consul for the Bight of Biafra. London, 1855.
6. *Sketches of the African Kingdoms and Peoples.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London, 1860.
7. *The Negroland of the Arabs Examined and Explained.* By William Desborough Cooley. London, 1841.
8. *Inner Africa Laid Open.* By W. D. Cooley. London, 1852.
9. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxx. London, 1861.
10. *Missionary Travels in South-Eastern Africa.* By the Rev. David Livingstone, LL.D. London, 1859.
11. *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa, with Explorations from Khartoum on the White Nile to the Regions of the Equator.* By John Petherick, F.R.G.S., H. B. M. Consul for the Soudan. Edinburgh and London, 1861.
12. *Exploration and Adventure in Equatorial Africa.* By M. Du Chaillu. London, 1861.

AFRICA may in one sense be defined as a continent of the future. At least seven-eighths of the enormous area of one of the largest divisions of the globe have yet to acquire even the rudiments of

of true civilization. Although forming so considerable a portion of the earth, Africa has been almost entirely neglected by the nations of modern Europe since the discovery of America. They directed their attention and their enterprise almost exclusively towards the new regions which were so unexpectedly revealed. The tide of colonization long flowed in an uninterrupted stream to the West, where the hope of easy conquests and the expectation of boundless wealth attracted the most ambitious and energetic spirits of the age. If Columbus could have foreseen the effect which his great discoveries would have upon a large portion of the human race, the piety and humanity of the great navigator would certainly have recoiled from the spectacle. It is a melancholy reflection that one of the continents of the Old World should owe by far the greater portion of its sufferings to the discovery of the New. The conquerors and colonists of America, having used up an immense proportion of the population in compulsory toil, turned to the opposite continent for the supply of their industrial wants. The robust natives of Africa were found to be specially fitted for labour in hot countries, and the petty sovereigns of the coast were soon instructed in the art of replenishing their treasures by the sale of their subjects, who were exported by hundreds of thousands to the remote and unknown regions of the West. Thus one quarter of the earth has been left a prey to a rapacity and violence disgraceful to humanity.

It was not before the close of the last century that any general interest was felt in the condition of Africa. No one supposed that it was endowed with resources little if at all inferior to those of the other continents, or that there existed within the intertropical zone a very dense population, with capacities altogether inconsistent with a theory that dooms them to a state of perpetual barbarism, or of essential inferiority to the rest of the great family of man. Shut out from almost all the influences of ancient civilization, its people have multiplied from age to age in a land which brings forth in prodigious abundance almost everything that uncivilized man can desire. The clay hut, the slight raiment, coarse but ample food, rude music and the festive dance have, generation after generation, supplied their simple wants and filled up the measure of their enjoyment.

The only civilization which has penetrated to any extent the interior of the African continent, and left its stamp upon the indigenous races, was introduced by the Arabs. They are the only people who now possess, amidst the political and moral wilderness of intertropical Africa, any tolerable form of civil polity or bond of social organisation. The origin of the inter-

course

course between Arabia and Africa is lost in its remoteness, but a commerce between the two countries was carried on from the earliest ages. The conquest of Africa by the Arabs was first attempted by the Caliph Othman, in the year 647 of the Christian era. At the head of 40,000 Moslems, he advanced from Egypt into the unknown regions of the West; and a few years subsequently the Sultan Akbar marched from Damascus, at the head of 10,000 picked troops, and taking into his pay many thousand native Africans, just as England organized and armed the natives of India for its conquests in that country, swept every obstacle before him until his course was arrested by the Atlantic Ocean.* The Arabs speedily advanced by the aid of the camel across the sandy desert towards the centre of the continent, and along the two coasts, as far as the Senegal and the Gambia on the west, and Sofala on the east. From the latter place they not only explored the interior far beyond the limits of ancient discovery, but planted colonies at Mombas, Melinda, and Mozambique. They have since spread over almost every known part of Africa north of the Equator, from the shores of the Red Sea to the Atlantic, mingled their blood with Negro races, engrafted Mahommedan learning and ingenuity on the ignorance and simplicity of the native tribes, and introduced an Oriental splendour which gives to their governments at least the outward aspect of civilization.

To what extent the letters of Asia have penetrated into Africa it would be difficult to form an opinion, but that the Arab colonists brought with them from time to time many of the treasures of ancient learning there is every reason to believe. A recent traveller in the interior found in many of the Arab chiefs a considerable amount of literary cultivation, and an intellectual activity which invited discussion on some of the most important subjects of human inquiry. The disposition of the Arab chiefs towards England is generally most satisfactory. They are proud of being the objects of occasional diplomatic visits, and receive the compliments and presents with which the envoys are charged with undisguised satisfaction. The sultan of Sakotu in 1823 sent a body of horse, preceded by drums and trumpets, to escort Captain Clapperton into his capital. Dr. Barth owed his life to the protection of a noble sheikh, who risked everything dear to him to protect his guest from the hostile designs of a fanatical party in Timbuctoo; and the Sultan of Zanzibar has cordially assisted every exploring expedition which has started for the interior from the eastern coast.

* Gibbon, vol. ix., p. 463.

When the Portuguese commenced their colonization of Mozambique they found the Arabs in possession of almost the whole of the coast. They dispossessed them of their settlements, converted the mosques into churches, broke up their trading establishments, and entered upon a war of extermination. Many Arab chiefs fled into the interior, beyond the reach of their oppressors, and easily induced multitudes of the indolent and voluptuous natives to embrace the faith of the Prophet. The Mahommedan Arabs settled in Eastern Africa chiefly in the character of traders, and the wealth of the prosperous merchants was lavishly displayed. The city of Melinda was long the pride of Eastern Africa: its gardens were celebrated for their delicious fruits, fountains, and groves, and its inhabitants arrayed themselves in silk and purple.

The rule of the Mahommedan Arabs has given to portions of Africa a certain unity, and imparted a degree of civilization. Some of their political institutions have been found not ill adapted to barbarous races, and their governments may be favourably contrasted with the negro monarchies which have been erected on the western coasts, in regions to which Arab influence has not extended. Egypt, and probably the coast of Africa bordering on the Indian Ocean, was better known to the Eastern nations of antiquity than any portion of Europe. The Carthaginians were, doubtless, well acquainted with the countries south of the Great Desert, for the elephant, which was in extensive use, must have been brought from the regions of Central Africa, as it is not known to have ever been an inhabitant of the Atlas region. When the Romans became masters of Northern Africa, they formed settlements to the south; and many beautiful monuments in the interior of Tripoli, of different periods of art, prove that the dominion of Rome in that district of Africa could not have been either of very limited extent or of short duration. The Romans are believed to have established their dominion as far south as Garana or Jerna; but there is in Pliny a distinct account of Suetonius Paulinus (A.D. 41) crossing the great mountains of the Atlas, and even proceeding some distance beyond them; and Ptolemy states that a Roman officer, who started from the neighbourhood of Tripoli, went a four months' journey in a southern direction. This route probably brought him into the latitude of Timbuctoo and into the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad. No detailed record, however, exists of any important exploration of the interior of Africa during the period of Roman dominion.

More has been accomplished in the last sixty years to make us acquainted with the geography and social condition of the interior of Africa, than during the whole period which has elapsed since the days of Ptolemy. The modern era of exploration may

be said to have commenced when Park undertook his remarkable expedition. The celebrated travels of Denham and Clapperton excited an European interest. They added largely to our geographical knowledge, and made us acquainted with many interesting facts connected with the state of society in Africa. In 1823 Clapperton reached Lake Tchad, and the surrounding countries were explored as far as Sakatu on the west, and Mandara on the south. Major Laing reached Timbuctoo, but was murdered in the desert on his return. Lander descended the Niger from Yaouri to its mouth, and the result of that important event was the great Niger expedition of 1841, which terminated in a disastrous loss of life, and discouraged for a time any further exploration in that direction. The eastern and southern districts of Africa have been visited by numerous travellers. Many modern attempts have been made to discover the sources of the Nile, by expeditions originated or sanctioned by the Pasha of Egypt. The territory in the vicinity of Abyssinia has been the seat of a Christian mission which has enlarged our knowledge of a very interesting country; but all that had been previously attempted or accomplished on behalf of scientific geography and African civilization sinks into insignificance when compared with the great discoveries of the last ten years. The penetration of Dr. Barth into the interior of the continent; the discovery, and successful navigation, of the upper course of the Niger; the travels of Dr. Livingstone in South-eastern Africa; the ascertained existence of great inland seas at, or in close proximity to, the equator; the steps which are being made towards a solution of the great geographical problem of the source of the Nile, and the recent remarkable discoveries of M. Du Chaillu in the west, indicate that Africa has at length obtained the serious attention of Europe.

The physical conformation of the African continent is in many respects remarkable. In one of his annual Presidential Addresses to the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Roderick Murchison predicted that the interior of Africa would in all probability be found to be a watery plateau of less elevation than the flanking hill ranges. He suggested that violent igneous action, extending along both sides of the continent, tilted up the lateral rocks, and that the energy and extended range of volcanic disturbance at remote periods have imparted to Africa its present very simple littoral configuration. Addressing Major Burton previously to his journey of exploration, Sir R. Murchison detailed his special reasons for believing the centre of Africa to be a vast region of lakes of some, but not considerable, elevation above the sea. The theory was based on a discovery, then recently made, in the Cape Colony, of fossil remains in a lacustrine deposit of the secondary age, and the

the well-known existence on the coast of lofty mountains of the primary period circling round the younger deposits. Sir R. Murchison therefore inferred that a network of lakes would be found prolonged northwards from Lake Ngami towards the interior. But, carrying his induction still farther, he intimated that he saw no possibility of explaining how the great rivers could escape from the central plateau-lands and enter the ocean, except through deep gorges formed at some ancient period of elevation when the lateral chains were subjected to transverse fractures. This hypothesis, which was suggested in the Presidential Address for 1852, became known to Dr. Livingstone while he was in the act of exploring those very 'transverse gorges' by which the river Zambezi escapes to the east and discharges itself into the Indian Ocean. The present century has thus witnessed two great triumphs of scientific induction by the same eminent philosopher: the prediction of the discovery of gold in Australia by rigid *à priori* reasoning, and an anticipation of the great Lake discoveries in the interior of Africa by the application of geological science.

We proceed to notice the most important of the recent expeditions which have been undertaken for the exploration of Africa, to describe briefly the districts which they have succeeded in penetrating, and to enumerate the geographical, social, and political results of modern enterprise in that quarter of the globe.

The expedition of Mr. Richardson, with whom were associated Dr. Barth and Mr. Overweg, was organized for the purpose of concluding commercial treaties with the chiefs of Northern Africa, inhabiting the country extending from the frontier of Tripoli to Lake Tchad. These gentlemen left Tripoli in March, 1850, but, his two coadjutors having fallen sacrifices to the climate, the duties of the mission ultimately devolved on Dr. Barth, and he prosecuted his travels alone. Taking his departure from Tripoli, he traversed a country dotted for a distance of 150 miles with many splendid Roman remains, and passing through the country of the Tawárek, or organized plunderers of the desert, he extended his travels to the very borders of the Central African nations, 350 miles to the south of any point previously reached by an European explorer. Denham and Clapperton reached the city of Kuka, the capital of the kingdom of Bornu, and discovered Lake Tchad—an event which created at the time a great sensation in England, but the importance of which has been much diminished by the discovery of the large inland seas lying to the south and east of Clapperton's explorations. Dr. Barth proceeded to Yola, in the Adámawa country, situate in about 8° N. lat. He describes the district as the finest he had seen in

Central Africa, abounding in rich pastures, in valleys of very fertile land, and in mountains clothed to their summits with noble trees. It was his intention to have extended his researches as far as the equator, but the difficulties proved insurmountable, and he was obliged to return to Kuka, the seat of a comparatively stable government. The towns and cities of this portion of Africa are walled and respectably built; the markets are numerously attended, and a considerable trade is carried on. He found commerce radiating in every direction from Kano, the great emporium of Central Africa, and spreading the manufactures and the productions of an industrious region over the whole of Western Africa. The fixed population of this city he estimated at 30,000; but on the occasions of the great fairs, at 60,000; and he is of opinion that this capital will at some future day be one of considerable importance to the commercial interests of Europe. At present very little English merchandise finds its way to the great emporium of Negroland, British calico and muslin being almost the only articles displayed in the bazaars. The state of the contiguous countries is described as wretched in the extreme, —all the petty governors and sultans habitually making predatory excursions for slaves, and even selling their own subjects for the liquidation of their debts.

The remarkable lake, the Tchad, Dr. Barth describes as an immense lagoon, enlarging or contracting its dimensions according to the amount of rain or evaporation: it was at the season of his visit only 60 miles in extent from east to west, although Clapperton has estimated it at 120 miles. Its average depth was found to be from 10 to 15 feet. An eminent geographer has stated his opinion that the African lakes are, in more instances than one, merely the expansion of large rivers running through a level country during the period of the tropical rains.* This is doubtless the case with the Tchad. It was navigated by Overweg in a boat brought over the desert in pieces on the backs of camels. He passed seven weeks on its waters, displaying the British flag to the people on its banks, and startling the hippopotami from their haunts among the gigantic reeds. The population of the numerous islands he found considerable and comparatively prosperous in consequence of their being inaccessible to the slave-hunters, who are the curse of Central Africa.

Denham did not proceed beyond Logon in the Bornu country; Dr. Barth entered the Bagirmi kingdom to the east, and reached its capital, intending to extend his travels in that direction and to penetrate to the region of the Nile. This having proved imprac-

* Mr. Macqueen. *Journal Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xx., p. 119.
ticable,

ticable, he turned his steps to the south-west, and made what he considers the most important geographical discovery of the age, namely, the eastern branch of the Niger, 800 yards wide and 11 feet deep, at Tepi. The stream which Dr. Barth reached is the Benuwé, by which, if an uninterrupted navigation should be established between it and the lower Niger, a route will be opened by water into the very centre of Africa. At the spot where Dr. Barth discovered the Benuwé, another considerable river, the Faro, enters it with a strong current. The whole of the district traversed by Dr. Barth in this direction he found to be of extraordinary fertility, producing cotton, indigo, and sugar, and supplying ivory, rhinoceros' horns, wax, and hides, in the greatest abundance. It is satisfactory to find that in all the countries visited by Dr. Barth the desire for increased communication with Europe was strongly and unanimously expressed.

It is remarked by Mr. Cooley in his learned work, 'Inner Africa Laid Open,' that the popular belief of the great river of Negroland, the Niger, uniting with the Nile is of very ancient date, and may be traced back to the time of Herodotus. It is stated with more or less distinctness by all the Arab geographers, and they generally likewise asserted the connexion of the Quorra or Niger with Lake Tchad. The geographical knowledge of Central Africa, even of those living on its confines, must have been very limited, since this delusion was only dispelled by the researches of an European traveller. The Tchad has no outlet; and the Quorra or Niger undoubtedly rises in a mountainous region, at no very great distance from the part of the river's course discovered by Dr. Barth; and it is fed by the same tropical rains, and subject to the same inundations, as many of the other rivers of Africa. The expectations of Dr. Barth have been completely realised by the voyage of the 'Pleiad,' undertaken by the direction of the British Government. The Tshadda and Benuwé have been ascertained to be the eastern branches of the great Niger, which pours its waters into the Atlantic through numerous mouths. The Nun channel being the most central, has been proved, by recent exploration, to be the best adapted for communication with the interior. To the town of Dolti, on the Benuwé, the distance is 447 geographical miles from the sea; and the river up to that place has been found to offer no impediments to navigation. Want of fuel alone prevented the steamer from proceeding beyond; but with the rising waters, or a full flood, the river is believed to be navigable for vessels of considerable burthen to a much higher point.

The Niger has acquired a bad notoriety in consequence of the lamentable loss of life resulting from several attempts to ascend it.

it. The rank vegetation which clothes its banks, and the periodical subsidence of its waters, were found to generate miasma fatal to the European constitution. The mortality among the settlers on the model experimental farm established by the Government on the left bank of the river has not unnaturally suspended the prosecution of similar enterprises. The successful result of the voyage of the 'Pleiad,' and the almost total immunity from fever enjoyed by her crew in consequence of some very simple hygienic precautions, have however been the means of again directing attention to this important region of Africa, from which the interior can be so easily reached. The river, it has been ascertained, if entered with the rising waters, is comparatively healthy. There are in the basin of the Niger immense tracts of rich and virgin soil and numberless localities well adapted for the formation of model cotton farms. Two facts strongly impressed themselves on Mr. Hutchinson's mind during his residence in Western Africa: one, that the negro race have a perfect knowledge and appreciation of the immense industrial resources of their country; the other, an apparent readiness to take advantage of them, together with an aptitude for imitation and a desire for instruction that are most hopeful indications of future progress. These favourable features were most conspicuous all along the banks of the Niger, the Tshadda, and the Benuwé,—a country that seemed to him fresh, as it were, from the hands of God, and only waiting the energies of man to bring to perfection the numerous products of its prolific soil.

There is an atmospheric phenomenon common to all the rivers of this coast that must exercise a very salutary influence. The trade-winds blow up the streams, and this is especially the case with the Niger while it is in flood. 'For ten months in the year,' says Mr. Macqueen, 'but particularly from May till November, the prevailing wind in the Bights of Benin and Biafra is from the south-west, thus blowing right up all the outlets of the Niger.*' This was fully confirmed during the passage of the 'Pleiad.' In the upper parts of the river, Mr. Hutchinson says, a 'glorious breeze prevailed, and made the atmosphere cool and agreeable, and the vessel often had a breeze that would have been more than sufficient, had she possessed her canvas, to stem the current; and so strong was it when she was drifting down the stream that it offered quite an obstacle to her progress, and made her rock as though she were on the ocean.' The northern branch of the Niger, flowing from Timbuctoo, has been successfully navigated

* Macqueen's Geographical Survey of Africa.

to a distance of twenty miles above Rabba, or rather more than three hundred miles from the sea, where the river is broken into rocky and intricate channels. A few miles beyond Rabba is a waterfall, which presents an impassable barrier even to canoes at any season. Captain Bancroft, in 1845, successfully navigated one of the channels; but in 1857 the 'Pleiad,' in attempting the same passage, was lost on the rocks. Two important consequences may be said to have followed from the Niger expeditions, calamitous as some of them have been justly regarded: they have impressed both upon the population and rulers residing on the banks of this great river a knowledge not only of the commercial character of England, but of her thorough detestation of slavery in all its forms, and of her resolution to use every effort in her power to put an end to it.

The natural outlet for the commerce of Kano, and the immense district of which it is the emporium, is this eastern branch of the Niger, which it is to be hoped will, at no distant day, be opened throughout the whole of its course. In the mean time we are assured by Dr. Barth that the only commercial use which has been made of his important discovery is by American slave-dealers, who have opened a trade in those regions.

That Dr. Barth's mission to Central Africa has produced an excellent effect we have the assurance of a later explorer. In a recent expedition into the Niger country Mr. May found the population animated with the best feeling towards England, and when endeavouring to impress the natives with a sense of the efforts which the British Government were making to open a trade with their country, his remarks were always received with approbation, and a firm belief was expressed that the 'white man had only to will it to do it.'*

In reference to this portion of Africa we have to notice the discoveries of M. Du Chaillu, an American gentleman of French descent, who was commissioned by the Academy of Philadelphia to proceed to the equatorial regions of Western Africa. The narrative of this gentleman, who but recently presented himself before the British public, has created an extraordinary sensation, and his work cannot fail in obtaining for its author a wide reputation. The importance of his discoveries is only equalled by their singular interest. M. Du Chaillu, after having prepared himself by acquiring the languages of the tribes among which he determined to reside, boldly pushed into the interior from the neighbourhood of the Gaboon River. His first

* Mr. May's Journey in the Yoruba and Nùpe Countries in 1858. *Journal Royal Geographical Society*, 1860.

discovery was a range of mountains rising in a series of terraces to the height of 6000 feet, a spur from which approaching the coast was named by the Portuguese the Crystal Mountains. This range M. Du Chaillu found covered with dense and nearly impenetrable forests. It is now clearly established by this and the other discoveries of M. Du Chaillu that a great mountain chain, rising occasionally into eminences 12,000 feet high, runs due east and west along the equator, and probably extends completely across the continent.

It has often been a subject of surprise that the Arab adventurers, having pushed their conquests so far to the south as they did, should not have proceeded farther and crossed the equator. The great mountain chain which M. Du Chaillu has discovered supplies the explanation. This region is almost devoid of animal life, and, consisting of thick jungle and of rugged steeps incapable of cultivation, and inhabited only by savage apes and a few human beings almost equally savage, has presented an invincible barrier to the farther progress of the Mahomedan tribes. In these mountains are the sources of the Muni, the Moondah, the Gaboon, the Nazareth, and probably the Congo and other rivers which empty themselves into the Atlantic. Some of these streams will doubtless be found adapted for commerce when more fully explored. In a commercial sense the most important discovery made by M. Du Chaillu is that of the great river the Agobay, which he ascended to a distance of 350 miles from the coast. It was there a noble stream 500 yards wide, from three to four fathoms deep, and running with considerable force. If, as Dr. Barth is said to expect, this great river should prove to be the lower portion of one which he was informed ran westward, many days' journey south of Wadai, another immense stream will have been discovered connecting the central regions of Africa with the sea, and entering it at a spot from whence they can be most easily reached. The Agobay is certainly one of the most important rivers in Western Africa, and is formed in the interior of the country by two large rivers, the Rembo Ngourjai and Rembo Okanda. Until M. Du Chaillu traversed these regions the river Nazareth and its delta, the Mexias, and the Fernand Vaz, were thought to be three distinct rivers, rising in the mountain chain to the north, but he found that they communicated with each other. The Nazareth and the Mexias are formed by the Agobay, the latter river throwing the remainder of the water into the Fernand Vaz a few miles above its mouth. This river, although chiefly fed by the Agobay, is remarkable for following for forty miles the direction of the sea-shore, from which it is separated by a low sandy prairie, six miles broad.

The

The amount of fresh water poured into the sea by these rivers is enormous, but the navigation of the numerous channels is very intricate, and the Fernand Vaz, communicating with the Agobay, is the only one that can be said to have a navigable channel.

Ascending the Npoulounay, a branch of the Agobay, M. Du Chaillu reached a fine lake, the Anengue—a sheet of water ten miles wide, dotted with wooded islands, and with water deep enough in every part for steamers of moderate draught. The whole country about this lake is covered with the India-rubber vine and fine ebony-trees, and is able to supply the best caoutchouc, an article of yearly increasing commercial value, in the greatest abundance. On a second visit, in the dry season, he still found the Npoulounay quite practicable for a steamer of light draught, but the lake was somewhat changed in appearance. Its surface was dotted with islands of black mud, on the slimy slopes of which crocodiles swarmed in incredible numbers: M. Du Chaillu says he never saw so horrible a spectacle. Many of the reptiles were twenty feet long, and, opening their monstrous jaws, seemed ready to swallow the canoes and their occupants without an effort.

The tribes which M. Du Chaillu visited are the most remarkable of intertropical Africa. The Fan people are undoubtedly cannibals, as are, it is believed, all the adjoining mountain tribes. They buy the dead for food, and the king alone is not eaten. Piles of human bones and skulls, fragments of the ordinary meals, met the eye at every turn. Human flesh is exposed in the public market for sale. It is the food of all, and is relished by all. Ordinary animal food is scarce. The Fans are of a lighter hue than any of the western tribes. They are well armed, and bear shields of elephant-hide; impenetrable as iron. The Ostreba, a neighbouring tribe, are expert blacksmiths; and as iron ore is found in considerable quantities in the country, they make their iron weapons, and obtain by native skill a much better quality of steel than any brought from Europe or America. They have constructed a very peculiar pointed axe, which, when thrown from a distance, strikes with the point down. They use this weapon with great effect; and as the object aimed at is the head, the point penetrates the brain, and kills the victim immediately, and the round edge of the axe is then used to cut off the head. Their ingeniously constructed knives are sheathed in covers made of human skin. These people seemed to M. Du Chaillu the finest and bravest race he had seen in the interior of Africa. They point to the east as the quarter from whence they migrated, describe it as a very mountainous country, and say that the people are cannibals like themselves. Domestic slavery does
not

not prevail to any considerable extent among these tribes, but great numbers are sold every year to the traders, and M. Du Chaillu says that French 'emigrant' ships have been recently filled with Fans, and that they have been thus transported from their country in great numbers.

The interest of M. Du Chaillu's work consists not only in the narrative of his geographical discoveries, and his description of the cannibal tribes in that region of Africa, but in the warfare which he carried on with the gorilla, the creature that divides and almost disputes with man the empire of this mountain tract. It has driven nearly all the other animals from the forest which it haunts. Neither the rhinoceros, the giraffe, the buffalo, the horse, the ox, nor the ass, is found where the gorilla dwells; even the lion has quailed and retired before a ferocious ape. The roar of the gorilla can be heard at an almost incredible distance, and is often mistaken for thunder. The native idea of this creature is, that it combines the intelligence of a human being with the savage nature of a brute. Its rage and exasperation are unbounded when brought face to face with man. It beats its chest with its enormous fists, and makes it resound like an immense drum. Its eyes flash defiance; its roar shakes the woods, and seems to proclaim its rightful dominion over the wilderness. In the first encounter which M. Du Chaillu had with one of these monstrous animals, it advanced boldly to within a distance of six yards to prepare for its deadly spring. It reminded him, he says, of some infernal dream-like creature, half-man, half-beast, as pictured by the old masters in their representations of hell. However close the resemblance of the gorilla may be to man, we possess the satisfactory assurance of Professor Owen that it is distinguished by important differences which preclude the possibility of a 'development' of the human being from the brute. The formation and setting of the great toe are essentially different, converting the foot into a grasping hand. It possesses thirteen ribs, whereas man has but twelve; and the brain-case is not larger than an infant's, although the weight of the immense head is seven or eight times as great as that of the human skull. M. Du Chaillu has brought to England upwards of twenty specimens of the gorilla which he shot, and also other apes, two of them of new kinds—the Kooloo Kamba, so called from the two distinct notes which it utters, and the Nsiega Mbouve, remarkable for the nest or bower which it builds on high trees, with branches to shelter it from sun and rain. The collections brought over by M. Du Chaillu, and especially the perfect skeletons and skulls of these apes, may throw important light upon one of the great controversies of the day; and we hope that a collection so valuable

valuable and instructive, and containing so many new species of mammals and birds, may be obtained for our National Museum.

While Central and Western Africa have thus been largely explored, and the courses of several great rivers which pour their waters into the Gulf of Guinea have been determined, Eastern Africa has not been neglected. The explorations in this quarter, which resulted in the discovery of the two great lakes, the Tanganyika and the Nyanza, may be said to have commenced when Dr. Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, established himself at Rabba, near Mombas. Here he heard, from time to time, that there was in a part of the country to which the Arabs were in the habit of resorting a great inland sea, the dimensions of which were such that nobody could give any estimate either of its length or breadth. Their concurrent statements seemed to indicate a single sheet of water, extending from the equator down to 14° S. lat., which would form an inland sea, or African Caspian, of about 840 miles in length, with an assumed width of 200 or 300 miles. 'In fact,' says Major Burton, who does full justice to the single-minded men who prepared the way for his discoveries, 'from this great combination of testimony that water lay generally in a continuous line from the equator up to 14° S. lat., and from not being able to gain information of there being any terrestrial separations to this water, they naturally, and I may add fortunately, created that monster slug of an inland sea, which so much attracted the attention of the geographical world in 1855-56, and caused our being sent out to Africa.'

Dr. Krapf's explorations were carried on principally in the East African mountain district, the features of which are described as being eminently picturesque. The country appears to be an extension of the Abyssinian highlands, diversified with hills, streams, and glens, rich in tropical productions, and partially covered with deep impenetrable woods. In proceeding towards Usambara from Mombas, 'the higher we went,' says Mr. Rebmann, the fellow-labourer of Dr. Krapf, 'the more pleasant was the air. The cool water trickling from the granite rocks, the little hamlets rising above the mountain ridges, the many patches of Indian corn, rice, bananas, and sugar cane, the numerous cascades, the murmur of the Emgambo, the mountain masses in the distance, all tended greatly to elevate the spirits of the wanderer, and I felt at a short distance from the equator as if I was walking on the Jura Mountains in the Canton of Basle, so cool was the air and so beautiful the country.*' The characteristic of this

* Church Missionary Intelligencer, Sep. 1856.

portion of Eastern Africa seems to be an extensive plateau from which rises a series of isolated mountains and mountain groups.

The existence of mountains in Eastern Africa capped with perpetual snow has been keenly disputed. The alleged discovery by Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann of two great mountain masses rising into the region of perpetual congelation close to the equator, and presenting the sublime spectacle of isolated peaks with an elevation of at least 18,000 feet, shone upon by the tropical sun, excited, as soon as it was announced, an extraordinary interest. The President of the Royal Geographical Society cautiously intimated his doubts, and suggested that the matter which two simple-minded and unscientific gentlemen at a distance mistook for snow, might be white quartz rock or a crystalline dolomitic formation, which, glittering in the rays of a brilliant sun or shone upon by the moon, would present a somewhat similar appearance. Mr. Rebmann positively affirms that in his first journey to Jagga, in 1848, he saw distinctly for the first time the snowy peak of Mount Kilimandjaro. Dr. Krapf states that on the 10th of November, 1849, on his first journey to Ukambani, he also beheld it when thirty-six leagues from Mombas, and from several elevations 'the silver-crowned summit' of the lofty Kilimandjaro was plainly visible. He saw it again, he says, in 1851, when it was plainly discernible with the naked eye. Mr. Rebmann informs us that he slept at the foot of the mountain, and that by moonlight he could distinctly perceive snow. He conversed with many natives respecting the white matter upon the dome-like summit, and was told that the 'silver-like stuff' when brought down in bottles proved to be nothing but water. The second snow-capped mountain, which bears the name of Kegnia or Kenia, was seen by Dr. Krapf in December, 1849, when he observed 'two large horns or pillars' rising over an enormous mountain to the north-west of Kilimandjaro, covered, he says, with a white substance. One of the people of the village at which he rested informed him that his tribe resided near the 'white mountain;' that he himself had often been at the foot of it, but had not ascended it to any great altitude on account of the intense cold and the white matter which sometimes rolled down the mountain with a great noise. These facts, which the natives never could have invented or imagined, seem to us conclusive that the impressions of Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann were correct, and that vast mountains crowned with perpetual snow undoubtedly exist in Eastern Equatorial Africa. There is no reason why the existence of snow in those regions should be doubted when it is found under the equator in
America;

America; and Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann may, we think, justly claim the honour of having discovered the great snowy mountains Kilimandjaro and Kenia. When in Ukambani Dr. Krapf heard of the existence of a volcano in constant activity at some distance north-west of Kenia, probably forming a portion of the 'Mountains of the Moon.' A range of snowy peaks at the African equator, in volcanic action, would afford a striking parallel to the phenomena of Equatorial South America, and the Andes and the Mountains of the Moon would thus possess several points of resemblance. All doubt on these interesting questions will be speedily dissipated either by Captain Speke or by the Baron von Decken, a Hanoverian, who has recently sailed for Zanzibar for the purpose of fully exploring Kilimandjaro and its district.*

Dr. Krapf has collected a large amount of information relating to the forms of government and the state of society prevailing among the Eastern African nations. He is of opinion that these people were formerly in a much more settled and civilized condition. The ancient kingdom of Ethiopia may have extended, he thinks, as far as the equator, and even in its decline have afforded the neighbouring African rulers a model of government on which they formed their political institutions. The most intellectual and energetic of the native races of Eastern Africa are the Gallas, who occupy a country extending from the eighth degree of north to the third degree of south latitude, and number from six to eight millions—a population which few other African states possess. They thus fill a large space in Eastern Africa. They call themselves 'Oroma,' or strong and brave men, have a manly bearing, are powerfully built, but 'with savage features, made still more savage by their long hair, which is worn like a mane over the shoulders.' They are held in high estimation as slaves. The weapons of this warrior-race are a spear, a sword, and a shield; they are mounted on horses, and the women gallop by the side of their husbands in battle. They are industrious tillers of the soil. The climate of the country, abounding in mountains, is remarkably healthy, the average temperature, according to Dr. Krapf, being 56° Fahrenheit; the highest being 70°, and the lowest 46°. The Gallas occupy plains which are verdant throughout the year, and afford pasture for immense herds of cattle. Their villages and hamlets are placed 'in groves and woods, on heights, or on the sides of mountains and rivers,' and the land is abundantly provided with springs and brooks fed by tropical rains. This powerful nation possesses, in Dr. Krapf's opinion, a purer faith than any of the

* See Earl de Grey's Address to Royal Geographical Society for 1860.

heathen tribes of Eastern Africa. Throughout the whole of Eastern Africa, indeed, fetichism is unknown—a very remarkable peculiarity, which points to some previous instruction of the people in a religion which has preserved them from the grosser forms of Pagan idolatry. Dr. Krapf notes as some approximation to Jewish and Christian faiths, that many of the Galla tribes show great respect for Saturday and Sunday, on which days they do not work in the fields, terming Sunday 'Saubatta gudda,' or the greater sabbath, in contrast to the 'Saubatta kenna,' or the lesser sabbath. The territories now occupied by the Galla tribes are believed by Dr. Beke to have been once the possessions or dependencies of the Christian Emperors of Abyssinia, a fact which, if correct, would sufficiently account for the fragments of Christian truth which are found mixed up with their religious system. There are traces of the worship of the Virgin Mary in the veneration paid to Maremma, 'the mother of God'; and Balawald, the son of Maremma, is supposed to indicate our Saviour. The pantheon of the Gallas, however, possesses many deities; but Dábilos (the devil) is not one of them, his residence being in the desert, where he is believed to have 'come of himself,' without having been created. Siétan is a distinct person from Dábilos, and of a more malignant nature, being the author of death. His dwelling is 'underground.' The Gallas have neither churches nor priests.*

In strong contrast to this intelligent and comparatively advanced race are the two tribes, the Wakuafi and Masai. They occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, extending from two degrees north of the Equator to four degrees south. Nomads, and living entirely on milk, butter, honey, and black cattle, they have a great dislike to agriculture, believing that cereals enfeeble the frame, while meat and milk alone give courage and strength. In this they bear a remarkable resemblance to the Kaffirs, and in another peculiarity they possess a strong family likeness. When cattle fail them, they make raids on their neighbouring tribes. They are especially dreaded as warriors; but as they consider themselves the exclusive proprietors of the plains, they do not attack the inhabitants of the mountains, if the latter do not descend and attempt to cultivate the level country. These tribes constitute republics, with elective chiefs, and the orders and ranks in society are well defined. Like the Kaffirs they have many wives, and purchase them with cattle.†

* See an interesting article on 'Christianity among the Gallas,' by Dr. Beke in the *British Magazine* for December, 1847.

† See *Quarterly Review*, No. 215, p. 188.

They are immoderately fond of tobacco, as well as of beads, and use copper-wire for rings and armlets. There is another peculiarity in which they further resemble their South African brethren: they do not make slaves of their prisoners, neither do they traffic in slaves. Their deity (Engai) resides on a lofty mountain, the Olympus of Eastern Africa, 'whence come the water and the rain to fertilize their fields and refresh their flocks and herds.' There is in their theology a mediator between themselves and Engai, and it is to this mediator that they first address themselves to gain the favour of the great being who dwells on the 'mountain of whiteness.' Human sacrifices are not unknown in a portion of the country bordering on Abyssinia. In Senjero the slave-dealers throw a beautiful female into the lake Umo when they leave the country with their human merchandise; and a remarkable custom prevails of families offering up their first-born sons as sacrifices, because once, 'when winter and summer were jumbled together in a bad season,' and the fruits of the earth would not ripen, the priests enjoined it to propitiate the offended deity. The superstitions of Africa are always most freely indulged during periods of calamity. Dr. Krapf was himself in great danger of being sacrificed because he was suspected of being the cause of a long-continued drought; but as soon as the refreshing showers began to fall, the people were equally eager to deify him for his supposed interposition on their behalf.

The missionary prospects in this part of Africa appear to be far from encouraging. The king of Shoa, from whom Dr. Krapf met with a very honourable reception, having promised him six boys for the purpose of being educated in the Christian faith, afterwards receded from his engagement, declaring that he did not need spiritual teachers so much as doctors, masons, and smiths. We are glad to find so zealous a missionary as Dr. Krapf admitting that Christianity must be presented to these tribes, at once sensual, ignorant, and superstitious, not merely in the form of dogmatic teaching and exhortation, but realized and exemplified in family life. Christianity in Africa must spring out of civilization, not civilization out of Christianity.

The discoveries of Major Burton and Captain Speke in the interior of Africa are among the most important accessions to geographical knowledge which have been made during the present century. They have confirmed in a striking manner the anticipations of science, and have invested a long-neglected continent with fresh interest and attraction. The existence of great lakes in the interior was often asserted by the natives of the eastern coast, and the slave merchants of Mozambique, as early as the middle

middle of the last century, informed Mr. Salt that seven months' journey from Mozambique a great lake of fresh water was to be seen; and that a few days' journey from Quiloa, or Kiloa in modern maps, another great lake existed which was spoken of as a fresh-water sea.* The second of these lakes is undoubtedly the Nyassi, ten days' journey from Kiloa; the first, either the great lake Tanganyika, or the Nyanza, but probably the former, which the Portuguese historian De Barros describes, from report, as a sea of considerable magnitude, containing an island capable of sending forth an army of 30,000 men. These statements were long discredited by European geographers, and they were regarded merely as travellers' tales.

It was reserved for two British officers, animated by the love of adventure and by the desire of extending the boundaries of geographical knowledge, and supported by the liberal aid of one of the most eminent of our scientific associations, to withdraw the veil of mystery from the Lake regions of Africa. Major Burton and his companion, Captain Speke, quitted Zanzibar in June, 1857, and after a journey of nearly eight months through a country of which the rank and luxuriant vegetation often teemed with miasma, and after having overcome moral and physical obstacles of no ordinary kind, they reached the great lake, which was the first object of their expedition. 'What is that streak of light?' said Major Burton to one of his followers, while reposing, after a fatiguing march, on a hill summit. 'I am of opinion that it is the water,' was the reply. Advancing a few yards, the lake burst suddenly upon his view, filling him, he says, with wonder, admiration, and delight.

At the town of Ujiji, the port of the lake, Major Burton fixed his quarters, and found it the ivory depôt of the district, and furnished with a tolerable market for the produce of the neighbouring country. The direct longitudinal distance of Ujiji from the coast, Major Burton estimates at 540 geographical miles, which the sinuosities of the road prolong to 950 statute miles. The route, broken into short stages with necessary rests, occupied 150 days. Ujiji was first visited by the Arabs in 1840, and their factors navigated the lake for the purpose of collecting slaves and ivory from the tribes resident on its shores. Major Burton found the bazaar supplied with sugar-cane, tobacco, and cotton, and with an abundance of coarse native grain (holcus) grown in the district. Herds of elephants wander in the bamboo jungles which surround the great inland sea; but the piles of

* Malte Brun, vol. iv., p. 412.

ivory seen in the market of Ujiji were said to have been collected from an area of some thousands of square miles.

Major Burton gives an unfavourable report of the tribes resident in this region of Africa. Intoxication, the effect of 'palm-toddy,' is a prevalent vice, and it has produced a general demoralization. The principal tribe he describes as 'a burly race of barbarians, with harsh and strident voices, and with manners independent even to insolence;' and the women, he says, often exceed their masters in rudeness and violence. These people do not, however, appear to be dangerous to travellers.

The Tanganyika was navigated by Major Burton to within a few hours' voyage of its northern extremity; but he was provokingly prevented, by the impracticability of a chief, from proceeding to explore it. He learnt, however, from intelligent natives, who were well acquainted with the upper reach of the lake, that a river *enters* the Tanganyika in that direction. If this information should be correct, which there is no reason to doubt, the notion of connexion of this lake with the Nile is, of course, dispelled. Major Burton and his companion were also prevented from reaching the southern end of the lake. But it is the hard fortune of an African traveller to be often suddenly stopped in the career of discovery by obstacles which no courage can surmount.

The great inland sea Tanganyika was never before visited by an European. The sides of its basin rise to a height of 2000 or 3000 feet above the water-level. The lower slopes are described as beautifully wooded. The direction of the lake is due north and south, and its shape a long oval. Its total length has been roughly computed at 250 rectilinear geographical miles, and its breadth at from 30 to 35 miles. Its waters are sweet and pure; its colour is sometimes a soft clear blue, sometimes a dull sea-green, but rarely, as far as Major Burton's observation extended, 'deep and dark, like the ultramarine of the Mediterranean,' and, 'under a strong wind, the waves foam up from a turbid greenish surface, and its aspect becomes menacing in the extreme.' Soundings could not be taken, but the Arabs declared that with lines of several fathoms' length they found bottom only near the shore. Land and sea breezes are as regular as on the shore of the Indian Ocean. 'A careful investigation,' Major Burton states, 'leads to the belief that the Tanganyika receives and absorbs the whole river-system—the network of streams, nullahs, and torrents—of that portion of the central African depression whose water-shed converges towards the great reservoir.' But geographers doubt whether such a mass of water,

situated at so considerable an altitude, can maintain its level unchanged without an effluent; and we accordingly find the noble President of the Royal Geographical Society questioning the correctness of Major Burton's conclusions. He characterizes it as a strange hydrological puzzle if a lake, situated in the damp regions of the Equator, subject to a rainy season that lasts eight months, and supplied by considerable rivers, should have no outlet whatever. Captain Speke places the Tanganyika, by barometrical measurement, at 1844 feet above the level of the sea, and Dr. Livingstone places the Shirwa, contiguous to the Nyassa, at 2000 feet: if these measurements are correct there can of course be no connexion between them. But the accuracy of the measurement may, Earl de Grey says, fairly be doubted. Previous verifications had shown an occasional amount of variation in the barometer of Captain Speke; and as an error of 1° represents an altitude of 535 feet, it is quite possible that the Tanganyika may be really on a slightly higher level than the more southern lakes. The Nyassa was found by Dr. Livingstone to be the exit of a fine river, the Shiré; and as the Shirwa is only separated from the Nyassa by a spit of sandy soil, it is far from improbable that they may be occasionally united, and a connexion may be established through a chain of minor lakes between the Nyassa and the great Tanganyika, and therefore between the Tanganyika and the ocean.*

The honour of having been the first European who reached the great lake Nyanza is due to Captain Speke. While his companion was prostrated by illness at Kazeh, in the Unyambezi district, Captain Speke arranged a separate expedition to proceed to the north to explore the lake known to exist in that direction, and to enable him to reach which the Arab merchants had given him clear instructions. After a journey of sixteen days, through a country presenting no serious difficulties, and inhabited by a friendly population, Captain Speke attained the object of his hopes, and stood on the banks of that enormous inland sea to which he has given the proud name of the Victoria Nyanza. This lake, of which the extent is at present utterly unknown, is, according to barometrical measurement, 3750 feet above the sea-level; its waters are fresh and clear, and it appeared to Captain Speke, from the nature and configuration of its shores, to be the receptacle of the surplus rainfall of the centre of the African continent. It does not lie in a deep hollow, like the Tanganyika, but, as far as his observation extended,

* President's Address, 1860.

spreads over a comparatively flat country, and its surface-level must be subject to considerable variations. What he at first believed to be two considerable islands at its southern extremity proved to be promontories connected by low spits of land with the neighbouring country, but occasionally converted into islands by floods. The extent of the Victoria Nyanza is at present only a subject of conjecture. It probably reaches far beyond the equator; but no person could give Captain Speke any reliable information on that point. He was told that it extended 'to the end of the world;' and one of the wives of the sultan whose territories form a portion of its southern shore, and whose native place was far up the lake, informed Captain Speke that she had never heard of there being *any* end to the lake, and that if any way existed of going round it she would certainly have known it. Its very great extension in a northerly direction must necessarily be inferred from these native statements.

At its southern extremity, which constitutes a tortuous creek in which were numerous small rocky islands clothed with brushwood, the observed latitude of the lake was $2^{\circ} 24' S$. The mean temperature of the elevated region on its banks during August, the hottest month of the year, Captain Speke found to be only 80° . Bordering on the lake, to the south-east, is an extensive iron-field which the natives work with success, making in large quantities the hoes which are used in African agriculture, and which are articles of considerable export from the manufacturing district of the Victoria Nyanza. Tropical produce in great variety, including rice, is raised on the rich soil of the southern bank, and to the east ivory is said to be abundant and cheap. The Karuqwa hills, overlooking the lake, are said to be cool and healthy, and to support herds of cattle with horns of stupendous size. All the necessities of life are to be procured in abundance. Of the country beyond the equator Captain Speke states, that 'rapturous' accounts were given him by the ivory traders, and it was represented as supporting a dense population who cultivate coffee and possess large flocks and herds.

Public attention is at the present time very much directed to this interesting portion of Central Africa, and we await with impatience the further discoveries which, should success attend his present expedition, Captain Speke cannot fail to make. These great lakes, which are placed in the very centre of the continent and have excited the wonder of Europe, are doubtless destined to figure conspicuously in the future of civilized Africa. It is possible that a connection may be found between the Victoria Nyanza and the Nile, the slope of the continent from the equator being undeniably towards the north. Engineering

science and steam may overcome any obstacles,* and vessels of light burthen may, perhaps at no distant day, pass from the Mediterranean to the very centre of Africa, and the flags of all nations float on the Victoria Nyanza.

The region yet unsurveyed in which the source of the Nile must lie is now so circumscribed that there is every reason to expect a speedy solution of the great geographical problem which has maintained its interest for more than 2000 years. To the combined efforts of Captain Speke and Her Majesty's Consul for Sudán, Mr. Petherick, we may hopefully and confidently look for this result. Mr. Petherick, during a residence of fifteen years on the Upper Nile, has at various periods penetrated farther into the interior of that portion of Africa than any other traveller. The farthest point on the White Nile reached, until recently, was Gondokoro, in about $4^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. and $31^{\circ} 50'$ E. long., nearly 1400 miles above Khartum and more than 3000 from Alexandria. Mr. Petherick was the first European who attempted to ascend the Bahr-el-Gazal or southwestern branch of the Nile, but he was prevented from landing on its banks by the hostile attitude of the people. In the year 1854, however, he succeeded in landing and forcing his way into the country. Since that period he advanced his posts farther and farther, until he arrived at a place called Mundo, among tribes suspected of cannibalism, and situate at, or very near the equator.

Captain Speke alludes to a range of mountains in Eastern Africa running north and south across the equator; and since one of the watersheds of the mountainous districts visited by Dr. Krapf is towards the west, it is highly probable that the streams descending from Mount Kenia may find their way into the Victoria Nyanza. Dr. Krapf was informed that there are more than fifteen rivers running west and north from Kenia, one being, he was told, very large, and flowing in a northerly direction into a great lake on the banks of which a traveller might proceed for a hundred days without reaching its extremity. It is impossible to doubt that the lake thus indicated is the Nyanza.

A little above the point where the Sobat joins the Nile the principal stream expands into a series of lakes, more or less connected at different seasons of the year, and known as the Bahr-el-Gazal, or the Sea of the Gazelles. Mr. Petherick describes this

* Such is the opinion of Mr. Petherick. He mentions the existence of rapids in the White Nile in $3^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., but he thinks they would be no obstruction to steam power. The cataracts, or, as they may be more correctly termed, rapids of the Lower Nile might doubtless be surmounted by the same means, or avoided, as in the St. Lawrence, by canals.

sheet of water as 180 miles in length, overgrown with reeds and lilies and full of hippopotami, and fed by many rivulets as well as by a large river running from the south-west, but covered with weeds. The depth and magnitude of the Nile, as well as of many large tributaries at the latitudes reached by Mr. Petherick, promise important results when this district shall be more fully explored. The Sobat, the first great tributary of the White Nile, drains a large extent of country to the east, and has been navigated for a distance of 200 miles. At its junction with the Nile it is 100 yards wide, and on the 2nd of December, while under the influence of the inundation, it was 30 feet deep. Its course is described as tortuous, with high banks. The channel of the lake Bahr-el-Gazal Mr. Petherick found to be 20 feet deep, with a sluggish stream of a quarter of a mile per hour. The interest of this traveller's recent contribution to geographical knowledge consists not only in his voyages up the White Nile, but in several remarkable journeys from its banks into countries previously altogether unexplored. He had some severe conflicts with the natives, and the manner in which he extricated himself more than once from very embarrassing situations proves him to be possessed of all the qualifications requisite for a successful explorer. Mr. Petherick's last expedition was from the extreme end of the Bahr-el-Gazal in a southerly direction inland, and in twenty-six days he reached the country of the Nyam-Nyam tribe, reputed to be cannibals. These people have discovered the use of that remarkable projectile the boomerang, supposed to be confined to the natives of Australia; but the African savage constructs it of iron and gives it a sharp cutting edge, and in the hands of a muscular race it must be a weapon of terrible power. That the Bahr-el-Gazal is connected with the Victoria Nyanza Captain Speke considers highly probable, for in the place where Mr. Petherick crossed the latter piece of water, in 4° N. lat., it had its head directed to the south-east. The geographical problem is one of great interest, and the discovery of another great practicable highway into the very centre of Africa would be one of the triumphs of the age. It is to settle finally, if possible, a question now reduced to very narrow limits that Captain Speke has been empowered to proceed, in company with Captain Grant, to the field of his former explorations. He has been instructed to make the best of his way to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, and from thence to explore it to its northern extremity, and especially to ascertain whether it has a northern outlet. He is then to proceed to Gondokoro, where Mr. Petherick, proceeding up the White Nile, hopes to meet him in November next.

The

The discoveries of Dr. Livingstone in the south of Africa are too well known to need more than a very cursory notice. In the year 1849 he reached, in company with Messrs. Oswell and Murray, the lake Ngami, in $20^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat. and $23^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. From this lake he found a considerable river, the Zouga, flowing towards the east and south-east for a distance of 300 miles, but, like many other African rivers, it had no outlet, but was lost in a desert of sand. On returning to the examination of the district in the following year, and crossing the Zouga to the northward, he discovered the Chobe, a fine navigable river, in $18^{\circ} 23'$ S. lat. and 26° E. long., having penetrated the country to a distance of 2000 miles from Cape Town. The name of Livingstone will always be associated with that of the great Zambezi, the upper course of which he was the first to discover. It was in June, 1851, that Dr. Livingstone first saw the great stream—the future highway for the commerce of South Africa—at a spot marked by Portuguese geographers in their maps as an arid desert. He found it at Seheske, rolling its volume of deep flowing waters towards the east, and varying in breadth from 300 to 600 yards. At the period of its annual inundation it rises twenty feet, and floods fifteen or twenty miles of the adjacent country. The Zambezi, or Leeambye, denotes, in the native language, the river *par excellence*, and signifies the fact of its being the great drainage artery of the country. The river, in its natural channel, is of great breadth, often a mile, and is broken by numerous islands, some of which are covered with timber. A portion of the course of the Zambezi is composed of a succession of rapids or cataracts, which oppose a barrier to its continuous navigation. The rapids do not exist when the water is high; but some of the cataracts must always be attended with considerable difficulty and danger in their descent, if they are not altogether impassable, their fall averaging from four to six feet. At one portion of Dr. Livingstone's route, it was necessary to take the canoes out of the water, and carry them a mile over land, the fall within that distance being thirty feet. The Barotse valley Dr. Livingstone estimated as a hundred miles in breadth, and it bears a considerable resemblance to the valley of the Nile, since it is inundated annually by the rise of the Leeambye exactly as Lower Egypt is flooded by the Nile. The inhabitants of this fertile district raise two crops of corn in a year, and the saying is common in the country, 'here hunger is not known.' One kind of grass grows to the height of twelve feet; but when the waters recede they leave behind them masses of decayed vegetation which produce malaria pernicious to the native

native constitution, and engender a fever that would be almost certainly fatal to Europeans.

The Zambezi offers no serious obstruction to navigation below Tete, a distance of more than 300 miles from its embouchure; and steamers of light draught might ply on it with success. It is the largest river that enters the ocean on the eastern coast of Africa. So great is the volume of its waters and the rush of its floods from its seven mouths, that at a distance of ten miles from land the sea was found by Captain Owen perfectly fresh. Above the rapids the country, although abounding in various productions, does not, Dr. Livingstone thinks, present an immediate field for commercial enterprise. On the Leeba, a tributary of the Zambezi, the people have a strong commercial spirit and are enterprising merchants, bringing Manchester goods into the very heart of Africa from Loanda. To the Africans, Dr. Livingstone says, our cotton-mills are fairy dreams; and their productions look so wonderful that they cannot believe them to be the work of mortal hands. 'How can irons,' say these people, 'spin and weave and print so beautifully?' and an attempt to explain the manufacture was followed by the exclamation, 'Truly ye are gods!'

The services which Dr. Livingstone has rendered to civilization consist in his having traced the course of a great stream, the existence of which throughout any very extensive district was unknown, and in having opened a large and most interesting portion of South-Eastern Africa. No one can have perused the narrative of this remarkable man's travels without being impressed with his noble character. Heroism and humility are admirably blended in his nature; and he relates acts of courage and self-devotion without any consciousness of merit, or the faintest approach to obtrusive egotism. He will now pursue, in the double character of a consular representative of the British Government and a minister of the Gospel, and with the advantage of enjoying the goodwill of the natives, the career so successfully commenced. In his own little 'Pioneer' he will stem the waters of the great Zambezi, making the British name and character known to millions, scattering the seed of a future commercial, moral, and religious harvest.

If Africa is distinguished more than any other quarter of the globe for its physical, ethnological, and moral peculiarities, it is equally remarkable for its political diversities. Almost every form into which human society can be thrown may be there found in its simplicity. Monarchy seems to be the primitive type of government among the negro tribes. The King of Dahomey is the most absolute sovereign in the world. Royalty modified by aristocracy

aristocracy prevails in the Arab political organization, and the rule of the great chief of Sakatu, with his numerous dependent sultans, may not inaptly be compared to that of the head of the old Germanic Empire. In the district of Eastern Africa republics and democracies abound. In Northern Africa the Arab element predominates. The colonising tribes carried the standard of Mahomet into almost the centre of the continent, and the Arab and the Negro blood were freely intermixed. The original religion of nearly all the African tribes was, Dr. Barth thinks, a worship of the elements, of the sun and moon, and of the souls of their ancestors—a superstition common at the present day, it is believed, to almost all the African races. But if the opinion of the same distinguished traveller is correct, the forms of worship which now prevail are much more savage and grotesque than they were at a former period, the religious rites of the interior being, however, far purer than those near the coast.* We learn from a distinguished African geographer that when the Portuguese discovered and took possession of the western coast they found a Negro king who had not only extended his conquests from the centre of Hausa to the border of the Atlantic, and from the Pagan countries of Mosé, in 12° N. latitude, as far as Morocco, but governed his subjects with justice, and adopted such of the customs of Mahommedanism as he thought conducive to civilization.†

Europe, we fear, is chargeable with the change in the character of the negro governments which history thus seems to indicate has taken place in Africa. The negro races are naturally as full of the feelings of humanity, their family affections are as strong, and their sense of justice is as correct, as those of any other people or race; and in the few regions to which the slave-trade has not yet extended these virtues flourish. It is the man-traffic which has perverted the natural instincts, raised the arm of the native against his brother, converted rulers into the tyrants and kidnappers of their species, and made two-thirds of a vast continent one great market of human flesh and blood. This atrocious commerce has tainted the very sources of civilization, and forbids, while it lasts, all hope or possibility of improvement. The King of Dahomey's butcheries are still practised with impunity, and meet even with the approbation of the people.‡ The pride of some of these petty lords of Africa is equal

* See Dr. Barth's Paper, 'A General Historical Description of the State of Human Society in Northern Central Africa,' in the last volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

† See Cooley's 'Negroland of the Arabs.'

‡ The 'West African Herald' published, only in February last, statements from eye-

equal to their ferocity. They regard themselves as superior beings, proclaim their dominion over the elements, and demand divine honours as their due. They sell their ministers in fits of caprice, and bury their relations alive. The latest of our African travellers testifies to the continued prevalence of savage customs over the whole field of his late explorations. The King of Uganda's palace, a mile in length, is often burned down by lightning, and on such occasions the warriors are obliged to assemble and endeavour to extinguish the fire by rolling over the flames. There are two wants with which this sovereign always troubled his visitors: one, a medicine against death; the other, a charm to avert the thunderbolt. This chief fell in battle, pierced by an arrow, when riding on the shoulders of his prime minister. The Arab governments in Africa are free from most of the revolting usages of the negro dynasties. The foreign slave-trade, however, is their chief support. The only mode in which Dr. Barth could carry on his explorations to the south of Kuka was by joining two Mahomedan expeditions, of ten thousand men each, for the avowed purpose of capturing and selling into slavery unoffending tribes.

Changes of government are frequent in Africa, and out of a number of small hereditary sultans, each master of his separate province, one, either by intrigue or by conquest, attains supreme power. From the 20th degree of north latitude almost to the Cape frontier are tribes which are commonly classed as Ethiopic, although many are undoubtedly of mixed races. The most influential people in Africa are the Felatahs or Foulahs, supposed to be of Carthaginian origin, but probably descended from the Arabs who invaded Africa in the seventh century and mingled with the negro race. Throughout the whole of Negroland the Foulahs maintain a paramount influence. They are found, according to the authority of Mr. Hodgson, spread over a vast geographical region, extending from the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia on the west to the kingdoms of Bornu and Mandara on the east—a superficies containing more than 700,000 square miles, equal to a fourth part of Europe, and embracing a tenth of the African continent.* The supreme

eye-witnesses of the barbaric custom then recently perpetrated in Dahomey. In this fearful narrative we learn that the late sacrifice was one of the most revolting which had ever taken place. The number of persons slain on the occasion was estimated at 2000; but another correspondent gives the number as 7000. He states that he was present by compulsion, and that the blood swept past him like a flood into a large reservoir. Another correspondent, referring to these inhuman butcheries, says, 'I assure you it made me quite sick, and at the same time I felt stunned.' The victims are said to have met their death with perfect indifference.

* Notes on Northern Africa. By W. B. Hodgson. New York.

sultan can bring into the field a force of 10,000 horse, and the contingents of his tributary sultans much exceed that number. There are a few isolated Negro nations governed by native African kings, who live in secluded state, and disdain to visit even the wealthiest of the Arabs; and these native princes sometimes display a certain dignity of demeanour which indicates a mixture of foreign blood.* In the regions of Central Africa there is the greatest diversity of nations. In some the kingdom is hereditary, in others elective; but where the principle of hereditary succession prevails, the sister's son succeeds to the throne. Malte Brun mentions a singular institution of one of the negro states, which may be thought by some to provide as effectual a security for good government as a constitution. A council of grandees has the power of deposing the sovereign and putting him to death, and one of the regal relatives holds the office of royal executioner, his duty being to carry the judicial sentence into effect. It is a place of the highest distinction, and the individual who holds it is said to live on terms of perfect cordiality with the prince to whom he stands in so peculiar a relation.†

European articles sometimes find at the African courts a use for which they were never designed. Dr. Krapf, who had presented a hospitable chief of Eastern Africa with a silver fork, saw it on the following day stuck in the woolly hair of his host, where it was proudly worn as a distinguished ornament during the remainder of his stay.

Travelling in Africa is attended with many hardships. The slowness of the rate of progress is not the least of the trials which an explorer has to bear. The *impedimenta* of the march are necessarily great. Bags of beads, rolls of brass wire, bales of cloth, supplies of food, tent equipages, cooking utensils, boxes for clothing, and cases for the more costly presents, require a large amount of carriage, consisting either of camels and horses or of the sturdy porters of the country. Major Burton, to give an idea of the relative cost of travelling, states the expenditure in Eastern Africa at half-a-crown per mile, while in most parts of Europe it does not now exceed one penny. The roads are a mere track which a party must traverse in single file, and it is soon overgrown by almost impenetrable brushwood. This mode of travelling differs materially from that of Northern or Central Africa, where the camel and the horse are employed. There is one source of expense common to the whole of Africa,

* Burton's *Lake Districts of Central Africa*, vol. ii., p. 362.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv., p. 122.

namely, the kuhonga, or blackmail, which is extorted from all travellers by chiefs of every rank. It forms a considerable portion of their revenues, and is a recognition of their territorial rights. If any hesitation about the payment is made, the first question put to an objector will be, 'Is this your ground or mine?' The chiefs have no conception of a right of free passage through their dominions. Dr. Livingstone found the custom universal in his journey between the Zambezi and Loanda, and he was repeatedly called upon to pay the transit duty, and was told that he might do it either with a bullock or a man.

The moral and political degradation of Africa is a subject of mournful interest. A modern geographer* estimates the population at 150,000,000, of which three-fourths are in a state of slavery, and the other fourth constitutes a despotic governing power under which it is morally impossible that the people can make any important progress in civilization. Domestic slavery is interwoven with the state of society, and a complete moral revolution must take place before it can be abolished; but the foreign slave traffic constitutes the gigantic evil of Africa, and throughout vast regions man has no property but slaves, and no articles of merchandise but his fellow creatures. The sultans regard their people simply as a herd of cattle. The almost normal state of war which exists in Central Africa is maintained solely for the purpose of supplying foreign markets with the human commodity, and every crime is punished by a forfeiture of liberty and the immediate transfer of the offender to the slave-dealer. Accusations of witchcraft or adultery are always ready when more serious offences are wanting, and the population of a whole village is sometimes suddenly carried off in satisfaction of a debt. The effect of this commerce upon the African character is apparent to all who have penetrated into the interior. Dr. Livingstone states that he had never known an instance of a parent selling his own offspring, but Captain Speke says that, on the shores of the Tanganyika Lake, the women, for the consideration of a few loin cloths, readily parted with their little children and delivered them into perpetual bondage to his Belooch soldiers; and in Eastern Africa, Major Burton informs us that, in times of necessity, a man will sacrifice his parents, wives, and children, and even sell himself without shame.† It was stated long ago by an unexceptionable witness that mothers were frequently to be seen on the western coast selling their children for a few bushels of rice; but a stout African once took his little

* Mr. Macqueen.

† Burton's *Lake Regions*, vol. ii., p. 367.

son to sell him to a European: the lad, however, well acquainted with the language of the foreigner, cunningly suggested that a man of the size and strength of his father must be of far more value than himself, and thus induced the slave-dealer to take his father in his stead, notwithstanding the vociferous protestations of the man that in Africa a son had no right to sell his own parent.*

This dark blot on the continent of Africa can only be effaced by proving to the sultans and chiefs how much more profitable it will be to employ their people in developing the natural riches of the soil and raising produce for which there will be a European demand, than to export them as the staple commodity of the country. Commerce must be the great regenerator of Africa. The Arab governors are unanimous in their desire for an increased intercourse with Europe, although they are perfectly aware that the slave-trade, in which they are deeply financially interested, cannot long survive a closer commercial relation with England. They doubtless feel that their revenues will greatly increase with the extension of legitimate trade, and that their position in the country will become more secure. With the cessation of the foreign slave-trade an era of real progress will commence. Native merchants admit this, and declare their conviction that the country is capable of producing, in almost unlimited quantity, every commodity that Europe can desire from it. The greatest eagerness is shown to possess European productions; and recent travellers have been everywhere questioned as to the probability of a regular market being opened for English goods. An intensely commercial spirit pervades almost the whole of Africa. Sailing close in shore on a coasting voyage, south of the river Fernand Vaz, M. Du Chaillu was hailed by canoes full of negroes begging him to establish factories in their villages, and in some places he saw, from the sea, the large house already built, as he was told, for the *future* factory 'which was to make everybody rich.' It is satisfactory in the mean time to find a recognition in many quarters of the truth that commerce in Africa must be the pioneer of Christianity. Dr. Livingstone has given expression to a sentiment which, emanating from so zealous a minister of the Gospel, ought to be accepted as a maxim in our future dealings with heathen populations—'No permanent elevation of a people,' he emphatically declares, 'can be effected without commerce.' We cannot but regard the commercial intercourse of nations as one of the appointed means of bringing them all into a closer union

* Travels in Africa by Mollien, quoted by Malte Brun.

with each other, and of inculcating those great doctrinal and moral truths, without whose reception and influence civilization, however splendid, is little better than a polished barbarism.

The difficulties of imparting civilization to Africa are nevertheless exceedingly great. The idiosyncrasy of the negro race is peculiar. Indolence has long been the habit, and enjoyment the business, of their lives. The higher instincts of their nature have not been developed, and they have existed for ages under conditions entirely incompatible with human progress. There is doubtless some deficiency of energy in their original constitution. They have never shown themselves skilful in the hunt; they have not subdued to their use any of the nobler animals; and they are not addicted to riding except on the backs of their brother men. There was not in the time of Lopez, a Portuguese traveller in the eighteenth century, a single horse to be found throughout the whole of Congo. The mule and the ass are equally objects of disfavour, no true negro having ever dared to mount either the one or the other.* They are expert, however, in swimming and diving, and will face with resolution a stormy sea. Many of the arts are, nevertheless, carried on by the black population of Africa, and have been brought to considerable perfection. They show much skill in working in iron and gold; and in Kano, Timbuctoo, and Bornu they make swords, axes, knives, gold ornaments, and other articles. They have little taste for any but the coarsest food. They feed daintily upon the hippopotamus, and disdain not the flesh of the crocodile; the wolf is far from being unacceptable, but their greatest luxury is roasted dog; the elephant often supplies the *pièce de résistance* at a negro feast; the boa constrictor is laid under contribution for his fat; slugs as large as the human arm are served up as delicacies, and grasshoppers, beetles, and bees are esteemed as minor relishes. An African epicure, on hearing a description of the European *cuisine*, replied, 'Ah! all very good; but you are not acquainted in England with the delicacy of white ants!'

That there is no inherent incapacity for civilization in the negro nature has been proved by the success of the free colony of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, where the African has, under favourable circumstances, imitated with success the policy, the arts, and even the institutions, of Europe. 'The progress of this coloured settlement,' to quote from an excellent little essay on the African kingdoms and peoples,† 'during the last forty years has hardly been surpassed by anything

* Malte Brun states this.

† Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

recorded in the history of civilization; and it may therefore be said with truth that the negro has given the lie to the assertion of the ethnological sciolists, who, presuming on his alleged natural inferiority, declared him incapable of taking care of himself. He *has* taken care of himself—has provided by acts of courage and self-denial for the growth of his prosperity, for the education of his children, and for his instruction in the truths of Christianity; and in so doing has for ever solved and settled the question as to his capacity for self-government.

On the important subject of African commerce our remarks must be necessarily brief. It is a startling fact that the whole existing commerce of the vast continent does not exceed that carried on by Hamburg alone.* The total exports from Africa at the present time are estimated at little more than 20,000,000*l.*, and the total imports at about 17,000,000*l.* Assuming the population to be 150 millions, the exports of the country would average 2*s.* 8*d.* per head, whereas from Great Britain they amount to 86*s.*, the United States to 54*s.*, France to 41*s.*, and Russia to 7*s.*; but when the exports of North Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, and the African islands are deducted, the amount for the remainder of Africa is reduced to only 9*d.* per head. And yet this continent abounds in natural wealth. It possesses a population able and, with due encouragement, willing to develop the agricultural capabilities of a soil which, over enormous areas, although of superabundant fertility, is as much neglected as the sands of the Sahara. The commercial classes are anxious to barter the produce of their country for the highly-prized and universally coveted commodities of Europe. Vegetable oils, cotton, coffee, tobacco, sugar, indigo, ivory, hides, timber, gums, and wax, might be produced in unlimited quantities, and are sure of commanding remunerative prices in Europe. Of one of the most important of the productions of Africa, namely, palm-oil, 40,000 tons are imported annually into Great Britain. The trade of England with Africa greatly exceeds that of any other nation; and if the great channels of communication are opened, it may be increased to an indefinite extent. The Niger, the Zambezi, and possibly the Nile, will doubtless, at no distant day, form the great highways into the interior, and millions of square miles will thus become accessible to European enterprise and afford an invaluable market for British commodities. The caravan routes through the desert are, as Dr. Barth has shown, too expensive and dangerous, and the quantity of goods thus exported and imported has of late sensibly decreased.† ‘But from whatever

* Appendix to the Travels of Dr. Krapf on the Commerce of Africa.

† Paper on Northern and Central Africa.

quarter,' says this experienced traveller, 'Europeans may endeavour to open intercourse and regular and legitimate trade with these nations, the first requisite seems to be the strictest justice and the most straightforward conduct, for almost all the natives of the interior of Africa are traders by disposition, and at least want to barter for beads in order to adorn their own persons and those of their women.' This demand for beads is one of the characteristics of the present stage of African civilization, and will give way, we trust, speedily to the desire for more rational and useful importations. They constitute the trinkets and jewellery of Africa, and since the day that Vasco de Gama first visited the eastern coast thousands of tons have been poured into the interior without glutting the market or diminishing the steady demand. The natives rejected the gold and silver ornaments that were offered them by their first visitors, but grasped eagerly at baubles which had no intrinsic worth. Children then, the natives of Africa are children still. A string of bright scarlet porcelain beads excites the same tumultuous delight in Central Africa that a new diamond necklace does in more civilized regions. The passion is common to all classes and to both sexes. There are at least four hundred varieties of beads manufactured for Africa, each of which has its peculiar name, value, and local demand.

The uncertainty of a continued supply of cotton from America has recently been the subject of grave apprehension and of anxious inquiry. Its extensive production in Africa would give an immense impetus to the civilization of the continent. There land is cheap, the soil good, and free labour abundant. Cotton is indigenous in the fertile regions both of Eastern and Western Africa. In the country between Zanzibar and the Tanganyika Lake, according to Major Burton, the shrub grows wild, and the virgin soils of large districts are peculiarly adapted for its cultivation. In a letter which this distinguished explorer recently addressed to a public journal, he enters fully into the capacity of Eastern Africa to supply any demand for cotton that could be made upon it, and particularly specifies the territory lying to the north of Mozambique as far as the equator, and extending eastward from the Indian Ocean to the Ghauts or meridional range of mountains. Throughout the whole of this area the climate is hot and damp, the soil rich, and there is an industrious negro population. He describes the land a few miles from the sea as the property of independent tribes who are settled agriculturists, and the country as traversed by rivers navigable for large canoes, so that the transport would present few difficulties.* Turning to the western coast of Africa,

* Letter to the 'Times,' January 30, 1861.

we find proofs of success in the cultivation of cotton as satisfactory as the most earnest friend of Africa could desire ; and, inasmuch as the distance from England to the west coast is considerably less than to Eastern Africa (a sailing-ship from Liverpool reaching the coast of Guinea in fifty days, while it takes ninety to get to Zanzibar), the former, if it should be possessed of equal advantages in soil, climate, and population, will doubtless be first tried. To those specially interested in this subject we recommend the consideration of a statement recently published by Mr. Buxton, that a promising commencement had already been made in producing cotton on the western coast. Mr. Clegg, a mill-owner of Manchester, encouraged by the success of a philanthropic experiment, sent out several hundred gins to Abeekouta, where they were eagerly purchased by the natives, who thus acquired the art of cleaning their own cotton ; and four influential chiefs soon afterwards ordered from England, and paid for, the hydraulic presses which were necessary to prepare the cotton for exportation. It is vain, however, to suppose that without far better security for life and property than generally prevails cultivation can be steadily carried on.

The treatment which Africa has experienced from nations the most advanced in civilization is faithfully recorded in the pages of their history, and its consequences are but too visible in the moral aspect of the great continent itself. The slave-trade is still the gigantic wrong of Africa. Neither treaties, nor denunciations, nor blockading squadrons have been able to suppress it. By a just retribution the evil which civilized countries committed has eaten like a cancer into their own moral and political life. Spain presents a humiliating spectacle of decrepitude and decay. Portugal, whose flag once floated proudly on every ocean, has dwindled to the insignificance of a German principality. We now behold the mightiest confederacy of free states that the world has yet seen shattered by dissensions originating in the 'institution' to which one section of the community passionately clings as its greatest good, and in the traffic which the nation has long connived at. England, once deeply stained with similar guilt, now stands almost alone the energetic protector of the negro race, and her commerce and moral ascendancy especially qualify her for redressing the injustice of centuries by raising the people of Africa from their present abject state and giving them a just position in the world.

ART. VII.—*Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt.* By Earl Stanhope. Vols. I. and II. London, 1861.

IN undertaking to write the Life of his distinguished kinsman, Lord Stanhope is not entering upon absolutely untrodden ground; but his predecessors have done their work so badly, that to the generality of readers a Life of Pitt will be absolutely new. Bishop Tomline's performance has been described, by a high authority, as having the honour of being the worst biography of its size in the world. The small portion of it that is original is undoubtedly distinguished by the solemn emptiness of which the Bishop was an acknowledged master. But the sarcastic observation of a contemporary reviewer, that 'the work was due less to his Lordship's pen than to his Lordship's sharp and faithful scissors,' is really applicable in almost as great a degree to the work of his predecessor, Mr. John Gifford. Gifford's Life of Pitt was conceived on too large a scale, and drew too liberally upon Hansard, to be an attractive biography; and a biographer misses his chief function if his performance is not attractive. His business is to increase the fame of his hero, and no hero's fame was ever increased by being associated with a dull compilation. Lord Macaulay's essay in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' is, indeed, as fascinating as anything that ever issued from his pen; but he was necessarily limited to a very narrow space, and the sketch with which he was forced to content himself is too slight to rank as a biography. The field is, therefore, open to Lord Stanhope practically without competitors. Few persons could be better fitted to perform a task which every Englishman must wish to see done well. The biography of Pitt should not be abandoned, as the biographies of great men too often are, to writers who have no other title to literary fame. A life that was all public, a career so closely intertwined with English history that all its lights and shades correspond with the prosperity or the perils of the whole community, is most fittingly intrusted to the hands of one who holds the first rank among the living historians of England. Lord Stanhope's political position is also favourable to his undertaking. That Pitt's biographer should have been once a House of Commons partisan is almost indispensable to enable him to describe with fidelity a conflict which was carried on almost entirely within its walls; but a very keen interest in the party struggles of the moment would be incompatible with that judicial habit of mind which is of the first necessity in the chronicler of deeds which have been the subject of such embittered controversy. It is natural that high expectations should be excited by a work whose author possesses so many qualifications

for his task ; and the work itself will not disappoint those who have formed them. It is agreeable and lively in its style, and at the same time exact and ample in its details, without overtasking the reader's attention by the reprint of tedious state papers or of the jejune and lifeless abstracts which are all that is left to us of the oratory of those times. Its solid merits as an historical contribution will be generally recognized. The pleasantness of the style does not rob the narrative of its impartiality. In respect to transactions and questions some of which affect us very nearly even now, it may not be possible to maintain an absolute impartiality ; but Lord Stanhope seems to have approached more nearly than any previous writer upon the same period to this unattainable ideal. Indeed, his gentleness of judgment often overshoots the requirements of equity ; it amounts to optimism. He describes the proceedings of an age when political corruption had not died out, and faction was looked upon rather as a merit than a sin, with as large a charity and as unsuspecting a faith in the virtue of politicians as if he were writing of our own quieter and purer times. It is, undoubtedly, a fault on the right side. Readers will be more competent and more willing to temper Lord Stanhope's mercy with justice than to perform the opposite process ; and his kindlier judgments and roseate views are very agreeable reading, and leave pleasant illusions on the mind, just as a Richmond head is pleasanter to look at than a photograph, though one may not be able to repress the consciousness that it overflatters the grim human reality.

The materials already in existence for the history of this period are very ample, and have been long before the world. Lord Stanhope, however, brings to the common stock some new contributions of very considerable interest. Pitt's letters to his mother, his correspondence with his friend the Duke of Rutland, and the King's letters to him, have been committed to Lord Stanhope's care, and are either printed at length in these volumes, or worked up into the narrative. That they should introduce any new facts into a history which has been so exhaustively investigated was, of course, not to be expected ; but they enable him to give fresh life to an old story, and, here and there, to throw a new light upon a controverted question. His suggestion, for instance, that Lord Temple's sudden retirement from office, two days after he had overthrown the Coalition, was due to his indignation at not being able to extract a dukedom out of George the Third, will probably be accepted henceforth as the solution of that mysterious episode. It is certainly more probable than the theory of that most inaccurate of chroniclers, Wraxall, which both Lord Macaulay and Mr. Massey have endorsed, that he retired in disgust because

because he could not procure an immediate dissolution. Lord Stanhope produces a letter of George the Third's, hitherto unpublished, which proves that the King was very angry at Temple's desertion on this occasion, and stigmatized it as 'base conduct;' yet no one pressed an immediate dissolution more anxiously upon Mr. Pitt than the King himself, and he was not likely to treat as 'base conduct' an over-zealous maintenance of the same opinion. On the other hand, Temple's later correspondence betrays that he had at some earlier period asked for a dukedom, and that he was very sore at having been refused.* The hint which is furnished by the worthlessness of the excuse which he instructed his brother, Mr. W. Grenville, to make in the House of Commons, deserves, too, to be taken into consideration. It was to the effect that Temple had resigned, in order to be in a better position for repelling the charges that had been made against him in that House. But the charges had been made before he took office, so that, if they were enough to induce him to resign it, they would have been enough to induce him never to accept it. Every one appears to be agreed that the reason thus publicly given was not the true one; but if there had not been something in his reason for retiring which he was ashamed of publishing, he never would have put forward a transparently false one in its stead. The most sensitive of men, which Temple was not, would hardly feel that it was disgraceful to have had his advice on a matter of mere tactics overruled; but most people would be rather ashamed of letting it be known that they had abandoned their Sovereign in a grave emergency because an extra title had been refused them.

The letters of George the Third are the most interesting part of the new matter contributed by Lord Stanhope. They give a very different picture of the King from that which has been drawn by partisan humourists and pamphleteers. They show a shrewd and intelligent mind, thoroughly familiar with public affairs. The style of them is hasty, the grammar not always irreproachable; but the sound and practical character of the King's opinions would have done honour to persons who have far more oppor-

* A letter of Mr. W. Grenville's, to which Lord Stanhope has not adverted, shows that about eight months before, while Temple was still in Ireland, he was scheming to obtain a step in the peerage, and was only withheld from pressing it on the King by the King's resolution to grant no patents while Fox was minister. It therefore strongly confirms the idea that he seized the first moment after Fox's fall and his own accession to office to urge his claim. The following is the passage, in a letter dated April 1, 1783:—

'You will observe that part of the King's ground is a resistance to advancements as well as to creations. This seemed naturally to throw so much difficulty upon your object that I thought there would be an indelicacy in pressing it at the time you were lamenting the unavoidable difficulties under which he already labours. This delay I firmly believe will be very short indeed.'

tunities of mixing with the world than can ever fall to the lot of monarchs. A taste for useless and costly wars has often been made the reproach of his policy. How ill those who make this charge have appreciated the real nature of his convictions and inclinations, the following extract will sufficiently prove. It is a letter written to Mr. Pitt on the occasion of the introduction of the sinking fund. Some portions of it read like selections from one of Mr. Bright's attacks upon Foreign-office diplomacy:—

'Considering Mr. Pitt has had the unpleasant office of providing for the expenses incurred by the last war, it is but just he should have the full merit he deserves of having the public know and feel that he has now proposed a measure that will render the nation again respectable, if she has the sense to remain quiet some years, and not by wanting to take a showy part in the transactions of Europe again become the dupe of other Powers, and from ideal greatness draw herself into lasting distress. The old English saying is applicable to our situation: "England must cut her coat according to her cloth."'

The King's manner, like his style, never did justice to the sterling value of the shrewd thought and honest emotions that it concealed. Mankind, and especially literary mankind, are the ready dupes of a squib or of a caricature; and one ridiculous trait or habit will often outweigh in their judgment a whole catalogue of virtues. George the Third's celebrated 'What, what?' has made a deeper impression upon the minds of the writers of the last thirty years than all the coarseness of his grandfather, or the still graver failings of his son. The letters published in these volumes will do something to restore to its proper place in public estimation the character of a Monarch who may have committed errors, but who has been systematically maligned, not on account of those errors, but on account of his hostility to the profligate statesman whom the Whigs have delighted to honour.

Two volumes of the biography have been published, extending as far as the year 1796: two more, which will conclude the work, will shortly follow. The earlier portion of the biography, which deals with the brief interval that elapsed before he became a public leader, is enriched with a considerable number of Pitt's letters to his mother. They, of course, give a clearer insight into the character of the man than it is possible to obtain when once the possession of political power had made communicativeness a crime. As his life advanced, and both business and secrets multiplied upon him, his private correspondence became much more scanty. He could no longer speak freely on the subjects nearest to his heart. His whole life was given up to politics, and politics was precisely the subject on which he was bound to be discreet. Consequently his letters come at rarer intervals, and are written in a tone which, though kindly, is obviously constrained.

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We shall not accompany Lord Stanhope in the earliest stages of his biography. In a previous number of this Journal (No. 194) we followed Pitt through his boyhood and earliest youth, and through his first political struggles—his acceptance of office under Lord Shelburne, when Fox resigned in pique at Lord Shelburne's appointment—his expulsion from power upon the question of the American peace by the coalition of Fox and North, who had opposed each other all their lives—and his recall to it as Prime Minister, when the King took advantage of the India Bill to dismiss the Coalition. We need not recount how the dismissed Ministers defeated him in division after division—how his popularity grew rapidly in the country in spite of the most threatening resolutions of the House of Commons—how he closed the contest by an appeal to the country—and how the appeal was answered by a majority which secured his supremacy for life. A conflux of strangely mingled causes had combined to raise him to an eminence which no other English statesman has occupied since England ceased to be despotically ruled. To the measureless astonishment of his adversaries he had, at the age of twenty-four, scattered by his own single arm a combination of all that was eloquent and all that was powerful in the House of Commons. They had never dreamed of such an issue. It had occurred to them as a possibility that the King's undisguised dislike of Fox might break out into action and cause them a temporary reverse. Their letters show that they were not blind to the possible contingency of a short sojourn in opposition; but they never harboured a doubt that their huge majority would force the King to swallow his antipathies and submit to them again. In the House of Commons at least they thought that they were unassailable. The idea of danger there never crossed the mind of the most despondent. The numbers who, during the last ten years, had formed the opposing hosts in parliamentary campaigns were now united into a single phalanx. The debaters, who had so often in eloquent periods besought the nation to believe in each other's incapacity and treason, were now rallied under a common standard, and were prepared to combine their vituperations against any one who should attempt to dispute their supremacy. There was no visible power that could make head against such an array in the existing House of Commons; and the leaders of the Coalition had persuaded themselves that an appeal to the constituencies would only add fresh strength to their position.

And yet when the trial came they were defeated by a mere youth, with no majority, no eloquent supporters, no organized party-following, no antecedent fame. He not only utterly routed them,

them, but he captured all the standards under which they had fought. He proved himself the real owner of the watchwords they had stolen, the true champion of the various interests which they had once defended, and which by coalescing they had betrayed. Lord North had served the King obsequiously for years, had based his political position on the King's favour, and, for the sake of retaining it, had made himself the King's tool when the King was manifestly in the wrong. Fox had been the popular champion, railing at courtly corruption and royal power, and disdaining no arts of faction and no extravagance of invective to exalt the people and to degrade the King. Yet it was by the strength of King and people combined that Pitt overthrew their coalition. We should be inclined, in spite of Lord Macaulay's dictum, to place here at the very beginning the true culmination of Mr. Pitt's career. At a later period he gained a wider power, and was the object of a more unbounded adoration. But the greatness of an achievement is measured by the magnitude of the obstacles in the face of which it has been performed. To have gained this great power in the first instance was a more searching trial of strength than to have maintained it when it was gained. To estimate the difficulties which Pitt had surmounted when the nation at his appeal sent back an overwhelming majority to support him against all which had hitherto borne authority in Parliament, it is necessary to remember that North, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke were his opponents, that he had no single eloquent debater at his side, that he had no past performances to appeal to as his credentials for future trust, and that he took office in consequence of a transaction in which he indeed had no share, but which might well be looked on with disfavour by all who were jealous for the Constitution. To have conquered all these obstacles, to have reduced in the course of two months' debating a majority of 104 to a majority of one, and to have so entirely converted public opinion in the course of that short struggle that his rivals never held up their heads again, was an achievement that no English statesman ever performed before, and no English statesman is ever likely to repeat.

Many explanations of a success so startling have been suggested by various narrators, according to their respective prepossessions. Fox himself used to attribute a large share of it to the wonderful popularity of the Carlo Khan caricature: Lord John Townshend, who was one of Fox's most intimate friends, referred it all to the 'wrongheaded intemperance' of Mr. Burke. Mr. Wright, whose judgment is disturbed by a bias perhaps more violent than even that of Lord John Russell, talks of the power of the King, and of the slanders propagated by the Court-party. But the power of
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of the King had not availed to save Lord Shelburne; and the party which could boast of the pen of Captain Morris and the pencil of Rowlandson ought not to have shrunk from a contest in which slander and ridicule were the weapons. Lord John Russell in much the same spirit refers it to the 'perverse skill and fatal dexterity' of Mr. Pitt's partisans. Skill and dexterity are not rare qualities in politicians; but it is very rarely that they are rewarded by a triumph so overwhelming as that which condemned Fox to a life-long opposition. Lord Stanhope takes into account many combining causes. He allows for the halo of romantic veneration that still gathered round the memory of Chatham, for the young Minister's own transcendent talents, and for the apprehensions of the terrified corporations whom no party-discipline availed to pacify when once they heard of the provisions of the India Bill, and Lee's unfortunate defence of it,—'What is a Charter? A parchment with a seal dangling at one end of it.' But Lord Stanhope justly attributes the chief efficacy in producing that tremendous revulsion of national feeling to causes of far deeper and more permanent operation. The general support which Pitt obtained pointed to stronger influences than any merely temporary disgust. It was the judgment of the nation, pronounced at last, after long and patient forbearance, against the revolting factiousness of which their dearest interests had for so many years been made the sport. They had borne it long, seemingly acquiescent, as is the English custom, while faction wrestled with faction, and clique with clique, for the division of the rich spoil which then was the reward of power. The factions mistook the meaning of this apathy, and construed it as consent. They would not recognise the gradual accumulation of silent disgust which their acts were causing in the public mind. They imagined that every accession of numbers from whatever quarter was a help to office, and that every majority, no matter how gained, was a triumph. It is a sort of error not peculiar to the politicians of that day. It has infected almost every generation of Parliamentary combatants since Parliamentary government began. There is no blindness so unaccountable as the blindness of English statesmen to the political value of a character. Living only in and for the House of Commons, moving in an atmosphere of constant intrigue, accustomed to look upon oratory as a mode of angling for political support and upon political professions as only baits of more or less attractiveness, they acquire a very peculiar code of ethics, and they are liable wholly to lose sight of the fact that there is a stiffer and less corrupted morality out of doors. They not only come to forget what is right, but they forget that there is any one who

who knows it. The educated thought of England, before the bar of whose opinion all political conduct must appear, measures the manœuvres of politicians by no more lenient code than that which it applies to the affairs of private life. Ordinary men cannot easily bring themselves to pass over, as judicious tactics in a statesman, the conduct which in their next-door neighbours they would condemn as impudent insincerity. On the other hand, the politician cannot bring himself to believe that the party strategy and personal competition which are everything to his mind, are trifles too slight to think about in the eyes of the nation he serves. He goes on with his game of chess, in which mighty principles and deep-seated sentiments are the pawns to be sacrificed or exchanged as the moment's convenience may suggest, in the simple faith that this is the real business which he has been sent to Parliament to transact. And thus we have had the spectacle, even in later days, of party leaders of considerable intellect laboriously and carefully ruining themselves in the esteem of the nation, and heaping blunder upon blunder from which the meanest of their followers would have been competent to warn them. They have failed because they have been blind to the elementary truth, that a character for unselfish honesty is the only secure passport to the confidence of the English people. Its place can never be supplied by fine speeches or dexterous manœuvres. Eighty years ago the error was commoner than it is now, in proportion as the morality of the governing classes was relatively lower in comparison with that of the nation at large. The combination of politicians whom the King had just driven from his councils were especially the victims of this delusion. At the crisis of their fate it never seems to have occurred to them that their past political conduct could possibly have injured their popularity with the nation.

Fox had begun life as a Tory, and had suddenly plunged in a moment of pique into the opposite extreme—had opposed the American war to turn out North, and had opposed the American peace to turn out Shelburne—and had then combined for the sake of office with the very man whom he had spent the flower of his political life in denouncing as treacherous and corrupt. The language in which he and Burke had denounced North up to the very eve of their junction far exceeded in acrimony what would now be tolerated in Parliament. Few things told so powerfully against the Coalition as a collection of the most abusive of these passages, published under the title of '*Beauties of Fox and Burke.*' Only two years before the Coalition Fox had told Lord North that he trusted that, 'by the aroused indignation and vengeance of an injured and undone people, the Ministers
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would hear of the calamities of the American war at the tribunal of justice, and expiate them on the public scaffold.' Barely twelve months before he became Lord North's political ally, he told the House of Commons that, 'from the moment when he should make any terms with one of them [the Ministers], he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. He could not for an instant think of a coalition with men who, in every public and private transaction as Ministers, had shown themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty. In the hands of such men he would not trust his honour for a minute.' The public naturally took him at his word, and believed him to be, what by anticipation he had named himself, the most infamous of men. Burke had made almost equal shipwreck of his good fame. His abuse of Lord North had scarcely been less violent, and his proceedings in and out of office were more glaringly in contrast. In opposition he had distinguished himself by his unsparing assaults upon the laxity, and worse than laxity, with which the public money was administered in those times. He was the great champion of economical reform. But the difference between theory and practice was very painful. One of his first acts, as member of the Coalition Government, was to restore to office two clerks who had been dismissed by Pitt, and were at the moment undergoing a criminal prosecution for embezzlement of public money. This was a sad commentary on much passionate declamation against ministerial corruption. Some of his old speeches upon Indian matters too were recalled to memory by his brilliant efforts upon Fox's India Bill. A short time before he had denounced a proposal for putting an end to the Charter of the East India Company with characteristic exuberance of language as 'the most wicked, absurd, abandoned, profligate, and drunken intention ever formed.' When the public saw the same rich vocabulary exhausted for the purpose of eulogizing a similar proposal, they naturally treated the praise and the blame as equally insincere. By the light of these contrasts they learned to look on the opposition to Lord North in the first instance, and the alliance with Lord North in the second, as nothing more than so many different leads in the game of which office was the stake. The later performances of the Coalition only confirmed the impressions which its formation had spread abroad. The shreds of character which these various transactions had left to it were torn from it by the discovery of the *coup d'état* which lurked in the machinery of the India Bill. Lord John Russell has attempted to defend this celebrated plot for 'taking the crown off the King's head and placing it on Mr. Fox's,'

Fox's,' by pleading that the Board which was to wield in his interest irresponsible power over 300,000*l.* worth of patronage, was only appointed for four years. Mr. Massey has justly replied that that circumstance would only make them more desperately eager to keep in office the Ministry that was likely to reappoint them. But Lord Stanhope suggests the real answer to modern admirers who attempt to represent this outrageous effort of faction as a misconstrued act of patriotism. If there had been in Fox's mind the faintest desire that the vast patronage of India should be used for any other purpose but to keep him in office, it would have been easy for him to have given effect to it by nominating a neutral Board. The composition of the Board was the real touchstone of the character of the Bill. That the new Commissioners were, every one of them, thoroughgoing partisans, bound by every political and family tie to do the bidding of the Coalition, is the best proof that the Bill was proposed in order to secure the ends which they were best fitted to serve. The greediness of place, of which this intrigue convinced the most unsuspecting, stimulated the King to struggle against his captors, and disenchanted the nation of their last illusion touching the patriotism of the Rockingham Whigs. The Sovereign and his people, after many differences, were at last of one mind in this, that they were sick at heart of the selfish ambition which the great revolution houses had masked for so long under patriotic phrases. When the Empire was parting asunder, and the finances seemed collapsing under their colossal load of debt, they were weary of intrusting their destinies to men who fought the fight of principle in the spirit of political *condottieri*. This was the peculiar advantage which fortune threw into Pitt's hands, and which he improved with so much skill. Men were in a temper to yield themselves to almost any candidate for their favour who was untainted with the intrigues they had endured so long. They turned to Mr. Pitt, in spite of his youth and his apparent want of parliamentary support, as the only man who could free them from the dominion of selfish faction. His character stood high; his moral purity said something for his principle; his known pride was some guarantee for self-respect; and at least, if untried, he was unpolluted. His celebrated refusal of the Clerkship of the Pells evinced that from the love of money he was absolutely free. This contrast between his character and that of his opponents was the true secret of the marvellous rapidity with which he rose to the head of affairs. Birth, eloquence, royal favour, would have done very little to secure him such a triumph, but for the blindness with which the Coalition

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tion laid bare to the public eye the meanness of motive and the hollowness of conviction which underlay the fiercely-phrased patriotism of all existing statesmen.

The same contrast which raised him continued to be his chief support. Throughout his career it was a comparison of character, far more than of measures or of eloquence, that formed his great political strength. His opponents fell lower and lower in public esteem, and fully justified the national condemnation which the Coalition had provoked.

They still continued to possess all the powers of eloquence and all the social fascinations which had made them so powerful before. The masterpieces of oratory which constitute the fame of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, were delivered during their long exile from office. But the old curse clave to them. They remained as blind as ever to the value of political character, and never compassed sufficient foresight to forego a single chance of inflicting a temporary embarrassment upon their rival's government.

They took the earliest opportunity of practising this suicidal strategy. One of the earliest objects that attracted Pitt's attention was the reform of the commercial code which, at that time, stifled the industry of the country. The system of prohibitions was maintained, not only towards foreign countries, in which case it was at least consistent with the extreme theories of protection then generally entertained, but towards Ireland, whose prosperity and progress were indissolubly linked with our own. Mr. Pitt—the first Minister who entered at all into the philosophy of Free Trade, which modern Whigs are rather apt to boast of, as if they had first discovered it, and had never been particularly enthusiastic the other way—applied himself to remove this glaring financial evil. Of course his proposals excited a violent panic among the Lancashire manufacturers, who were the great protectionists of those days. Their mills would be stopped, their hands thrown out of work; the cheaper labour of Ireland would inevitably drive them out of the English market. A proposal to allow Ireland to share in the benefits of the colonial trade was represented as a death-blow to the Navigation Laws, and as being certain to make Cork the emporium of the Empire. This silly panic was an embarrassment to Pitt, but it was one which the party led by Fox and Burke were specially beholden to allay. In them, if in any one, should have been found the champions of the new truth against the ancient error, of the welfare of the nation against the vested interests of the few. Burke was bound to have supported the measure by every tie of honour as well as of patriotism. When he sat in opposition to

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Lord North he had supported with all his powers a similar measure of relief, and had resigned his seat at Bristol rather than give way to the self-seeking clamour of his mercantile constituents. But in 1785 he had lost all relish for a Free-trade policy, when it was discredited by the advocacy of Pitt. Fox and Lord North were equally bound by their own previous measures to a temperate treatment of the differences between England and Ireland. It was under Fox's government that the supremacy of the British over the Irish Parliament had been abandoned; and this, though undoubtedly a necessary measure, had been the beginning of Irish troubles. It was under Lord North's administration that Ireland had been suffered to create the army of Volunteers, whose first act was to dictate their own terms to the Government of England. But, in spite of the responsibility thus incurred, none of these three statesmen shrank from using the antipathy of English and Irish as the lever of a factious opposition. They threw themselves alternately on one side and the other. First Fox tried to improve to the utmost the discontent of the manufacturers, urging for delay to enable them to agitate, and stigmatizing Pitt's proposal as 'an attempt to make Ireland the grand arbitress of all the commercial interests of the empire.' By these tactics he succeeded in forcing Pitt to recede from some of his original propositions, and to give a more English colour to the scheme. No sooner was this effected than he changed his tone. He and his coadjutors now became keenly sensitive to Irish wrongs, and to the objections that might be taken from an Irish point of view: and though, of course, they were not likely by this manœuvre to injure the measure in London, they entertained well-founded hopes that their taunts and misrepresentations would damn it in Dublin. Fox, while he still described the plan as 'a tame surrender of the manufactures and commerce of England,' protested that Ireland, if she accepted it, would be 'resigning her legislative independence;' Burke designated certain compensatory payments that she was to make as the tribute of a conquered country; and Sheridan dared the Irish Parliament to pass such degrading resolutions, and appealed to the Irish people to rise against them if they did. This reckless style of warfare did not fail of its effect. It has never been hard to goad the Irish into jealousy of English policy; least of all, when they were still in the fresh enjoyment of a newly achieved emancipation. A cry was raised against the measure far more furious than that which had greeted it in England, and the unblushing factiousness of the English opposition was rewarded by the abandonment of the Bill.

What they had done against Ireland it was too much to expect
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that they should not do, or attempt to do, against France. Burke had already swallowed his convictions upon Free Trade; and Fox, who openly avowed that he never could understand the science of political economy, had no convictions to swallow. They had no difficulty, therefore, in combining to resist the French treaty of commerce, of which the abandonment of the Methuen treaty was, as far as regards England, the main provision. At the present day, under our existing financial burdens, the very name of French treaty disgusts us. Like many of Pitt's measures, it has been discredited by the unintelligent mimicry of later imitators. But this was a scheme which really did fulfil its promise, of swelling revenue and stimulating trade. It was a measure beyond its age, and very much beyond the Liberal leaders of 1787. If they had based their objections to it on the same narrow ground as that which they adopted in opposing Pitt's Irish policy, they would simply have deserved the charge of being laggards in the march of progress of which they professed to lead the van. But this time they had no encouragement for the display of their intense protectionism. The manufacturers had learned to feel so much confidence in Pitt, that they did not venture to dispute his dicta on a matter of finance. It was no use, therefore, this time to talk of a 'tame surrender of our commerce.' Accordingly they were driven to take a position in point of statesmanship more humiliating still. As they had succeeded before by a declamatory appeal to national antipathies, they hoped to succeed by the same means again. On the very first night of the session Fox thundered against the idea of any concert or alliance with the French, long before he had an idea what that alliance was likely to be. When it was brought before the House he argued in the same strain. France was the hereditary foe of England, and it was incredible that she could have agreed to a treaty, unless it concealed some device to injure us. Grey, who made his maiden speech on this occasion, reiterated the assertion, that no French assurances were to be believed. Burke maintained that the two nations had been established by nature to balance each other, and seemed to think there was something impious in converting them into allies. Francis invoked the shade of Chatham, and taunted Pitt with blasting the triumphs of his father's administration, and making friends of his father's foes. But topics of this kind were the last resource of desperation. The time had gone by when they could influence the House of Commons, or blind even a popular constituency to the advantages of a pacific policy. The French treaty passed both Houses by a large majority; and the opposition to it produced no other result than to furnish a new proof that in Fox's hands

hands Whiggism meant the advocacy of all that was ignorant, antiquated, and narrow.

Such a policy as this, pursued by the advocates of peace and progress, only confirmed the general impression that there were no principles, however cherished, of which Fox would not cheerfully lighten himself in the race for office. He appears rather to have been guided by a passionate instinct of rivalry than by any definite calculation of the political benefit which his proceedings were likely to yield. But whether it was antagonistic impulse or blundering ambition that shaped his course, the utter absence of definite convictions was equally manifest throughout the whole of it. It is difficult to say exactly what he did seek, or whether his own exaltation or the humiliation of Pitt was nearest to his heart. But it is quite clear that what he did *not* seek was the triumph of any set of principles in which he believed. If proof were still wanting, his conduct on the Regency question supplied it. To construct Fox's distinctive creed is not a very easy matter from a modern point of view. In practice he was the antagonist of Pitt; in theory he professed to be a Whig. But he had very little in common either with the Whigs who went before him, or the Whigs who have come after him. Fox voted with Pitt on Reform, though he never introduced a Reform Bill himself, turned him out of office for supporting peace, and threw out his measure for securing retrenchment. There was one point, and one only, upon which any kinship of opinion can be established between his party, the Revolution Whigs, and the Whigs of our own day, and that was the desire, which all three professed, to exalt the authority of Parliament in relation to that of the Crown. He and Burke had supported Dunning's celebrated motion that 'the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.' This language they had held with tolerable consistency up to the year 1788, and could point to it with pride as their solitary remnant of consistency. But an unfaltering opposition to a King who has declared himself to be your irreconcilable opponent is a very easy exhibition of political principle. Would he fold the cloak of his patriotism so closely round him when Court sunshine began to warm him? He was never actually tried. The smiles of royalty never lightened his career from the beginning to the end. But on one occasion, for a few short weeks, he thought that he saw in front of him a faint glimmer of that invigorating ray; and the extraordinary metamorphosis which this distant gleam effected in his principles enables us to judge what sort of Minister he would have been if fate had destined him for a Court favourite. The Regency crisis was one of those sharp and
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searching ordeals which put men's principles to the test, and show how much of them is lacquer, how much genuine metal.

The illness of George the Third towards the end of 1788, while it seemed likely to arrest Pitt's career in the full tide of his success, offered a prospect of recovery to the desperate fortunes of Fox. Whether the King died or went mad, the Prince of Wales must succeed to the Royal power; and the Prince of Wales was Fox's friend, bound to him by all the ties that unite men who have drunk at the same debauch, and gamed at the same tables. The novelty of the prospect that burst on both the rival statesmen was startlingly sudden. To Fox it was an undreamed-of opening to power and fame; to Pitt it was the menace of irretrievable ruin. He had little or no private fortune; he was deeply in debt; and he had scorned to provide himself with any of the sinecures in which statesmen of limited means were wont to find a harbour of refuge. The contrast between the conduct of the two antagonists in this unexpected crisis was of a piece with the contrast that had marked their whole lives. The Minister displayed the same singleness of purpose, the same lofty disregard of his private interest, that he exhibited throughout his whole career. He took precisely the course that was most just to the King and most salutary to the country, but which was also the course that seemed most fatal to himself. He could easily have saved himself from all risk, if he had chosen to do so. He might have imitated the conduct of the Coalition, and have used his present majority for the purpose of securing himself a long lease of power. Precedents were not wanting for such a course. There was no precedent of the appointment of a Regent exactly in point to the present emergency; for the case of an insane Sovereign, with an heir-apparent of full age, had never before occurred in English history. But the contingent appointment of a Regent in case of the demise of the Crown during the heir's nonage was a precaution that had been frequently observed; and in such cases it had been usual to appoint a Council of Regency to control the executive power of the Regent. Pitt might, with great show of reason, have acted on a precedent which would have prevented the Prince of Wales from disturbing a Ministry to which he was known to be hostile, and to which the King was known to be attached. We know that the Opposition leaders entertained no doubt of his power of carrying some such scheme into effect. But Pitt had come to the conclusion that a more vigorous executive was necessary than a Council of Regency could be expected to furnish, and therefore he resolved that the Regent should choose his own

Ministers

Ministers as he liked, though he was aware that the first exercise of that power would be his own dismissal.

'The part of Pitt was promptly taken. It was, as his part was ever, straightforward and direct. He would listen to no terms for himself. He would consider only his bounden duty to his afflicted King. He would, by the authority of Parliament, impose some restrictions on the Regency for a limited time, so that the Sovereign might resume his power without difficulty in case his reason were restored. What might be the just limits or the necessary period of such restrictions he had not yet decided, and was still revolving in his mind. But he had never the least idea, as his opponents feared, of a Council of Regency which might impede the Prince in the choice of a new administration. On the contrary, Pitt looked forward to his own immediate dismissal from the public service, and he had determined to return to the practice of his profession at the Bar.

'Far different was the course of Thurlow. Under an appearance of rugged honesty he concealed no small amount of selfish craft. He was ready to grasp at an overture, and it was not long ere an overture came. Two gentlemen in the Prince's confidence—the Comptroller of his Household, Captain Payne, more commonly called Jack Payne, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan—had set their heads together. Was it not to be feared that Pitt would attempt to fetter the coming Regency with some restrictions? And by whom could that attempt be more effectually prevented than by the statesman holding the Great Seal? How important then, if possible, to gain him over!

'With these views, and with the Prince's sanction, a secret negotiation with Lord Thurlow was begun. It was proposed to him that he should do his utmost to defeat any restrictions on the Regent, and that in return he should become President of the Council in the new administration. But the offer of the Presidency was spurned by Thurlow; he insisted on still retaining the Great Seal. This was a more difficult matter, from the engagements of the Prince, and indeed of the whole Fox party, to Lord Loughborough. Sheridan, however, strongly pressed that Lord Thurlow should be secured upon his own terms. The Prince agreed, and the negotiation was continued without Lord Loughborough. The bargain was struck, or all but struck, awaiting only Fox's sanction when he should arrive from Italy.

'The perfidy of Thurlow in this transaction stands little in need of comment. To this day it forms the main blot upon his fame. Nowhere in our recent annals shall we readily find any adequate parallel to it, except indeed in the career of his contemporary and his rival, Loughborough.

'Lord Thurlow succeeded at first in concealing all knowledge of the scheme from Pitt. In this he was much assisted by the fact that from this time forward the Cabinet Councils were frequently held at Windsor, thus affording him good opportunities for slipping round in secret to the apartments of the Prince of Wales. But a very slight incident brought to light the mystery. His cabals were detected by
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his own hat. Thus used the story to be told by a late survivor from these times, my lamented friend Mr. Thomas Grenville. One day when a Council was to be held at Windsor, Thurlow had been there some time before any of his colleagues arrived. He was to be brought back to London in the carriage of one of them, and the moment of departure being come, the Chancellor's hat was nowhere to be found. After long search, one of the pages came running up with the hat in his hand, and saying aloud, "My Lord, I found it in the closet of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." The other Ministers were still in the hall waiting for their carriages, and the evident confusion of Lord Thurlow corroborated the inference which they drew.

'Thus might Pitt suspect, or much more than suspect, the Chancellor's double dealings. But still he had no positive proof of them; and he might feel as the younger Agrippina, that in many cases the best defence against treachery is to seem unconscious of it. Thus, maintaining his usual lofty calmness, he forbore from all inquiry, all expostulation.'

It was the second time that Pitt had been able to show, on a splendid scale, how mean a thing in his eyes was the possession of office, or even the attainment of a bare competence, compared to the furtherance of the public weal. The English, whatever other errors of judgment they commit, are seldom backward in expressing their admiration of disinterestedness; and they did not fail to recognize it in the present instance. All the brilliancy of his opponents failed to draw from the nation the smallest of those tokens of admiration which were readily yielded to Pitt's upright and loyal statesmanship. In 1784 the people testified their value for him by consigning 160 of Fox's friends to private life. In 1790 a new batch of victims testified to their increased and settled esteem. In 1788 there was no question of elections, but the admiration that his conduct elicited was expressed, if possible, in a still more striking way.

'But during the interval he received a most signal token of the public esteem and approbation. It was well known by the public that Pitt would not be continued one hour in office by the Regent. It was known that he had already taken measures for returning to his first profession. It was also known, perhaps, that his neglect of his private affairs had involved him in some debts, which he trusted to discharge by an industrious application of his talents at the Bar. At this very time, however, there was held, by public advertisement, a meeting of the principal bankers and moneyed men of London, anxious to tender him on his retirement from office a substantial mark of their esteem. The sum of 50,000*l.* was first proposed, but so great was the enthusiasm that in the space of forty-eight hours this sum was doubled, and Mr. George Rose, as his Secretary of the Treasury, was requested to press upon him, in the manner most likely to be acceptable, a free gift of 100,000*l.* But Mr. Pitt answered his friend

as follows: "No consideration upon earth shall ever induce me to accept it."

'Surely it was not without reason, nor merely from the warmth of private friendship, that we find William Grenville, at almost the same date, exclaim to his brother, "There certainly never was in this country at any period such a situation as Mr. Pitt's."'

Fox and Sheridan, though certainly not less embarrassed in circumstances, were never exposed to the perplexity of having to refuse so tempting an offer. In proportion as the Regency debate raised the Minister in popular estimation, it lowered his opponents. They availed themselves of the opportunity to convince the nation that they were still the heroes of the half-forgotten Coalition, unchanged by reflection, untaught by experience. As they then allied themselves with Lord North, whom it had been their main parliamentary occupation to denounce, so now, to humour the Prince, they took under their protection the very principles which they existed as a party to oppose.

As soon as the King's illness had been ascertained by an examination of the physicians, Pitt proceeded, according to the usual course in any case of constitutional difficulty, to move for a Committee to search for precedents. It was natural to expect that the motion would be unopposed. Common prudence, as well as common decency, should have suggested to Fox to observe punctiliously every formality in the process of transferring power from the Sovereign who hated him to the Regent of whose favour he was secure. But either the near prospect of the fruition of hopes so long deferred was too much for his self-control, or an instinctive distrust of the Prince's good faith made him eager at once to secure himself in his patron's good graces by a striking display of devotion. Whichever was the motive, he refused to wait for Pitt's tedious though decorous forms. He insisted on it that there was no need for a Committee of Precedents. It was not a question of precedent. By virtue of the Constitution, by his own inherent right, the heir-apparent was entitled to assume the full regal power just as much as if the King had been dead; and it was nothing but his abundant courtesy that prevented him from acting upon all his rights the very moment that the King's incapacity was ascertained. It was the province of Parliament to ascertain that fact, but further than this Parliament had no right to interfere. Pitt listened with unconcealed triumph to this high prerogative doctrine—higher, as Grenville observed, than anything that had been heard since the days of Sir Robert Sawyer. The Minister turned round to a friend who was sitting next him on the Treasury Bench, and whispered, 'I'll *unwhig* the gentleman for the rest of his life.' He amply redeemed his promise in the debates

debates that followed ; but, in truth, the great Whig leader had unwhiggied himself. Since the Stuarts had disappeared, the only point of contact between the Whigs of the time of Rockingham and the Whigs of the time of Somers had been the desire to exalt Parliament above prerogative. And now their leader was exalting the inherent prerogative, not of the reigning Sovereign, but of the heir apparent, to such a height that the interference of Parliament in a case unforeseen by the Constitution was resented as impertinent the moment it proceeded beyond the formal duty of certifying to an incontestable fact. To make matters worse, Sheridan closed the debate by threatening the House with 'the danger of provoking the Prince to assert his rights.' An inconceivable storm was raised in the House by this indecent menace. William Grenville, who had sat in Parliament during all the ferocious party struggles which succeeded the fall of Lord North's administration, writes to his brother that he never remembers to have witnessed such an uproar. Two or three days afterwards, Fox, who felt he had committed a blunder, made an awkward attempt at explanation ; but it was impossible to do away the impression that had been created. Spite of all the disturbing influences which the near prospect of a new reign and a change of Ministry would naturally exercise on a Parliamentary following, Pitt kept his majority together. He was able without difficulty to pass his Regency Bill through the House of Commons, though it was a measure calculated to test the fidelity of any majority to the utmost. It contained restrictions which were known to be odious to the Regent, though they did not lessen his opportunities of revenging himself. They were goading the tiger at the very moment they were opening his cage. The Regency Bill was a patriotic measure, but for party purposes it was a very unwise one. Its object was to enable the Prince to govern, without enabling him either to trouble the King's present comfort, or to fix his own policy round the King's neck in case the King should recover. Thus he was to do what he liked with the Ministry, but he was not to confer peerages or life-pensions, or to meddle with the Royal Household. The fear in Pitt's mind obviously was, that, if the Regent's Ministers should discover that the King was recovering, they would attempt to repeat the manœuvre of the India Bill, and make themselves safe against future accidents by filling the House of Lords with their own creatures. The Opposition were furious at the suspicion, in proportion as they felt that it was deserved. They lost their tempers as completely, and blundered as recklessly, as they had done in the few eventful weeks that followed the fall of the Coalition. They abused Dr. Willis because he would not give as bad a report of

the King's condition as they desired ; they accused the Queen of conspiring with him to keep the Prince out of his just claims, by issuing false bulletins of the King's health ; and they accused her of conspiring with Pitt to retain in his hands the patronage of the Household for the purpose of controlling Parliament. Pitt's answer to the last charge was simple,—that the Household commanded just seven seats in the House of Commons : the other charges needed no answer but disdain. Burke especially distinguished himself in this saturnalia of vituperation. He nicknamed Thurlow 'Priapus,' and gave a caricatured description of his face in the House of Commons ; he called Pitt a 'competitor for the Regency' and 'the Prince opposite ;' and, when the division went against him, he threatened the House with the penalties of treason at the Prince's hands for the resolutions they had passed. The 'wrong-headed intemperance' of which Fox's friend Lord John Townshend feelingly complained, was never pushed to so extravagant a length as during these Regency debates. All these exhibitions very seriously damaged the Opposition out of doors. They contrasted ill with the Minister's haughty, reserved, and manly bearing ; and it happened, by a strange chance, that his high character for fidelity was enhanced by the reputation acquired by a colleague who in reality deserved it less than the meanest of the Prince's parasites. Even Lord Stanhope, from whose pen words of condemnation flow reluctantly in the most obvious cases of guilt, loses something of his gentleness when he comes to speak of Thurlow. His description of the well-known scene in the House of Lords is a good specimen of the clear and easy narrative which is the charm of this biography :—

'The Chancellor delivered himself of a temporising speech, as though not yet fixed in his opinion. But he began to fear that he might be a loser instead of gainer by his projected act of treachery. The reports of Dr. Willis were in due course submitted to him. He might observe that day by day they expressed a confident hope of the King's recovery. He might observe that on the 13th the Queen and the Princesses, whom the King had not seen since the 5th of the last month, were brought into his presence without danger. He seized Her Majesty's hand, kissed it, and held it in his during the whole interview, which lasted half-an-hour. The little Princess Amelia, who from her infancy had been his favourite child, sat upon his lap.

'The Chancellor felt that he could temporise no longer without great risk to his own position. With the new hopes of the King's recovery which Dr. Willis gave, he determined to take a bolder course on the next occasion in the House of Lords. That next occasion came on the 15th of December. Then the Duke of York made a good and sensible speech (his first in Parliament), disavowing most expressly in his brother's name any claim not derived from the will of the people.

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The Chancellor upon this left the Woolsack and addressed the House. He began by expressing his great satisfaction that no claim of right was to be raised by the Prince of Wales. But as he next proceeded to the afflicted condition of the King, his emotion seemed to grow uncontrollable, his voice faltered, and he burst into a flood of tears. Recovering himself, he declared his fixed and unalterable resolution to stand by a Sovereign who, during a reign of twenty-seven years, had proved his sacred regard to the principles which seated his family upon the Throne. Their first duty, he said, was to preserve the rights of that Sovereign entire, so that, when God should permit him to recover, he might not find himself in a worse situation than before his illness. The Chancellor dwelt on his own feelings of grief and gratitude, and wrought himself up at last to these celebrated words: "and when I forget my King, may my God forget me!"

'It seems scarcely possible to exaggerate the strong impression which this half sentence made. Within the House itself the effect was not perhaps so satisfactory. Wilkes, who was standing under the Throne, eyed the Chancellor askance, and muttered, "God forget you! He will see you d—— first!" Burke at the same moment exclaimed, with equal wit and with no profaneness, "The best thing that can happen to you!" Pitt also was on the steps of the Throne. On Lord Thurlow's imprecation, he is said to have rushed out of the House, exclaiming several times, "Oh, what a rascal!"

'But in the country at large the intrigues of Thurlow were not known—they were not even suspected. He was looked upon as the fearless assertor of his Sovereign's rights—as a strictly honest man, prepared, if need should be, to suffer for his honesty; and the impressive half sentence which he had just pronounced fell in exactly with the current of popular feeling at the time. The words flew from mouth to mouth. They were seen far and wide in England, printed around portraits and wreaths, embossed on snuff-boxes, or embroidered on pocket-books. It can scarcely be doubted that in the Parliamentary conflict they became a valuable auxiliary on the Minister's side.'

The truth was, that the intrigues of the Prince and the Prince's friends met with very little favour from the nation. All their sympathies were with the good old King and his homely virtues; and they looked forward with little less than consternation to the advent of a reign as dissolute as that of Charles the Second. Nor were they reconciled to the prospect by the fact that the change which admitted social profligacy to the Court would admit political profligacy to the Cabinet at the same time.

The Regency was the last throw of Mr. Fox's party. They narrowly missed an overwhelming victory; for George the Third afterwards declared that if, when he recovered, he had found the Regency established, nothing should have induced him to resume the reins of power. But they did miss it; and it was their forlorn hope. The passionate greediness with which they had rushed upon

upon the spoil, even before it could be legally assigned to them, had marked them rather as hungry adventurers than as statesmen. The impression which the Coalition had originally left became deeper and more permanent; and the nation centred its attachment more and more exclusively on Pitt. He never lost it up to the day of his death. It gathered itself more passionately round him as the clouds of the French Revolution collected over Europe, and his name was associated with the cause of law and order—his rival's with the bloodiest excesses that have ever been committed in the name of liberty. Every new danger that threatened—each successive phase of that great convulsion—was a support to the Ministry, and a blow to the Opposition. The more the middle and upper classes were terrified by the spread of Jacobin doctrines, the more they clung to the Minister who put down those doctrines with a strong hand. The greater their terror of the successes of the French armies, the more resolutely they turned away from the apologist of the Revolution and the admirer of Buonaparte.

A different explanation of Pitt's success is naturally popular with Whig historians. Lord Macaulay, whose affection for Lord Holland never left him free from bias in judging of the character of Lord Holland's uncle, prefers to exalt to a preternatural height the power of eloquence in the House of Commons, and then to attribute to Pitt a pre-eminence as a debater which his most ardent admirers have seldom claimed. That Pitt can have ruled by sheer eloquence in a House where he was opposed by Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Grey, is inconceivable. The early development of his eloquence was very remarkable; but it is never recorded to have produced the wonderful effect which is attributed to Lord Chatham's speeches. It was a quality which he, no doubt, possessed in great perfection, but which he possessed in common with many great statesmen before and since, who yet have not been able, with the help of it, to retain an undisputed ascendancy over their countrymen during two-and-twenty years. The phenomenon requires some more adequate explanation. The peculiarity of his position—its strange and impregnable strength—lay in the contrast between his own character and that of his opponents. There have been many statesmen with worse characters than Fox; there may have been some as pure as Pitt. But the extremes have never been contrasted with each other as they were in that generation. There never was a time when the reputation of one rival stood so high, while that of the other stood so low. So long as the political and private characters of Fox, Sheridan, and the Prince of Wales remained as a foil to his own unimpeached purity, Pitt was unassailable. This is the true key
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of his unparalleled success. No doubt he could not have maintained so lastingly his sudden elevation if his high character had not been reinforced by talents equally lofty. But a nation may easily underrate ability; it rarely misconstrues a high morality, or, for any length of time, gives honour to motives that are really base. The secret of Pitt's popularity is betrayed by the utter absence of any reaction in favour of his opponent. Before his life closed England had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, good harvests and bad, peace and war, contentment and rebellion, victories and reverses—vicissitudes which, in other times, have constantly changed the current of public favour from one competitor for power to the other. But never during all that period, under any pressure of taxation, or in the face of any disaster, did the nation manifest the faintest ambition to be again governed by Mr. Fox. With the King the name acted as a spell to tame the will that had never been tamed before. In Mr. Pitt's hands it was a wand of power which many of Mr. Pitt's predecessors in office would have given much to possess. The simple intimation that Mr. Pitt must retire, or, in other words, that the possibility would be opened for the return of Mr. Fox, reduced the King to pliability in a moment on any subject not bearing upon religion. Even his affection for Lord Thurlow could not stand the strain. In fact, to the end of Mr. Pitt's life, there was but one subject outside the domain of religion in regard to which he ever found the King impracticable, and that was the restoration of any portion of political power to Fox.

Many hard names have been flung at George the Third for his refusal in 1804 to come to any terms with the Whig leader. Lord Macaulay dismisses him with the gentle epithets, 'dull, obstinate, unforgiving, and half-mad.' But, nevertheless, it is easy to see in Lord Macaulay's own essay, and in many other quarters, that on the subject of Fox's political career the opinion of our generation is gravitating toward that of the much-reviled Monarch. The truth is, that affectionate and interested efforts have thrown an artificial halo round the fame of Mr. Fox. His personal fascinations were so powerful, that almost all who fell within the range of his influence felt bound throughout the rest of their lives to defend his memory against all comers. A political party who for the last thirty years have been powerful in politics and still more powerful in literature, being afflicted with a scarcity of heroes, have centred all their hero-worship on this single image. This political canonization has effected transformations in history as strange as any that were ever perpetrated by any *Acta Sanctorum*. The intrigues of a restless ambition, that never knew scruple, or worried itself about principle, have been
converted

converted into the struggles of a second Hampden against a Court conspiracy for enslaving England. The phrases struck out in the heat of debate, or selected at random as the readiest missiles to fling at an adversary's head, have been cited as the profound maxims of a political philosopher. But all this is passing away, and a truer measure is beginning to be applied to the political conduct of Mr. Fox. Later revelations have tended to cloud his fame. His sagacity turns out to have been more limited, and his patriotism more dead, than any one had believed. Lord John Russell with sacrilegious hand has himself done much to disfigure his idol's beauty. To use Lord Stanhope's just though guarded language :—

'The familiar correspondence of Fox, as edited with ability and candour by Lord John Russell, has not tended on the whole to exalt his fame. Such, at least, is the opinion which I have heard expressed with sincere regret by some persons greatly prepossessed in his favour—some members of the families most devoted to his party cause. It seems to be felt that, although a perusal of his letters leaves in its full lustre his reputation as an orator, it has greatly dimmed his reputation as a statesman. There are, in his correspondence, some hasty things that are by no means favourable to his public spirit, as where he speaks of the "delight" which he derived from the news of our disasters at Saratoga and at York-town. There are some hasty things that are as far from favourable to his foresight and sagacity. Take, for instance, a prophecy as follows, in 1801: "According to my notion the House of Commons has in a great measure ceased, and will shortly entirely cease, to be a place of much importance." Perhaps, also, after the perusal of these letters, we may feel more strongly than before it that many parts of Fox's public conduct—as his separation from Lord Shelburne, or his junction with Lord North—are hard to be defended.'

But the King had special ground, beyond any that his subjects could have pleaded, for entertaining a strong dislike to Mr. Fox. He felt all that they could feel against him, for he entered keenly into public affairs during the last twenty years of his government. He sided thoroughly with his Ministers, hated their foes, and loved their friends, and felt their triumphs as his own. His letters to Mr. Pitt show that he took as lively an interest in every division and debate as any party-whip could do. Consequently he felt all the indignation Mr. George Rose himself could feel at each of Fox's discreditable manœuvres. The factiousness of 1783, the unfeeling ambition of 1788, the reckless, unpatriotic conduct of 1794, accumulated an amount of hatred in the King's mind which nothing but a strong necessity could have induced him to overcome. But there was another and a more personal cause of resentment never absent from his memory, which deepened in
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his eyes the dark hue of Mr. Fox's political offences. He had good grounds for attributing to Mr. Fox's advice and instigation the great affliction of his life—the scandalous habits, and, still more, the rebellious attitude of the Prince of Wales. To a certain extent this imputation was supported by the facts. To a still greater extent it was supported by appearances which there were then no means of testing, and from which the King could only have escaped by accepting an explanation of the most painful kind.

Of Mr. Fox's complicity in many of the Prince's offences there can be no doubt. Their friendship in the first instance probably arose from the Prince's discontent with the frugal fare and the rigid morality of Buckingham House on the one hand, and Mr. Fox's political calculations on the other. The King's health, like that of the Duke of Wellington and several other long-lived persons, was not reputed to be good in his middle age. The probability of his early death was eagerly reckoned, and was the subject of many a wager at Brooks's Club; and Mr. Fox early turned to the worship of the rising sun. Few people could withstand the charm of Mr. Fox's manner if he chose to undertake their subjugation; and he could offer to the Prince the additional bait of an introduction to a paradise of new pleasure, unknown within the virtuous precincts of his father's court. A friendship soon sprang up of the closest kind. The Prince used to address the statesman in all their correspondence as 'Dear Charles;' and the statesman, though using more respectful language, always spoke his mind with the most unrestrained freedom to the Prince. They lived on terms of the strictest intimacy, Fox combining in one the character of Mentor and of Falstaff, and supplying both jolly companionship and political advice. It is presumable that the former was of better quality than the latter, or the friendship would not have lasted very long. It was cemented on both sides by mutual services. Sixty thousand pounds a year were allowed by the King to the Prince to support his petty Court, a sum that ought to have been ample so long as he remained unmarried. He looked on it, however, as niggardly in the extreme, and insisted that it ought to be doubled. Fox strained every nerve to procure him this further supply of the sinews of debauchery. The effort to force it at all hazards on the King very nearly broke up the Coalition Ministry before its time; but the King knew tolerably well the purposes to which the increased allowance was destined, and stood firm. The demand naturally did not meet with more favour when Pitt was in power. Pitt was above all things anxious to reduce debt, and bring the finances into good order; and a hundred thousand
pounds

pounds was a considerable sum in a peace expenditure which, exclusive of debt, did not exceed six millions. Foiled in this application, the Prince for some time had recourse to the simple expedient of not paying his bills, and lived at the rate of a hundred and twenty thousand a year with an income of sixty; but after a time the tradesmen became tired of this plan, and he was compelled to bethink him of another. At one time he was very much inclined to accept a large present of money from the Duke of Orleans, the notorious Egalité, who was reported to be the richest subject in Europe, and who felt a natural sympathy for the difficulties of a kindred spirit. Mr. Fox, who was wise enough to foresee the dangers of such a step, persuaded him to abandon the idea; but he suggested in place of it a device that was even more offensive to the King. It was to put down his court, give up all his outward show, sell his horses, dismiss his Lords of the Bedchamber, and thus come before the nation to sue *in formâ pauperis* for relief—to appeal to them by all the external signs of poverty against the rigour of an avaricious father. This did not mean that he was to abandon the substance of his pleasures, but only the show. Mr. Fox did not suggest to him that he should part from his mistress, or give up the Capræ of Brighton, in order to pay his debts. In fact, the nine months during which this self-denying resolution was in operation were principally spent at that ascetic residence. He was only to give up the royal state, which he had received his income expressly to maintain. Naturally this peculiar mode of showing penitence did not excite much sympathy with the public. It was nothing less than a fresh act of hostility towards the King. The wits made themselves very merry with caricatures of the revels of the 'Merry Beggars' at Brighton; but neither the Prince nor his advisers increased their popularity by the manœuvre. Still less did he melt the heart of the unsympathetic Prime Minister. His friends did the best they could for him both in Parliament and out of it; but after a time he was compelled to moderate his demands, and to compromise his claim for a slight augmentation revocable at the King's pleasure.

In gratitude for these services, and generally for the honour of Fox's friendship, the Prince threw himself without limit or reserve into the arms of Fox's party. In public that party acted in hostility to the King; in private he was the object of their unrestrained scurrility. But this peculiarity was in the Prince's eyes no bar, probably it even added a zest, to their alliance. He certainly omitted no occasion for showing that he preferred their friendship to his father's. When he was but nineteen he openly took part in the Windsor election against the Court. When the Coalition

Coalition had overthrown Lord Shelburne, and the King was engaged in vainly attempting, by alternate entreaties to Pitt and North, to escape from his captors, the Prince was heard to say aloud at the Drawing-room 'that his father had not yet agreed to the plan of the Coalition, but by God he should be made to agree to it.' In the same spirit he voted for the India Bill against the King's known wishes, and took a public part in the Westminster election, decked out in Fox's colours.

This unconcealed enmity, painful and scandalous as it was, the King used freely to lay to the charge of Fox. Fox vehemently denied the imputation, and declared it to be a slanderous fiction of Thurlow's. If there is anything more probable than that Fox should have been guilty of the offence, it is that Thurlow should have invented the charge; but, at any rate, it is certain that, if Fox did not engender, he at least fostered the Prince's hatred of his father, and built upon it all his hopes of political success. It is not just to vilify the King, as Lord Macaulay has done, because to the end of his life he cherished a peculiar aversion for Mr. Fox. It was no case of transient insult, or of common political hostility. Lord Macaulay asks why Grey and Erskine, who as politicians had been quite as violent, were not visited with a similar proscription. The answer is, that Grey and Erskine had not estranged from him his son's affection, his heir's allegiance, and had not tainted with the contagion of licentiousness the purest Court in Europe.

We have dwelt a good deal upon the conduct of Mr. Pitt's opponents, because they really furnish the standard by which his public conduct ought to be judged. We should not appreciate his lofty public spirit as it deserves, except by comparing it with the self-seeking intrigues which were tolerated and practised by the statesmen among whose ranks he enrolled himself on his first entry into public life. We might look upon his prudence and foresight as matters of course, if they were not contrasted with the blind and greedy recklessness of those who, if he had fallen, must have occupied his place. Of his administration so long as England remained at peace—and no man laboured more hard to keep her at peace than he did—there is not much to say. Like all prosperous histories, its evenness makes it uneventful. There is no difference of opinion among modern writers upon the skill with which the disordered finances were repaired, the disaffection pacified, which when he acceded to office was widely spreading, and the failing trade of the country stimulated. Under his wise and humane administration the English became both a wealthier and a more contented people; but this only lasted so long as the country remained at peace. When the French
Convention

Convention forced England into war, there was a grievous change. Heavy taxes were laid on, harsh laws enacted, severe punishments inflicted. The era of prosperity was succeeded by a period of suffering and consequent discontent, and the discontent was repressed with an iron hand. This sinister change has with great injustice been laid to the charge of Pitt. It would be easy to show that the sacrifices both of resources and of liberty which England was undoubtedly forced to make, were only the sacrifices to which every country must be exposed which has an aggressive neighbour in a condition of frantic anarchy. But we have hardly left ourselves space to do justice to this subject. We shall be better able to treat it worthily, if we reserve it till the publication of Lord Stanhope's concluding volumes enables us to examine into Pitt's foreign and domestic policy as a whole during all that part of the revolutionary period which he lived to witness. It has been too fiercely criticised to be despatched within such limits as we can now afford to it.

But with respect to the excellence of his policy during the years of peace, there has been very little controversy in recent times. The only quarrel has been as to which political party has the right to appropriate his merits. For many years it was an historical axiom that Pitt was a Tory. He was regarded as the ideal of Tory ministers—the pattern of vigorous government and anti-revolutionary principles; and for some time accordingly Whig writers, with proper party spirit, abused his measures and depreciated his fame. As partisanship cooled, however, they were compelled to recognise his merits; but they indemnified themselves by the discovery that he was not a Tory, but a Whig. The controversy is rather a difficult one to decide, from the want of a definition of the principal terms employed. There is no doubt, on the one hand, that when he entered Parliament he took his place among the Rockingham Whigs; and it is equally certain that he was a Reformer, a Catholic Emancipator, and to some extent a Freetrader. On the other hand, he was opposed from the beginning to the end by Fox and Grey, who are enshrined in the foremost niches of the Whig Pantheon; and his political pupils were Castlereagh and Canning, who were certainly supposed by their contemporaries to be Tories. Lord Macaulay lays down that Pitt was an enlightened Whig. Before we can say aye or no to that proposition we must ascertain what are the specific qualities which in all times and places distinguish a Whig from every other breed of politician. It is needless to say that no such differentia can be found. No principle cherished by the Whigs of any one generation can be named, which the Whigs of some other generation have not repudiated. Nor is this change of watchwords peculiar

peculiar to the Whigs. The historical continuity of parties has a political as well as a sentimental value; but it is an absolute delusion if it is applied to measure the tendencies of a statesman in one age by the tendencies of another statesman in another age. It will only mislead if it is used to give a character of permanence to that which is in its nature fleeting. The axioms of the last age are the fallacies of the present; the principles which save one generation may be the ruin of the next. There is nothing abiding in political science but the necessity of truth, purity, and justice. The evils by which the body politic is threatened are in a state of constant change, and with them the remedies by which those evils must be cured. Such changes operate very rapidly in these days. The concessions that were salutary yesterday may be doubtful to-day, and insatuated weaknesses to-morrow. To insist that those who revere a great statesman's memory shall carry out, aye, and exaggerate, the policy which in his lifetime he thought prudent, is to forget that we live in an ever-changing scene. To measure Pitt by modern party-gauges, to try to accommodate his views to any 'platform' of the present day, is a folly no other in kind, and only less in degree, than that of those historians who have written the history of Greece and Rome from the 'stand-point' of Reformers of 1832.

The truth is that Pitt will always be a perplexity to those who love to classify the politics of bygone statesmen. He was far too practical a politician to be given to abstract theories, universal doctrines, watchwords, or shibboleths of any kind. He knew of no political gospel that was to be preached in season and out of season alike. When he thought reform wholesome, he proposed it: when he ceased to think it wholesome, he ceased to propose it. Whether his memory would be claimed by Reformers or anti-Reformers was a question upon which he troubled himself very little. In the same way he urged Catholic Emancipation, even at the cost of power, when he judged that the balance of advantages was on its side. He abandoned it with equal readiness as soon as the King's strong resistance and the necessity of avoiding intestine division in the face of foreign peril had placed the balance of advantage on the other side. The same untheoretic mind may be traced in all his legislation. The great merit of his measures, so far as they had a trial, was that they were admirably calculated to attain the object they had in view, with the least possible damage to the interests which any great change must necessarily affect. Their demerit was, if demerit it be, that they were justifiable on no single theory, and were often marred by what seemed to be logical contradictions, which damaged them in argument, though they did not hinder them in practice. The
result

result was that they were difficult to pass, and that he often seemed to conceal by his dexterity as a debater the essential unsoundness of his doctrines. But when they were fairly passed they worked very well. Or if he did not succeed in passing them, the miscarriage of later adventurers in the same region enables us to see that they failed precisely in proportion as they disregarded the beacons which he had laid down. His India Bill was one of the happiest instances of this sort of prosaic sagacity. Fox's bill, setting aside the atrocious partisanship which marked the nomination of the Commissionerships, was simple and systematic. Complete concentration of power and patronage in a single office, complete independence of the changing caprices of the Crown and the House of Commons, checked by a periodical liability to Parliamentary supervision, combined to make a theorist's perfect structure. But the storm of hostility with which its appearance was greeted sufficiently foretold the fatal resistance it would have practically met with when it came into operation, if Lord Temple's manœuvre had not tripped it up in the House of Lords. Pitt's bill was in all points the very reverse. It was a double Government; and double Governments are generally found to be weak. It professed to correct the misgovernment of the East India Company; and yet it left all the details of administration into which misgovernment mostly finds its way at their disposal. It professed to leave inviolate the privileges of the East India Company; and yet in some of the most momentous questions of policy it superseded the Company altogether. Its whole motive power was the highly artificial contrivance, we may say the fiction, of the Secret Committee; not a fiction that had sprung up in the lapse of ages from the decay of old powers and the growth of new, but one which was freshly and elaborately constructed by an Act of Parliament. Yet the system which he projected succeeded beyond all hope. It conducted the government of India with glory and success through many a conquest and many a civilizing reform for more than half a century. Its complicated structure made it, no doubt, slow and cumbrous; but the secret of its success was that it worked absolutely without friction. At the cost of logical simplicity it conciliated all interests and disarmed all jealousies.

The same practical good sense, and the same contempt for the reproach of anomaly, were displayed, though on a smaller scale, in the famous Regency Bill. The difficulty was an exceptional one, and required an exceptional remedy. It lay in the youth, thoughtlessness, and friendships of the Prince of Wales. It was almost a matter of certainty, from the bearing he and his advisers had adopted, that if he had acceded to the royal power in January, 1789, he would have reversed the whole
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of his father's policy, flooded the House of Peers with his own creatures, and distributed life offices and pensions among them with no sparing hand; so that when his father resumed the reins two months afterwards he would have returned to power with an overburdened Civil List and an intractable House of Lords. On the other hand, no one who wished well to the empire could have wished to intrust its affairs in a critical time to a Council of Regency. Pitt took a course between the two, giving to the Prince only a limited portion of the regal power, but allowing him to exercise that portion without restraint. It was the only course which was practically safe; and so it was judged to be by the nation, which throughout the debates supported Pitt with enthusiasm. But it was equally evident that he was creating an officer unknown to the British Constitution—a sort of half-king, with all a king's irresponsibility and rank, but only half a king's power. A less self-reliant man than Pitt, or one more under the dominion of theory, would have shrunk from the anomaly of such a step, and still more from the difficulty of defending it in debate.

The same peculiar tact in dealing with the feelings and prejudices of those on whom his measures were to operate might be traced, if our remaining space permitted us to do it, in most of the beneficial legislation by which the peaceful half of his administration was distinguished. Within the limits of the great principles of the Constitution, he always preferred to sacrifice any amount of theory rather than make for his proposals a single needless enemy. But perhaps it was in the measures which he was not allowed to pass that this tendency was most strikingly displayed. In his Reform Bill, and his proposals for Catholic relief, many of his admirers have even thought that he went too far in this direction. But still this very excess shows how deeply rooted in his mind was that tenderness for minorities which Montalembert has eulogized as the salvation of our constitutional system. It seems an obvious political truism that a great change, however right in itself, is much less likely to be carried out successfully if a large number of persons are left whose prejudices incite them to hamper it. There was no truth of which Pitt was more convinced.

In respect to the question of Catholic relief there were difficulties on both sides. Mr. Pitt, as is well known, proposed to adopt some measure for the payment of the Irish priesthood, at the same moment that he admitted their nominees to sit in Parliament. Undoubtedly he saw the real danger of Emancipation. It was a proposal in effect to admit to the councils of the nation
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those who thought, spoke, and acted as the subjects of a foreign and a distant Prince. Such a description was said in that day to be a slander; but we in our own day know by bitter experience that it is true. Mr. Pitt foresaw and wished to avert the dangers of 'independent opposition.' He judged that the concession must be made; but he wished to strip it of its terrors, by converting those who were to have the nomination to so many seats in Parliament from subjects of the Pope into subjects of the King. And he wisely conceived that the shortest and simplest plan for effecting that object was a grant from the English Treasury. But the problem was in truth insoluble. To frame an acceptable solution of this great and perplexing difficulty was in the nature of things impracticable. Everything that would have converted the Irish into loyal subjects would have alienated the religious feelings of the English. Matters had come to that pass, that it was a choice on which side of the water there should be disloyalty. The cure of the chronic discontent had become hopeless, because whatever was an emollient to one country was an irritant to the other. Among the Irish Roman Catholics themselves, as we learn from the Diaries and Correspondence of Lord Colchester*—a publication to which, as relating chiefly to a later period than that with which we are now dealing, we do not here allot the notice to which its importance entitles it—the state of feeling very soon after became such that no such Treasury grant would have been accepted.

Of Pitt's character, not as a statesman but as a man, these volumes will leave a very pleasant impression. It has been too much the fashion to regard him either as a blue-book on two legs, in whom facts and figures had smothered all human passion, or else as a joyless, loveless misanthrope, the incarnation of pure and unmixed ambition. It is impossible that any one can retain either of these impressions on rising from a perusal of Lord Stanhope's volumes. Wilberforce's diary, and the letters which Lord Stanhope prints for the first time, show that there was nothing approaching to sullenness in his disposition. There is not a black thought or moody word in them from the first to the last. He was tried, spite of his success, by severe disappointments both at home and abroad. The Opposition harassed him with an unscrupulousness of tactics, of which even we, who have seen some brilliant displays in that style, cannot form an idea; and his colleague Thurlow treated him with a mixture of insolence and perfidy compared to which open opposition was a luxury. Most of the darling schemes of

* 3 vols. 8vo., London, 1860.

his life were foiled by the anarchy of Ireland and France. And, to make all annoyances worse, the gout appears from his letters to have been a very frequent visitor. And yet not a word approaching to impatience ever appears in any one of them. The tone which prevails throughout them is that of a cheerful, contented, quiet man, with whom the world is going evenly. In point of manner their most striking feature is their extreme equanimity. There is no trace of depression at his first defeat at Cambridge, or of anger at the intrigue which drove him and Lord Shelburne out of office after the peace. There is no trace of exultation at the marvellous success of his early speeches, or at his own unparalleled popularity in 1784. He announces his victories over the Coalition in the same unimpassioned tone in which he announces that he has been to the Duchess of Bolton's. There are none of those professions of indifference to good or evil fortune which belie themselves; there is no word indicating the existence of any feeling on the subjects of which he writes, except that of a calm complacency. When his letters appear, as they occasionally do, by the side of letters from some one of the colleagues who were standing by him in the fight, the contrast shows how wide an interval there was between Pitt's instinctive calmness and the self-control of ordinary men. His reliance appears to have been the result of no conscious effort. He rather writes as if he had the habit of regarding language as an unsuitable vehicle for the communication of feelings, and would have recoiled from any allusion to them as an impertinence. Even when he is forced to speak of them, as on the occasion of the death of his younger brother, he does so in a stiff and laboured style which shows how much the effort cost him. His grief appears to have been very sincere; but the language in which he expresses it reads as if it were taken from the 'Complete Letter-Writer.'

His manners have been censured as 'stiff, retired, reserved, and sullen.' The accusation has been sufficiently refuted by Lord Wellesley, who spoke from close and intimate acquaintance in a letter addressed to the late Mr. Croker in 1836 (No. 114):—

'His manners were perfectly plain, without any affectation, but he seemed utterly unconscious of his own superiority, and much more disposed to listen than to talk. He never betrayed any symptom of anxiety to usurp the lead or to display his own powers, but rather inclined to draw forth others, and to take merely an equal share in the general conversation: then, he plunged heedlessly into the mirth of the hour with no other care than to promote the general good humour and happiness of the company. . . . He was endowed beyond any man of the time whom I knew with a gay heart and a social spirit.'

The volumes before us contain abundance of similar testimonials. The club at Goostree's, of which he was the life and
Vol. 109.—No. 218. 2 P soul,

soul, certainly do not seem to have thought him sullen; and when Wilberforce picked up the fragments of his opera-hat out of the flower-garden at Wimbledon, he probably did not complain of Pitt's manner as being too reserved. Nor was this gaiety the mere ebullition of youthful spirits. Nineteen years of office did not wear it away. 'Nothing,' says Lord Fitzharris, writing in 1806, 'could be more playful than Pitt's conversation. His style and manner were quite those of an accomplished idler.' Equally unfounded is the charge that his heart was unaffectionate or cold. His tender affection for his nieces, the earnest and thoughtful regard for his mother which his letters constantly breathe, his deep attachment to his home, and interest in all that concerned it,—all negative the absurd assertion that 'he had no domestic joys,' and that he was a mere official machine unencumbered with a heart. Some of the greatest mistakes he committed were the mistakes of affection. His feelings misled him into making two appointments, which were not only the worst that he ever made, but almost the worst which it was possible for him to make—and those were the appointment of his brother, Lord Chatham, to the Admiralty, and the appointment of his tutor, Dr. Pretyman, to a bishopric. Almost the only letter in which he departs for a moment from his habitual calmness is that in which he implores Secretary Dundas not to leave the Ministry on account of the arrogant encroachments of the Duke of Portland, who had just joined it. The only occasion on which his self-possession deserted him in the House of Commons was when his old friend, Lord Melville, was condemned by the House for culpable laxity in his dealing with the public money:—

'I have ever thought,' says Lord Fitzharris, 'that an aiding cause in Pitt's death, certainly one that tended to shorten his existence, was the result of the proceedings against his old friend and colleague Lord Melville. I sat wedged close to Pitt himself, the night when we were 216 to 216; and the Speaker, Abbot, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes, gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle (of notorious memory), say they would see "how Billy looked after it." A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together, and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the Colonel nor his friends could approach him.'—*Lord Fitzharris's Note Book*, 1805.

These are lighter traits. It is no slight testimony to the matchless purity of his public character, that he has to be defended on questions such as these. If his eager detractors could have hunted out any other flaw, they would not have busied

busied themselves with the graces of his manner, or the temperature of his emotions. It is not on issues so trifling that posterity will try the greatness of 'the pilot that weathered the storm.' The lapse of years only brings out in brighter lustre the grandeur of his intellect and the loftiness of his character. In the combined gentleness and firmness of his administration he was a typical English statesman. No man was ever so yielding without being weak, or so stern without being obstinate. In ordinary times he followed after peace more anxiously than Walpole, and often offended his friends by his willingness to compromise and concede. When revolutionary passions had made gentleness impossible, he could be as rigorous as Strafford or as Cromwell. As a legislator, the experience of years has tended more and more to confirm his wisdom. Most of the evils under which we suffer are evils of which he warned us; and where we have averted or softened them, it has been by remedies of his devising. The policy, both at home and abroad, in commerce and in government, which all parties now by common consent pursue, follows very closely the maxims which he laid down. He was the first parliamentary statesman, unless an exception be made in favour of his father, who represented not a section, but the whole of England—monarchical, aristocratic, agricultural, commercial. The King justly prized him, as his wisest and truest champion. The aristocracy, after he had overthrown the clique which had domineered over them for so long, rallied gradually round his standard. The country gentlemen long toasted him as the impersonation of loyal and patriotic statesmanship, and the commercial classes clung to him as their special protector. England may well cherish his fame, and look upon his greatness with an interest which no other single image in modern political history can claim. She owes it to him that she was rescued from the deep degradation into which corruption and imbecility had plunged her. She owes to him the policy which, planned and commenced by him, and perfected by his disciples, placed her on a pinnacle of greatness which no modern nation had attained before. But she owes to him a greater benefit than all these—an example of pure and self-denying patriotism, and the elevation of public feeling which it has worked. If corruption has been driven from our politics altogether,—if faction is being daily more discredited,—if our public men, even the worst of them, are more patriotic in their conduct than the statesmen of the Coalition,—these results are in no small degree due to the spectacle with which Pitt's long career familiarized the nation's eyes, of stainless purity and lofty forgetfulness of self.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Correspondence with the Government of India on the subject of the Introduction of a Paper Currency into India, and Minutes by Mr. Wilson on the Introduction of a Gold Currency.* 1860.
2. *Homeward Mail.* 1860, 1861.
3. *Correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Madras, and Despatches of the Secretary of State for India on the Recall of Sir Charles Trevelyan.* 1860.
4. *Statement by Sir Charles Trevelyan of the Circumstances connected with his Recall from the Government of Madras.* 1860.
5. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* 1860.
6. *Observations on the Legislature at Calcutta.* By John M. Macleod. London, 1857. (Not published.)

IN consequence of financial difficulties caused by the measures taken to quell the late mutinies, and to restore peace and order in India, and more particularly by the great increase of our military forces in that country, Her Majesty's Ministers deemed it advisable to appoint a financier to fill a vacancy in that seat in the Governor-General's Council which is by law required to be occupied by some person not in any of the regular Indian Services, civil or military. Their choice fell on Mr. Wilson, and he accordingly proceeded to India. There, without loss of time, he applied himself with remarkable energy and assiduity to the task committed to him, of devising and proposing means to restore the finances to a prosperous condition. Within a few weeks from the time of his arrival he made long journeys, prepared plans embracing the measures which he thought that it would be advisable to adopt, laid those plans in the form of Minutes before the Executive Government, by which they were unhesitatingly adopted, and then, backed by its authority, proposed them to the Legislative Council, in speeches avowedly imitative of those which Chancellors of the Exchequer make in the House of Commons. In one speech he put forth his Budget, in which he proposed to equalise the revenue and the expenditure, by means of three new taxes, and of the retrenchments which he thought that the Government might make. In another speech he advanced a proposal to make a vast change in the currency of India, by means of very extensive issues of paper-money, on a plan the principles and details of which he set forth at great length.

While these weighty subjects, thus brought forward by Mr. Wilson, were still before the Council, and he was devotedly pursuing his honourable career, a mortal disease, perhaps caused—without doubt forwarded—by his incessant and anxious labours and by climate, stealthily and rapidly overcame him, and closed his life. We are not unmindful of his merits or untouched by his

his fate. But the public interests demand that the measures which he proposed, and the reasonings and speculations which he advanced in support of them, should be impartially examined. It is very generally understood that he virtually carried with him to India a singular and special authority, second only to that of the Governor-General himself, that he thus in effect superseded as to their highest duties the local officers of finance, and that he was charged with this extraordinary trust in consequence of a belief that he was an adept both in financial administration and in the most advanced doctrines of economical science. Hence, a peculiar importance attaches to his Minutes and to those speeches in which he introduced his measures, and which have received much commendation in this country as well as in India. Not only do the interests of India demand the more imperatively that his ideas and plans should be well examined, but such examination is due to the interests of science, which concern all the world.

It will be convenient to begin with the consideration of his plan for introducing paper-money largely into the currency.

It is right, however, to premise that the idea of taking some measure of this kind did not originate with Mr. Wilson. It had already been a subject of discussion in India and in England, and of some correspondence between the local government and the Indian authorities in this country. That correspondence comprises a note by Mr. Lushington, the Financial Secretary at Calcutta, which has been treated with vituperation and unfair criticism by some writers in this country, but which is a creditable paper, containing useful observations of a practical character, and showing theoretical views on the subject of currency, of narrower compass it is true, but also less sanguine and less incorrect, than those put forth by Mr. Wilson.

We shall lay before our readers, in Mr. Wilson's own words, certain propositions which he professedly makes the basis of his scheme of currency, and which he lays down as fully-established principles in political economy, a branch of speculative knowledge which he believes to have reached a very advanced stage. He enumerates four conditions as requisite in order to render paper a safe and useful substitute for coin:—

'First, the paper must be identical in exchangeable value with the coin it represents.

'Secondly, to be identical in value, it should be identical in quantity with the coin which is displaced by its use; so that, in point of fact, the mixed currency of notes and coin would be of the same amount as if it were wholly of coin.

'Thirdly, all the laws which would determine variations in the quantity

quantity of coin in circulation from time to time, should apply equally to a mixed circulation of coin and paper; the latter act being an addition to the currency, but only a substitution of a portion of the coin which would otherwise be required.

'*Fourthly*, in order that paper should perform all the functions of coin, it is essential that it should be a legal tender for all payments, except by the issuers, by whom it should be convertible into the coin it represents, at the will and on the demand of the holder.'

Mr. Wilson also says:—

'It may be laid down as a rule to be strictly observed, that if notes are to be made a legal tender without any risk of their abuse, two conditions are requisite:—

'First, that a provision should be strictly maintained for a sufficient metallic reserve to secure the immediate convertibility of the notes at all times.

'Secondly, that there shall be absolute ultimate security for the payment of the notes.'

Upon these doctrines we shall offer some remarks in the course of this article. Meanwhile we proceed to state the arrangements by which Mr. Wilson proposed to carry his views into effect.

A Board of Commissioners was to be formed at Calcutta, whose duties were to be strictly defined by an Act of the local legislature, over whom the Government was to have no power except within the limits of the Act, and who should be bound by oath to obey the provisions of the Act. They were to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, but were not to be removable except by the Secretary of State for India. There were to be similar boards at Madras and Bombay; and currency circles of convenient size, each under a Deputy-Commissioner, were to be formed throughout the three Presidencies, and supplied with notes from Calcutta. These Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners were to receive silver coin or bullion in exchange for notes. The notes were to be in the first instance for five, ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand rupees; and the subsequent issue of notes for less than five rupees was contemplated. They were to be a legal tender everywhere throughout India, as well by and to the Government officers as between private persons; with this qualification, however, that the notes of each district were to be payable in coin, on demand, at the Issue Office of the district, and that the notes of all the districts were to be similarly payable at the Issue Office of the Presidency town.

The Commissioners were at all times to retain an amount of coin bearing such a proportion to the notes in circulation as should from time to time be determined upon, but never less than

than one-third, and for the remainder of their issues they were to hold Government Securities, so that the Issue Department should always be possessed of silver and public securities together to the full extent of the notes issued.

As soon as the system was well introduced, a portion of the silver obtained for notes at any branch office of issue would be forwarded to the Chief Commissioner in Calcutta to be invested in public securities. The amount of such remittances of coin would be placed to the credit of the branch, and would be available in case of need for the use of the branch. The only other business which the branches would perform would be to give orders upon other branches in exchange for coin or notes at the established rates of the day. These orders would be adjusted as between the different branches in the books of the chief office in Calcutta.

Mr. Wilson remarks that,—

‘By maintaining at all times a fixed proportion of silver to the amount of notes in circulation, and convertible public securities for the remainder, not only is the immediate convertibility of any probable portion of the notes likely to be presented provided for, and the ultimate payment of the whole specially secured, but a natural and self-acting limit is placed upon the amount of the circulation, a limit which would expand and contract according to the wants of the community, in the same manner and to the same extent as a purely silver currency would do.’

This self-acting limit would, according to his views, secure constant conformity to the third of his four requisite ‘conditions,’ by preventing the notes from being an addition to the currency, and causing them to be only a substitute for a portion of the coin which would otherwise be required, or, as he has expressed it elsewhere, ‘for the silver coins which they displaced.’

It appears to us that he is wrong in these opinions.

We are unable to discover in the measure proposed ‘a natural and self-acting limit to the amount of the circulation, a limit which would expand and contract according to the wants of the community, in the same manner and to the same extent as a purely silver currency would do,’ or, we may add, in any manner or to any extent. Let us consider what are the main features of the plan. Paper-money which is to be convertible at the places of its issue, and to be a legal tender everywhere, is to be issued, without any limitation provided in the plan but what is involved in requiring that for all such paper-money there shall be held by the issuers coin to at least one-third of its amount and Government Securities corresponding in amount to the remainder. We say limitation provided in the plan. What might

might be done by discretion, or what by imprudence, in the execution, is a different question; with reference to which we shall here only observe that we do not like the scheme of a Commission, not subject in any way to the control or direction of the Government in India, though containing among its members the Master of the Mint and some other servants of the Government; an *imperium in imperio* over a great department, in which, notwithstanding any attempt which might be made to provide for all possible contingencies by an Act of the Legislature, and to leave nothing to discretion, weighty state questions full of difficulty and delicacy might still arise.

Now suppose that the Commission is constituted, and that it has issued paper in exchange for three crores of silver * rupees received. One crore of the coin must be retained, but, according to Mr. Wilson's plan, two crores may be expended in the purchase of Government securities, and thus re-issued. Suppose that this is done. In place of the three crores of coin we have now in circulation three crores of paper-money and two crores of silver rupees; together five crores. Nor need the expansion end here. The two crores of rupees may come back and have the same process repeated on them with a like result; and again and again the diminished, and still farther diminished, two-thirds re-issued in buying Government securities may return, still to be treated in the same way. There is no limit that we can see—limit, we mean, provided in the plan, 'self-acting limit,' to use Mr. Wilson's phrase—until we have the whole three crores of coin in store, together with six crores of Government securities, and have in circulation in the place of the three crores of coin nine crores of paper-money. In truth the *theoretical* limit to the substitution of paper for coin and to the expansion of the currency, is, it seems to us, only to be found, under Mr. Wilson's plan, in a state of things which in practice would, we admit, be unattainable, perhaps unapproachable, that of having got all the coin in the country, except what would barely suffice for very small payments, into reserve, and having in lieu of it paper-money of thrice its amount in circulation.

Prudent management might, no doubt, prevent so enormous an expansion. Or a check of a different nature might occur; for it appears to us that, without an approach to that extreme state of things, a very unsafe degree of expansion might have been reached; that the paper might then, perhaps owing immediately to some casual alarm, begin to be mistrusted, and the expansion

* A crore of rupees may be said, in round numbers, to be equivalent to one million sterling.

be checked by pressure for coin at the places of issue. Is it impossible that the pressure might not stop till all the coin in reserve was re-issued, nor even then, but go on attended with calamitous consequences?

Mr. Wilson's doctrine is that, by the introduction of a large quantity of convertible paper into the circulation of India in the way proposed by him, an equal amount of coin would be caused to leave that circulation, and that, consequently, 'the mixed currency of notes and coin would be of the same amount as if it were wholly of coin.' We are of a different opinion. We maintain that, supposing a very extensive introduction of paper-money to take place either under Mr. Wilson's plan, as propounded by him, or under any plan which may be substituted for it, it would not necessarily follow that the quantity of coin in India would ever be very considerably less than if the paper-money had not been introduced; and we think it probable that, for years to come, it would either not be less at all, or be less only in a quite unimportant degree. Why should any large quantity of silver leave the circulation and be applied to uses which, in contradistinction to the use of it as money, are by Mr. Wilson and others called 'reproductive uses,' to such uses in India as the making of increased quantities of plate for the tables of English gentlemen and ornaments for native women? Is it because, as Mr. Wilson tells us, the place of a large quantity of coin being taken by the paper, that coin will be set free and must be off, the wants of the country as to money being limited, while, on the other hand, as Adam Smith long ago told the world, there is no limit to the demand for luxuries and ornaments? That opinion seems to us a delusion.

Consider what enormous quantities of silver have of late years been imported into India. Upwards of forty-one millions sterling, within the last three years, says the writer of an article on the Cotton-trade, in a late number of the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' against which less than two millions are to be set off as exported, leaving thirty-nine millions added to what was before in the country. What has become of these thirty-nine millions worth of silver? It is said (and we see no reason to doubt it) that nearly the whole has been coined into rupees, and has entered into the circulation. To produce what effect? To drive out other rupees and to send them to 'reproductive uses'? No, but to expand the currency and raise the prices of commodities, especially those of native growth. What then has given admission into the currency of India to so large a quantity of coin? Is it that a scarcity of money was felt, an insufficiency in amount for the transactions of the country, and that,

that, in order to supply that want, bullion was imported and coined into rupees? Certainly not. The currency, before its expansion, was as adequate to the business of the country as it has been since. The fall in the value of money, or general rise of prices, caused by the expansion, so far as it is tantamount to an increase in the bulk and weight of the medium of exchanges, is a positive inconvenience; and, inasmuch as it benefits some classes (among which are debtors) at the cost of others (including creditors), is a thing that, if it were purposely effected, would be an injustice. The cause of the importation of the bullion is that it is required for the adjustment of the balance of the transactions, political and commercial, between England and India. What has caused it to be coined and added to the currency is, that the quantity of silver for which there is at any time a ready demand in India for the purpose of using it as a material of manufacture is but small, whereas the quantity that can at the mint price be easily, and at once, disposed of for coinage is unlimited.

Now consider that this vast addition of coin to the currency has been made, and remains in it, and say whether it could reasonably be expected that an addition of twelve millions sterling to the currency made by issuing notes to the amount of eighteen crores of rupees (no small issue), and taking six crores into reserve in the issue department, would cause so much as the small sum of 10,000 rupees (1000*l.*) to leave the currency for 'reproductive uses,' or, indeed, to leave it at all. It were a bold thing to hazard any prediction pretending to precision in a matter of this kind. But we do not expect the issue of Government paper-money within two years to amount to nine crores of rupees, and it seems likely that it will not send a single ounce of silver into 'reproductive employment.'

We will not say that a very large issue of paper-money in India would have no tendency to promote the practice of hoarding.* But we think that it could have no considerable effect in that direction. At any rate, the hoarding of rupees, though undeniably practised with a view to reproduction, will not by any one be called a 'reproductive use' of silver.

It is true that an increase of the currency, whether by means of coin or of paper, tends to bring about such a change of prices as naturally operates as a check to the importation of bullion. This, no doubt, is the way in which the importation now going on so rapidly will be checked. But it is to be remembered that

* * It certainly would not put an end to hoarding, as some of Mr. Wilson's adherents imagine.

India, an extensive continent, without mines of gold or silver, with a vast population, and as to wealth though not to be compared to the richest of European countries yet in a considerably forward state, is necessarily a bullion-importing country. In the normal condition of its external trade it imports more silver than it exports. When the state of its public finances does not render them unable to pay the very heavy political charges which its government bears in this country, it has, by the merchandise which it exports, to meet those charges, in addition to the value of the merchandise which it imports, and yet it exports so much as not only to meet both, but to cause a balance to be due to it, which is paid by the importation of bullion. The exports, further, are the means by which private fortunes, to a large average annual amount, pass from India to England. On the other hand, the quantity of silver requiring to be sent to India has lately been increased by arrangements connected with Indian railways, and by other enterprises attended with the employment of English capital in India. We believe, however, that we are correct in saying that influx of specie into India may be considered as normal, and that exportation of bullion from India to England, though not unknown within the last forty years, is quite out of the ordinary course.

We ought not to leave out of view the measures in progress or in design for encouraging the production and facilitating the carriage of articles of merchandise, the subject of exportation from India to England.

All these considerations appear to us to lead to the conclusion that there is little reason to expect a diminution of the coin current in India from any issue of Government paper-money that can be made there.

We hold that, in order that the paper in circulation should be identical in exchangeable value with the coin, it is not necessary, as believed by Mr. Wilson, that it should be identical in quantity with the coin which is displaced by its use, but only that it should be, in fact as well as in law, convertible at the pleasure of the holder. But, under such a system as that now proposed, the convertibility of the notes at the places of issue would not necessarily prevent the possibility of their depreciation elsewhere, even though aided by their being a legal tender, and though in amount they only equalled, or even were short of equalling, the coin which had been displaced. We are now dealing with a question of practical policy, not of abstract science. But, even in order to treat of subjects that belong to political economy in the most purely scientific way without falling into grievous errors, it is absolutely necessary never to forget that the moving forces, with the operation

operation of which that science is concerned, have their seat and source in the minds of men, and are not capable of being accurately measured or weighed like mechanical forces. Hence, any proposition about the effect of an untried proceeding with respect to such a matter as the currency of India ought, if it has an air of mathematical accuracy, to be regarded on that account with suspicion. We believe that no system, however sound, for the extensive use of paper-money in India, can, with safety, be left to self-action so much as Mr. Wilson seems to think that his scheme may be. It is a matter in which we are convinced that not only at first, though then especially, but at all times, there will be need of vigilant and wise superintendence, ready to give such directions as varying circumstances may render expedient. He is of opinion that the convertibility of the notes would of itself prevent a possibility of expanding the currency to a dangerous extent. We think that this is a mistake. Looking at the state of India and its population, at the proposed mode of proceeding in respect of getting the notes into circulation, and at the proposed *denominations* of them,—seeing that it is intended to begin with a series descending so low as to five-rupee notes, and that the subsequent issue of still smaller notes is contemplated,—considering also that the currency circles to be supplied with notes by the several offices of issue must be very large,—it appears to us to be clearly possible that, notwithstanding that convertibility, an excessive and dangerous expansion of the currency might take place.

It is of importance to have correct views of the manner in which an expansion of the currency, by means of paper-money, affects prices generally, and of its bearing on the maintenance of equality in the value of the notes and of the coin. Every expansion of the currency *tends* to lower the exchangeable value of money, or, in other words, to raise prices generally. Such an expansion may, however, take place to a considerable, though not to a very great extent, without actually producing that effect. And, what seems very worthy of being attended to in dealing with the matter in hand, such an expansion can, we are convinced, produce that effect, even in a very considerable degree, without the occurrence of any difference in value between the notes and the coin, or, to say really the same thing in other words, without any depreciation of the paper-money. We cannot believe it to be possible that the great expansion of the currency which would necessarily accompany the introduction of paper-money into the circulation under Mr. Wilson's scheme, to the extent or nearly to the extent which he contemplated, should fail materially to raise prices in general, yet we think it probable that, as long as
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all went on smoothly, the notes and the coin would, as money, be of the same value. We are aware of the doctrine, prominent in the theoretical political economy of the day, that the value of the precious metals, and of almost everything else, is determined by the cost of production alone; and we believe that there are clever and ingenious men who, on that ground, would affirm that a fall relative to commodities generally in the value of the coin in a currency, through an expansion of that currency by issues of paper-money, is impossible. But, though we do not deny that the doctrine referred to, if understood with very important qualifications and restrictions, is not groundless, we do not think it true in any such sense as would warrant that inference. Nothing, it appears to us, can be more certain than that paper-money can and does expand currency, and does thereby affect the value of the precious metals relatively to commodities generally. Can it be doubted that if all the paper-money in the world were suddenly withdrawn, and the coin left to perform alone all its functions as money, the value of the coin and of bullion would rise and the prices of commodities in general fall? These views appear to us to afford ground for thinking that in the present state of the world in respect of the supply of the precious metals, a special advantage will attend a rather slow than rapid procedure in introducing paper-money very extensively into the currency of India. The gain to some and corresponding loss to others, which inevitably are direct and immediate effects of a fall in the value of money, caused either by large new supplies of gold or silver, or by a change made by Government for beneficial ends in the composition of the currency, are, indeed, legitimate gain and loss. But still it seems not unworthy of an enlightened and benevolent Government to endeavour, as far as may be consistent with the attainment of more important objects, to avoid so acting as to aggravate by its proceedings effects of this kind produced by the former cause. Mr. Wilson himself regarded it rather as an advantage that the contemplated extensive introduction of paper-money should be gradual. But he observes that it must necessarily be so under his system; and he evidently contemplated the pushing of the work on as fast as the requisite notes could be furnished. He hoped 'within two years at the outside to have the whole system in full operation throughout India.' It was thus that, according to his notions, the advantages attending cautious and gradual procedure, in making a great change in the composition of the currency of a vast empire, were to be obtained!

Returning now to the two rules which Mr. Wilson has laid down as necessary to be strictly observed if notes are to be made a legal tender, we find, as to the first, that his measure contains

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no effectual provision for a sufficient metallic reserve to secure the immediate convertibility of the notes at all times. As to the second rule, that there shall be absolute ultimate security for the payment of the notes, we find that, whether such security would or would not exist, it is not provided by the machinery which he proposed for that purpose.

In considering that part of the scheme which provides for the holding of Government Securities by the Commissioners as security for the eventual payment of the notes, a point which may be thought worthy of attention is the liability of those funds to rise and fall, and the effect which an alarm about the currency would probably have on their market value. We must own, however, that, for an entirely different reason, this part of the scheme appears to us to be fundamentally fallacious and delusive. The whole of the proposed system of currency is to be purely a Government concern. The security for the notes in circulation will really consist of two parts: first, the coin and bullion in reserve; and second, the credit and financial resources of the Government. This it will be; and it cannot be more. What is the purchase of Government Securities by a department of the Government? What but effecting, and that so far in a not unusual way, a diminution of the public debt? * What is the sale of such securities by such department but contracting public debt to the amount of the securities sold? The Indian Government we fear is not likely to be very soon in a condition to redeem, consistently with wise financial management, any portion of its debt, unless by some operation designed to diminish the interest on that debt, but not aiming at any decrease of the capital. Nor can we deem it quite certain of having no need to borrow, especially if it deny to its finances the aid which might be derived from directly applying to the payment of charges the money or some part of the money which Mr. Wilson proposes to lay out in the purchase of Government Securities. Could it then be wise for that Government to go into the market, and at one and the same time buy with one hand and sell with the other different portions of the same thing, its own public securities? We are surprised that Mr. Wilson should have recommended an arrangement obviously involving the high probability, if not the certain occurrence, of such a proceeding, and should have expressed such opinions as he has done, without reference to the state of the finances, about advantages to accrue to the State from the effect of the purchase of Government Securities in lowering the rate of interest and sustaining the credit of Government.

* Mr. Wilson says in his Minute (para. 46), 'It would practically and in effect be the same as cancelling so much public debt.'

In times within the memory of many men still living such notions used to be uttered by Chancellors of the Exchequer, in explaining the marvellous working of the Sinking Fund in the face of an incessantly increasing National Debt. But every one knows that the practice of those days has long been abandoned, and that stock is now purchased by the Commissioners only when there is a clear surplus of revenue over expenditure, applicable to the diminution of the debt.

Will it be said that the holding of the securities by the managers of the department of issue would increase public confidence in the notes, or would afford any facility not otherwise easily attainable for getting more coin after what had been in reserve was expended in meeting a run for coin on the Issue Department? We see no reason to think that it would do either. The public confidence in the notes would be mainly grounded on their connexion with the Government, and anything which appeared to sever that connexion, or which in any degree veiled it, would tend rather to diminish than to increase confidence, especially at places distant from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Nor can we see that either the ultimate payment of the notes, or the prompt payment of them on demand at the places of issue, would be made really in the smallest degree more sure by making a department of the Government be in appearance what it certainly would not be in reality, a creditor of the Government. Need it be remarked that the proposed paper-money and the promissory notes of the Government, called Government Securities, while in the hands of the department and belonging to the Government, would, in reality both alike, merely be prepared paper, fit for uses with a view to which it was kept, but to which it was not at present applied; that, when applied to their respective uses, they are both of them tokens of pecuniary obligations of the Government, and that the whole real security for all those obligations must consist of the power, good faith, and financial resources of the Government? The prompt payment of the notes on demand would be insured by the proposed reserve of coin, as far as it would go. If the Issue Department should have need of more coin, aid to it might perhaps be afforded from the cash balances in the public treasuries. If money must in consequence of the state of the Issue Department and of the public finances be raised by way of loan, surely it had better be done as usual by the financial department of the Government. It is no doubt true that if coin received in exchange for notes, and not required to be kept in reserve, be expended in buying Government Securities, the interest on those securities will be saved, and that, as observed by Mr. Wilson, the saving would be greater in
India

India than it would be by a similar transaction of the same extent in England, by reason of the higher rate of interest in India. But still the purchase does not in the smallest degree add to the real security for the notes in circulation; and it entirely depends on the state of the finances whether it is or is not expedient to make that particular use of the money. The question how the money can be best employed, is not for the Department of Issue, but for the Financial Department of the Government; and thus much seems certain, that, when the Government is under the necessity of borrowing, it cannot be for its advantage to expend money needlessly in redeeming a portion of its debt.

So much for the supposed security to be derived from causing the Issue Commissioners to become purchasers of the public debt of the Government of India.

To return to the four 'conditions' stated by Mr. Wilson * to be essential to safe and useful paper-money: we think that he is clearly in error as to every one of them except the *first*. With reference to the *second*, we deny that, 'to be identical in value' (present exchangeable value) 'with the coin it represents,' it is necessary that the paper-money in circulation should be identical in quantity with the coin which is displaced by its use. It is only necessary that the paper should, not in law only, but in fact, and by easy means, be convertible at the pleasure of the holder. It is strange that Mr. Wilson should not have perceived that his own plan disagrees with his doctrine, inasmuch as it would be impossible to return into the circulation by the purchase of Government Securities two-thirds of the coin for which paper was issued, without making the amount of the paper exceed that of the coin displaced by its use. It is obvious that if the *second* condition cannot be maintained, neither can the *third*. As to the *fourth*, without going into the question of the policy of making paper a legal tender in India, we would observe that the theoretical proposition here enunciated seems true only in a sense in which it is futile. Paper can, without being a legal tender, perform all the functions of coin, except acting as a legal tender, and practically even serve to a considerable extent as if invested with that function.

Seeing the confidence with which Mr. Wilson set forth those 'rules' and 'conditions' as irrefragable truths of political economy, and considering the authority which he derived from his reputation and his position, we think that the fact of his having fallen into such errors as we have pointed out,—if, as we are convinced, they really are errors,—affords matter for grave reflection.

* See above, p. 567.

Not less erroneous appear to us to have been his views on the subject of the use of the precious metals as money, and his expectations as to the influence which his new paper currency would speedily exercise upon the wealth of India.

These opinions and expectations were repeatedly expressed by him in very decided and sanguine language.

‘Inasmuch as,’ says he, ‘the coin required for circulation is a real abstraction from the available active capital of the country, it follows that any method that can be adopted by which the quantity of coin required for the transactions of the country may be reduced, with perfect security to the maintenance of the standard, to that extent so much capital will be released from an unprofitable employment, and returned into the channel of reproductive uses.’

‘Suppose one of the banks [*i. e.* offices of issue] to issue notes in exchange for coin to the extent of 3 crores of rupees, 1 crore would be retained as a reserve to meet demands for conversion, 2 crores would be applied to the purchase of public stock, to be held in reserve for the balance; this purchase would disengage the capital of the persons from whom the purchase was made to that extent, and which would be at once available for other purposes; this operation would increase the price of public securities by the additional demand, and would tend to reduce the rate of interest, by increasing the fund available for employment in mercantile and industrious pursuits, and thus the economy of capital alluded to in the early part of this minute would be effected, to whatever extent the issue department held public securities against the notes in circulation, which after a time must necessarily amount to a very large sum.’

And again he says in his speech : *—

‘I have already shown you by what process the Government would become possessed of a large share of the securities representing the debt of the State, by employing a portion of this coin, withdrawn from circulation and replaced by notes, in the purchase of such securities.† To whatever extent the currency commissioners become purchasers of public stock, there must be sellers to the same extent to whom the surplus coin would be paid. Those persons would not permit their capital, so relieved from one investment, to remain idle, but would naturally seek other profitable modes of using it. To this extent capital would be more abundant, competition for its employment would be greater, and the tendency would be, to use a familiar phrase, for money to become cheaper. No doubt the first tendency would also be for silver to fall in price as it became released from the circulation, the first effect of which would be to lead to its exportation to any country where the merchant found it would yield a profit, and by this operation the equilibrium of value would be instantly restored.

* Of March 3, 1860.—*Homeward Mail*, p. 317.

† ‘Ultimately it (Mr. Wilson’s scheme) would have set loose at least a half of the coinage of India, and have made the Government the holder of its own debt.’—*Friend of India*, Feb. 21, 1861. See also the note at p. 576, *supra*.

In short, to abstract so much coin from the mere mechanical purpose of the circulation, supplying its place with convertible paper, would be exactly the same in effect, as if suddenly, in the centre of the Midan,* a rich silver mine had been discovered, and which produced silver at little or no cost. The first operation would be to lead to an export of that silver in exchange for articles of various descriptions which were really in demand, and by which means to the full extent the real wealth of the country and the aggregate amount of its reproductive capital would be increased.'

Mr. Wilson cites high authority for the proposition, that gold or silver employed as coin is abstracted from 'reproductive employment.' Now, so to define 'reproductive employment' as to exclude from the meaning of the term the use of gold and silver money in carrying on all kinds of business seems rather a strong exercise of liberty in the use of language. But of course, taking the word in the sense assigned to it by such a definition, gold or silver employed as coin is abstracted from 'reproductive employment.' Nor can it be denied that the use of paper-money has a *tendency* to increase the quantity of the precious metals turned to other uses than that of being the material of which money is made; though we hold that it can only produce that effect by expanding the currency, and thereby lowering the exchangeable value of those metals with reference to other commodities, and not by taking the place of a quantity of coin, making it superfluous, and so causing it either to quit the country or to be melted into bullion for such uses.

It is asserted by Mr. Wilson, however, in a passage above quoted, that coin, so far as it is used for currency, 'causes a real abstraction of capital from its ordinary and profitable channels.' In any sense in which we can understand it, this seems to us an entirely untrue proposition. It is undeniable that, taking into view the whole world, coin is by far the chief part of the currency; and that even in those countries, at least in those great countries where paper-money is most in use, in England for example, coin not only is the basis but also forms even in respect of quantity a considerable part of the currency. And not to speak of the indispensable use of money in every branch of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, or of the manner in which it has essentially contributed to the rise and progress of civilization, is it not notorious that the business of bankers and other dealers in money is among the most ordinary and most profitable ways, or, if the word be preferred, 'channels,' in which capital is employed? Is the gold coin which one sees passing in no small quantity over the counter at Coutts's or Drummond's moving in

* The Hyde Park of Calcutta.

a channel that is not ordinary and not profitable? Are the sovereigns with which their drawers are filled a portion of capital abstracted from profitable employment? It might as well be said that such an abstraction is caused by roads, canals, and railways, by waggons, barges, and ships, by draught horses and locomotive engines, all of which are used in ways analogous to those in which money performs its part in the production and distribution of wealth. The opinions advanced by Mr. Wilson on this subject appear to us at once to involve a very important error on his part in economical science, and to account for a fundamental flaw in the great measure of practical policy which he proposed; and in maintaining, contrary to those opinions, that we do not believe that by any issue of paper-money in India the capital there employed in what he calls 'reproductive uses' could in the direct way described by him be considerably increased, we are at issue with him on a question not about words, or about a doctrine merely, but about the way in which his scheme would operate if it were to be carried into execution. It is a most important point. His views on it are the foundation of his plan. And although, as we shall presently see, a modification of that plan has been ordered by the Secretary of State in Council, so fundamental as really to amount to the rejection of it and the adoption of another and better plan instead of it, yet we cannot but regard this question as still of great importance.

Even supposing that the issue of paper-money did cause a quantity of silver to quit the currency and take to what is called 'reproductive employment,' it seems to us a mistake to think that so much will thereby be added to the capital, which maintains labour, and is one of the elements both of private and of national wealth. It is plain that no new capital comes to any one by the change. Suppose that a silversmith makes and sells 10,000 rupees' worth more of silver into articles of plate than he otherwise would have done, and that the silver so used by him has been a part of the currency,—he cannot be presumed to have got it for nothing. He must have given, for the purpose of obtaining it, a corresponding portion of the capital already belonging to him, or, at least, at his command. His profit in his trade may be fairly supposed to be a little the larger, not for his employing a larger capital than before, for *that* he does not do, but for his being able to do his business with the same capital in a more gainful way. From his increased profit he may be supposed either to add to his capital, when otherwise he would not have done so, or to make a larger addition to it than he otherwise would have made. In this slow and gradual way, but in no other, it may reasonably be thought that the growth of his capital might be promoted by causing, by means of paper money,

money, the departure of rupees out of the currency. How different is this, however, from what is contemplated by Mr. Wilson! How poor and paltry in comparison! Would that we were not obliged to regard as baseless the magnificent fabric of that vision in which a proportion of the existing currency of India, that cannot be estimated at less than sixty millions sterling, was soon to be set free by the force of paper-money from 'unprofitable employment,' and added to the capital devoted to 'reproductive uses!'

The most important advantages, in a public point of view, to be expected from the introduction and the wise administration of a really sound system of paper-money in India, appear to us to be these:—First, the facilitating pecuniary transactions, public and private, and enabling the Government to dispense generally with the employment of troops in escorting remittances of treasure; second, some diminution of Mint charges, and a saving in the wear and tear of coin; third, the obtaining for the immediate use of Government, free of any charge for interest, money corresponding in amount to the excess of the paper-money which shall be issued over the coin held in reserve in the Issue Department. The notion that the measure would be attended with the further great advantage, greatest of all in Mr. Wilson's view, of directly and largely augmenting the capital applied to 'reproductive uses,' we are compelled to regard as a delusion.

The effects of the expansion of the currency of India by the influx of silver well deserve attention—and will, we doubt not, receive it—with reference to other matters besides the paper-money question. It lessens the real value of fixed rents. It increases in more ways than one the collections of land revenue where the ryotwar system prevails; high prices take away occasion for remission; they also promote extension of cultivation, and so cause land to pay revenue which paid none before. Extended cultivation, at the same time, tends of itself to lower prices of produce, and so rather to counteract than co-operate with causes which raise them. However great may be the merit of measures recently taken with respect to the land revenue of Madras, we incline to think that the increase of the collections from that source has been mainly owing to the high prices caused by the influx of silver and consequent expansion of the currency; and that it would have taken place, and not been less than it has been, if there had been no general lowering of the assessment.

Should the price of agricultural produce, and with it the wages of labour rise much higher, some consequences materially inconvenient to Government may follow.

* See above, p. 579.

It can hardly be necessary to observe that the effects of an expansion of currency must generally be the same, whether it be caused, as it has been, by the influx of silver, or, as we think that it may be, by the issue of paper-money.

To recapitulate, then,—we think that Mr. Wilson erred in holding these opinions;—that paper-money could be introduced in the way proposed by him without increasing the total amount of the currency; that its introduction upon the great scale intended by him could be effected under a self-acting system not requiring intelligent and vigilant management to guard against danger; and that such introduction of paper-money would put out of circulation a great quantity of coin which would immediately become reproductive capital, and greatly increase the wealth of the country.

We have said that Sir Charles Wood has corrected the main error of Mr. Wilson's currency scheme, and that the measure which he has sanctioned* is really a different one. The notes are to be manufactured in this country, not in Calcutta as was proposed; and are to be transmitted to India ready for issue for the Calcutta circle, to which, for the present, the whole experiment is to be confined. Warning is given that the Commissioners of Issue are not to become constant purchasers and sellers of Government Securities. The sound principle for regulating the issue of a paper circulation is affirmed to be that which was enforced on the Bank of England by the Act of 1844, *i. e.* that the amount of notes issued on Government Securities should be maintained at a fixed rate, within the limit of the smallest amount which experience has proved to be necessary for the money transactions of the country, and that any further amount of notes should be issued on coin or bullion, and should vary with the amount of the reserve of specie in the Bank. As the smallest amount of notes required in India can only be ascertained by experience, the proceeding for determining this point must necessarily be tentative; and the quantity of notes to be issued in the first instance against Government Securities held by the Commissioners is to be equal to the amount of notes of the Bank of Bengal previously in circulation. All notes beyond this amount are to be issued only in exchange for coin or bullion, which will be held in reserve by the Currency Commissioners. As the circulation of notes is extended beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, the amount of notes to be issued against Government Securities is to be gradually raised, after full experience of the working of the system; but this is only to be done by a legislative

* See Despatch of 26th March, 1860.

enactment at the time, or by an order of Government, with the sanction of the Secretary-of-State in Council. The right to demand notes for bullion or foreign coin is to be restricted to the central places of issue, where there is also a mint: in all other places the purchase of bullion and foreign coin by the same department is to be optional, and notes are only to be demandable in exchange for current coin, and the District Commissioners are also to act on their own discretion in giving their district notes in exchange for those issued at Calcutta; but, unless it is found impracticable, all district notes are to be payable at Calcutta. The operation is to be commenced in that city and the district of Bengal which will be attached to it, and is next to be applied to Bombay and Madras, and gradually extended into the interior of the three Presidencies.

We learn, while these pages are passing through the press, that a new currency scheme has been submitted to the Legislature at Calcutta by Mr. Laing, the successor of Mr. Wilson. The main features of this scheme are as follows:—

1. It adopts as a principle the issue of paper only against coin or bullion, with the exception of a certain limited amount, beyond which paper currency, it might be reasonably supposed, could never fall. The issue to be limited to four millions.

2. The notes would be issued through the agency of the Presidency banks and the collectors in the districts.

3. Instead of currency circles, as originally proposed by Mr. Wilson, the notes would circulate throughout the country.

4. A subsidiary gold currency to be adopted to the extent of one-fourth of the issue of paper, at fluctuating rates, to be fixed from time to time, the rates being liable to revision after six months' notice.

5. The notes are not to be of a lower denomination than 20 rupees, it having been ascertained that notes of a lower amount have a very small circulation, and it being believed that their place will be supplied by the subsidiary gold currency.

This measure is of still narrower operation than that which was contemplated by Sir Charles Wood, and naturally disappoints those who shared Mr. Wilson's sanguine anticipations.

On this proposal—which the report of Mr. Laing's speech does not very fully explain—we do not think it necessary to offer any remarks in detail.

We observe that Mr. Laing contemplates the adoption of a subsidiary gold currency to a certain extent. We are not able to perceive in his speech any very distinct views upon the introduction, or the operation when introduced, of a subsidiary gold currency; and our space will not admit of our here discussing that

that somewhat intricate subject. But we dissent from the views of Mr. Wilson, who stated his belief that the substitution of a gold currency for the existing silver currency in India would be advantageous to the public interests, and ought to be effected, if only it could be done consistently with justice, which, however, he thought impossible. Contracts, he observed, have been made with reference to a silver standard; the existing money obligations are obligations to pay a given quantity of silver; and if British India were led to change the metal of its coin, and to adopt gold instead of silver, because the former is becoming cheaper in relation to the latter, that would be enabling every debtor—the State amongst others—to commit a breach of faith upon his creditor. Now, in the first place, no one would propose that India should adopt a gold currency because gold was becoming cheaper in relation to silver, but for the sake of the manifold conveniences which, as Mr. Wilson's own minute shows, attach to a gold currency.* In the next place, the change could never in any civilised country be made otherwise than prospectively. The transfer of a debt from silver money into gold money would be made, not according to the relative value of those metals at the time when the debt was contracted, but according to their relative value at the time which would by law be fixed on for the change. The debtor would be no gainer, the creditor no loser, by the change which had taken place in their relative value; and as to whatever change of that kind might subsequently take place, they would generally be on a par with persons becoming creditors and debtors by fresh transactions. Still the change, it is true, might be advantageous to some persons and the contrary to others. But this is only what must happen in all great operations affecting currency. It does not make any measure unjust which is decidedly advantageous to the public interests. We are not arguing for the introduction of a gold currency into India, but merely commenting on Mr. Wilson's bad reasons against it. We shall only observe further that the introduction of a gold currency and expulsion of the existing silver currency would necessarily tend to keep up the value of gold and to lower the value of silver in the markets of the world, and so would at least retard the progress of that fall in the value of gold in relation to silver which, in Mr. Wilson's opinion, presents, on the ground of justice, a bar to doing that which, if it could be done, would, he thought, be highly advantageous to the public interests.

* It seems to have been unknown to him that up to a period not yet distant, gold coin was both the standard of value and the money of account throughout the South of India.

Here we take leave of the paper-currency question, repeating that, to whatever extent it shall be found safe to issue notes on the credit and security of the Government, and not upon specie, to that extent the Government may fairly and reasonably expect to profit by the use of the money, according to the market rates of the day. The measure therefore may, in this aspect, be classed among those which tend to relieve the Indian financial difficulties. But we must now proceed to consider the measures by which the balance between income and expenditure may be restored.

Of these, retrenchment naturally occupied the first place; but it rested chiefly with the local Government to say what retrenchments were possible, and to carry them into effect. We learn from Sir Charles Wood's announcement, since the meeting of Parliament, that this work is likely to proceed more rapidly than it has hitherto done. The enormous native levies for our service which the mutiny occasioned might, we think, have been for the most part best dealt with, as we believe they expected, by dismissing them with a handsome bounty as soon as the mutiny was quelled; and the European army might have been reduced in consequence. Nevertheless, we are glad to learn that the Government is at length seriously applying itself to the task of military retrenchment. We could wish that the earliest measures of reduction had not been applied to the Madras army, our oldest force, which has adhered to us loyally under very trying circumstances.

The other restorative proposed by Mr. Wilson for the finances of the country was additional taxation; an income-tax, a tax upon licences to carry on trades and employments, and a tobacco-tax. Increased stamp-duties and additional taxes on exports and imports had been imposed by the Government of India before his arrival. Of the new taxes in their order.

And first, a tax has been laid upon every income which is not under 200 rupees, or (to use the conventional equivalent) 20*l.* a-year. The rate is 4 per cent. upon incomes above 500 rupees, and 2 per cent. on lower amounts. This tax is actually in course of collection.

We cannot approve of it. It is not in the nature of man to live contented under a tax on income, unless he believes that there are special circumstances which render it necessary, and therefore just. It can occasionally be borne with patience in a free country, where, the grounds upon which it is sought having been explained and discussed, it is freely granted for the public service by the representatives of the people; where there is an immediate appeal to the press and to Parliament
against

against anything oppressive or unjust either in the arrangements or the administration of the law relating to it; and where the appropriation of it is determined every year by Parliament. Even in England, however, it has been found impossible to prevent the tax from causing much dissatisfaction, or from being extensively evaded, and it would be wise to regard it only as an extraordinary resource for great emergencies. How, then, is it likely to be borne by an Oriental population, who have no voice in laying it on; who cannot, in general, form any opinion as to its necessity; who are remarkable for their strong aversion to any disclosure of their means; who are prone to hoarding; who are at present disposed to look upon our rule as insecure; a population, moreover, from whom it must be collected by such agency as that which we are obliged to employ in the detail of revenue management in India?

Another of the imposts proposed by Mr. Wilson is a tax on licences to exercise trades and professions; by which it was intended to levy one, two, or three rupees a year from every one who exercises a calling, and also is too poor to be subjected to the income-tax. This measure has not yet become law, and the course which Mr. Wilson's successor intends to adopt regarding it has not yet been announced. Its operation would be that of a poll-tax, and falling heavily upon the poorer classes, it would enlist them in opposition to our financial measures. If, as has been said, and as is natural enough, the rich native proprietors in Bengal are favourable to its imposition, this is but a very slight recommendation of it. A tax upon tobacco, proposed separately at first, now forms part of this measure.*

Taxes more or less resembling those which we have mentioned are, it is true, far from unknown in the East. Indeed they are too well known, and we have taken much credit for having put an end to them. We have not, however, fully effected that object, and it were better to continue taxes of this kind a little longer upon the footing on which we found them, than to impose new ones open to similar objections.

Imports and exports form a legitimate object of taxation, and fortunately the imports and exports of India are on the increase, and may be expected to advance still more rapidly when large and well considered operations in irrigation, the cultivation of new articles of produce, and improved carriage by water and by railway, shall at once increase the produce of the country and give it new access to the markets of the world.

* See 'Proceedings of British Indian Association,' Nov. 1860.

Taxes on imports and exports, judiciously and considerably imposed, do little or no injury to trade, and, being indirect taxes, cause no irritation. The commercial prospects of India, if internal tranquillity can be maintained, are very good, and it is reasonable to expect that the revenue from duties on imports and exports will steadily increase.

The abkari, or tax upon licences to sell spirits, opiates, and such like articles, is also a legitimate and increasing source of revenue.

The salt-tax, odious as it sounds in European ears, is collected with little difficulty, and will, no doubt, increase in its yield with the growing prosperity of the country.

It is manifest that, even independently of any increase of trade, or of consumption, the produce, in money, of all these taxes, the customs, the abkari, and the salt-tax, can—without any real addition to the burden laid by them on the people—be made to vary inversely as the value of money varies, or, to say the same thing in other words, to increase in the same ratio in which that value falls.

The revenue derived from opium is large, but cannot be reckoned upon with perfect certainty. It is obvious, however, that until this source of income shall fail, or shall give some signs of being likely to fail soon, it would not be advisable, under circumstances of actual financial difficulty, to provide by fresh taxation for any such contingency.

The great source of revenue in Eastern countries is the land. This is a kind of property which cannot be concealed, and in which the Government is universally allowed to have great and important rights, whatever difference of opinion as to the precise nature of those rights may exist among European authorities. Of late years, in consequence of the great rise in prices, caused mainly by the influx of silver set free from other countries by the substitution of a gold for a silver currency, the land-tax has, independently of any remissions, become considerably lighter than it was, so that, practically, the Government receives from the land not indeed a less amount of coin, but the same amount of coin possessing a lower value in the general market than before. In other words there has, by the fall in the value of money, been, in effect, a lowering of the land-tax; and, besides this practical lowering of the tax, there has been an actual diminution in the Presidency of Madras of the assessment upon the land, so that this period of distress and difficulty of the Indian finances has become, partly by causes beyond the control of the Government, partly by the
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acts of the Government itself, a period of great prosperity to the landed interest.*

It might have been expected that, in order to meet the financial deficit, the Government of India would, in the first instance, have made such an addition to the land-tax as would countervail to a great extent, if it did not fully balance the manifest depreciation of silver, so that the land might bear something like its old burden. Indeed it would have been reasonable to expect that a larger addition than that required to balance the depreciation would be made, wherever there was room for it. Much larger it might well be in a vast number of cases. The additions would be nearly clear gain to the revenue. The machinery for collecting the land-tax already exists: there are registers, surveys, treasuries, book-keepers, collectors. Even where the ryotwar system prevails, little or no addition to the staff would be required.

Mr. Wilson, in his speech of the 18th of February, 1860, adverted in strong terms to the prosperity of the landowners, and said that 'it was notorious how much the price of all country produce had increased of late years,' and that 'such had been the increased demand for providing labour, that the rate of wages had risen in many districts twofold, and in some threefold, during the last few years.' Yet he does not seem to have connected this rise in the price of produce with the admitted influx of silver, nor did he proceed to tax the class which he considered to be so well able to bear taxation; on the contrary, he expressed regret 'that we have hitherto relied so exclusively upon the land for our revenue;' he said that 'the practice of revising the assessments periodically has at least the effect of keeping the actual cultivator at a rack-rent;' and he urged that in the interest of India it was necessary to have recourse to some new species of taxation.

On these opinions we have to observe that the non-revision of the assessment in the permanently settled districts does not in the least relieve the cultivator, the ryot, from being rack-rented, for it is only between the zemindar and the Government that the rent is there affected by such revision. Moreover, revision of assessment, when it does apply to the tax or rent payable by the cultivator, is often favourable to him; and in no case is it the object of the revision, or the intention of Government, to impose upon the land what is called a rack-rent.

* Of course, we speak of the landed interest in general, and do not here take into account so lamentable a contingency as that of the famine which (owing to the want of seasonable rain) is now prevailing in some parts of the north-west provinces. Our remarks are not intended to apply to districts so situated.

But although the land has always been the main source of revenue in the East, and could at present well bear additional taxation, it is thought by many that, by reason of the permanent settlement made by Lord Cornwallis with the zemindars of Bengal, we are in that great province precluded from adding to our revenue from that source. Mr. Wilson adopted and professed this opinion, though, as we shall presently show, he did not really act in conformity with it.

For the elucidation of this subject we must revert to first principles. Taxation is founded on public necessity. It should, as nearly as possible, be neither more nor less than sufficient to produce that revenue which, for the public interests, it is necessary that the Government should obtain in that way. In the nature of things it is impossible that any power existing in a country should be competent to create a lawful or moral bar to the doing of what the exigencies of the State and the interests of the people may, after a lengthened interval, require to be done in that country. It is impossible that any Government should have the right or power of imposing on succeeding Governments, for all time to come, an incompetency to draw increased revenue from any particular source. To assert that a valid bar has in that way been raised against drawing any increase of revenue—such an increase even as would merely redress a real though not nominal decrease—from the main and most unexceptionable source of revenue in the country, is, therefore, altogether unreasonable. We do not say that the Cornwallis settlement ought now to be annulled; that the zemindars ought to be deprived of the proprietary right which it conferred upon them. That grant to them, impolitic as it was, and injurious to the ryots, ought now to be maintained. But proprietary right is one thing, immunity from taxation is another.

With regard to the assessment which formed part of the Cornwallis settlement, we concede that it would neither have been politic nor morally right for Lord Cornwallis, or for any of his near successors, unless in a case of the very last necessity, to revise it, nor can we say that at any specific time a right to revise it accrued to the Government. But now, at the distance of seventy years, when all who had any part in making that settlement have passed away, new exigencies have arisen, and the existing revenue is insufficient, can it be maintained that it is not competent to the State to increase the assessment,—not competent to the State even so to increase the assessment as to make it correspond in some degree with that which was imposed by Lord Cornwallis? We think that in such a case it is the duty of the State to adapt its requisitions to the necessities of the country.

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We do not overlook the circumstance that the revision of assessment which we suggest would involve a direct infraction of the letter of the sunnuds or deeds of grant issued to the zemindars when the Cornwallis Settlement was made. But besides that, for the reasons which we have stated, those sunnuds, however worded, could not have force to debar for ever an absolute Government, invested beyond question with all the powers of taxation that exist in the country, from increasing under any circumstances the amount of its demands on what, according to the opinions, feelings, and usages of the people, and more especially to their ideas of both public and private rights relating to land, is rightfully the main source of public revenue; besides this, we say—which of itself would, in our opinion, be a sufficient answer to any objection on the score of that infraction—it is a fact worthy of attention in considering this matter, that according to the opinions and usages of native Governments and of their subjects no sunnud relating to a piece of land, though it were but an isolated grant totally unconnected with any large measure, could alienate or restrict in perpetuity any public rights relating to that land or to revenue derivable from it. On the contrary, every such sunnud, however worded and executed,—and the wording of them was sometimes as strong as can possibly be imagined,—was held to be, after the granter's decease, lawfully liable to resumption. We do not mean to say that in every such case to resume the sunnud would have been right, or would have been thought to be so, but that resumption of the sunnud was considered to be, in every such case, within the competency of the Government.

That the land is the main source of public revenue in India is for us a most fortunate circumstance, of which it would be well if we had the wisdom fully to avail ourselves. Falling wholly, as under every form of settlement a land-tax must in general do, on what is in political economy meant by the word *rent*, it does not directly at all interfere, as almost all other taxes more or less do, with the natural course of the accumulation and application of capital and the employment of labour. We will not keep back the truth, that in our opinion that advantage, great as it is, may, in the economic system of a country, be countervailed by accompanying disadvantages. We believe that, even on a strictly economic view of the question, and infinitely more on a view of it which should embrace all considerations of policy, that advantage would be outweighed by evils attendant on the change, if the taxation of this country were to be so altered as to place it mainly on the land. We believe that the *rent* which is drawn by the landlords of England, used as they use it, conduces

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more to the prosperity of the country, in respect of wealth, than it would do if it were transferred to the Government, to be used by it as public revenue, and to enable it to take off taxes. To that *rent*, too, we believe that we owe, in a very great measure, the inestimable benefit of free and good government. But the condition of India is altogether unlike the condition of England. For ages to come it must in India be economically advantageous that at least as large a proportion of the revenue required for the public service should be drawn from the land as has hitherto ordinarily been drawn from it. No economic or other public advantage can then be derived from lowering unnecessarily the demands of the State upon *rent*, or from not raising those demands in a just and reasonable measure, if the exigencies of the State require that the revenue should be augmented. A revenue derived from land is peculiarly suitable to a Government in the position of the British Power in India—a delegated Government from a far distant suzerain country. In the nature of things there is an affinity between landed property and political dominion. Such affinity shows itself in India as between proprietary rights of the Government and the right of taxation in relation to land. Indeed, it is not always easy to distinguish the one from the other. The ideas of them are to a great degree blended in the minds of men; and when the Government draws revenue from the land, it is not regarded as taking from men *their* money for the use of the State as it does by other taxation, but as taking what by reason of its rights in relation to the land it deems that it can in the existing state of things fairly call its own. This circumstance, if our statesmen would take full advantage of it, is most highly favourable to us in India. It contributes greatly towards giving us the power—so only we have the good sense and the will—to maintain there the kind of government and follow the line of policy by which the benefits of good government can be most largely afforded to the people, and by which, if by any means, may be secured the stability and the permanence of the British power in India—objects with which are bound up, in close dependent connection, vitally important interests of the vast population of those regions.

Even in abstaining from an increase of the assessment upon the land, did Mr. Wilson really adhere to the Cornwallis settlement, when he at the same time taxed the zemindar *upon*, or *in respect of* his income derived from the land? If a zemindar receives 100,000 rupees annually from his land, and pays 50,000 rupees to the Government as assessed at the perpetual settlement, and 2000 rupees by way of income-tax upon the 50,000 rupees that remain, he has only 48,000 rupees to spend, which comes
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to the same thing as if we took 52,000 rupees from the land. Is this, or is it not, an additional sum drawn from the land? and in what light does the zemindar regard it?

Of course, he has no objection to pay a 4 per cent. income-tax in common with other members of the community, instead of having his rent increased to the sum which would represent, according to the present scale of prices, the real value assessed upon the land in the days of Cornwallis, or even of having the land directly subjected to any additional burden on account of the present condition of the Indian revenue, not lighter on himself than 4 per cent. income-tax. But it would be absurd to suppose him blind to the fact, that the State now exacts from him, in respect of his interest in the land, 52,000 rupees instead of 50,000.

The landholders are the class who will contribute most to the income-tax. Can we seriously expect them to distinguish between an additional rent and an additional charge upon themselves in respect of the land? And would it not be simpler, more in accordance with our own dignity and with the habits and traditions of Oriental life, to increase the charge assessed upon the land, at least until the present exigency has passed away? Such an increase of tax, undisguised, and needing no disguise, because in evident accordance with sound policy and with justice, would, we are convinced, be paid without murmur, even if the increase were greatly more than 4 per cent.; it could not be evaded, and in the present state of India it would not press hardly upon the people.

Besides the landholders, the classes which will mainly contribute to the income-tax are the servants of the Government and the holders of Government securities. The exaction of income-tax from the first class is in effect a reduction of their salaries—it is retrenchment, and not taxation. Its exaction from the second class will not bring a large sum into the treasury; and the native fundholders cannot but regard it as a withholding of some part of what the State engaged to pay them, as involving, in fact, a breach of contract. Those fundholders, again, who reside in England feel the vexation of the double income-tax. It does appear to us that, at a time when it was of the highest importance to maintain the pecuniary credit of the Indian Government, it was not at all politic to impose such a charge.

Having regard to the great rise in the price of agricultural produce and of labour and to the general depreciation of silver, we may say confidently that a very large percentage might be added to the salt-tax and to the abkari, without making the burden at all greater than it was when those taxes, at their present

sent rates, were imposed; and the same remark applies to the land-revenue.

Take the deficit at the utmost amount that has been assigned to it, and an addition to the salt and abkari and land taxes, which would restore or nearly restore the revenue, in respect of actual pressure on the sources from which it is taken, to the footing upon which the Government thought proper to place it some years back, would equalize the revenue and the expenditure in a short time, probably one year. A sufficient increase of revenue would be obtained without additional cost of collection, and without harassing the people with distasteful inquiries and exactions. We should be free to adjust our military expenditure to our really unavoidable military necessities, and should not be obliged to keep up either troops or military police for the particular purpose of meeting the contingencies which have to be kept in view when the population is generally discontented.

It has been asserted that the increase of the land-revenue in Madras is owing to a recent reversion and reduction of assessment. But, as we have already observed, the increase in the price of agricultural produce would necessarily have stimulated production, and therefore have extended cultivation, without any remission of revenue; and nothing could be more impolitic than to fix the rent in perpetuity, as Sir Charles Trevelyan recommends,* or even for a long term of years at the reduced rates, at a time when the value of money is falling. Even had there been no well-known example of the ill-effects of such measures as have thus been recently recommended at Madras, and have been actually executed in Oude, they would have been justly condemned as of very short-sighted policy; but considering that these great errors, as we must regard them, have been committed by men who had the evils of the Cornwallis settlement before their eyes to warn them, they astonish us to a degree which we can hardly express.

Although the land-assessment in many parts of the Madras Presidency was too high with the former prices of produce, and in some parts would to a small extent be perhaps too high even with the present prices, we are convinced that the embarrassments of the ryots or peasant proprietors were not attributable wholly or chiefly to this cause. That mode of occupation of land by holders and cultivators of small portions is generally not without its advantages, and these are in India certainly very great. But in any country where it prevails, it is only with numerous exceptions that the people of that class can be thriving.

* Pamphlet, p. 7.

In every country, indeed, there are the poor; and where the land is occupied by peasant proprietors, many of them, we fear, however low may be the land-assessment, will be in such a condition as to be fairly numbered among the poor. Under such a system the lower the assessment is, the more numerous probably will be the occupants. Many of them will have very little capital; and no lowness of assessment can secure against embarrassment a cultivator who has so little capital that the loss of a bullock is a misfortune that deprives him of his occupation.

We were surprised to find Sir Charles Trevelyan, in his minute of June 10, 1859,* gravely speaking of increase of land-revenue as being caused by reduction of assessment in the same way in which the revenue from articles of commerce is sometimes increased by the diminution of customs duties on them. It is evident to every one moderately conversant with political economy that there is no analogy between the two cases.

Sir Charles Trevelyan refers to the proceedings of his Government with respect to Inams. The holders of the lands so denominated were not generally considered to be entitled to hold free of ordinary land-tax any land, though belonging to them as ryots, but what they usually had in actual cultivation, and so possessed and used without payment of that tax. But the whole has been now given up to them, even the waste land, to be held as privileged. There were vexatious questions respecting the Inams, a settlement of which was much to be desired. We trust that the general settlement of them which has been made will be productive of very considerable good. But we must confess that it appears to us that not a small amount of state property has been sacrificed.

There is an important inaccuracy in one of the statements of Sir Charles Trevelyan, which it may be well to notice in this place. It is contained in a Minute of his, dated the 1st Dec. 1859; Mr. Maltby, one of the civil members of the Madras Council, having, in a minute which he wrote on the subject of the new taxes, said, with reference to the opinions and feelings of the people of that Presidency,—

‘If the native community were to be consulted, I believe that their choice would be, that the additional revenue required by Government should be raised by a return to the old transit duties; and by that course the revenue officers of Government would be saved from direct controversy with the people on the delicate subject of personal taxation.’

Sir Charles observes upon this:—

‘The native community is in the right. Although the transit

* App. to Pamphlet, p. 34.

duties (*which were abolished by my exertions a quarter of a century ago*) were worse than any indirect taxation on record, their evil consequences were slight compared with those which would be certain to arise from the direct taxation now proposed to be reestablished.'

Thus Sir Charles Trevelyan, in a minute which he recorded as Governor of Madras, and which he has reprinted as part of his pamphlet, takes credit to himself for having caused the abolition of the Madras transit duties a quarter of a century ago. It is beyond all doubt that his memory has been at fault in this matter. The real history of it is as follows. In the evidence of Mr. J. M. Macleod, given before the Lords' Committee in 1852 (we need not add, upon oath) (p. 280), the witness says:—

'From the beginning of the year 1814 till the beginning of 1820, I was Assistant-Secretary to the Government (of Madras) in the several civil departments. Besides filling that office, I was, from 1816 to 1820, a member and also Secretary of a Committee which was appointed by the Madras Government, under directions from the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of revising, in concert with similar committees at Calcutta and Bombay, the laws respecting custom duties throughout India: in which situation I originated the first recommendation to abolish the internal transit duties; a measure which, after a long lapse of time, has been carried into effect in all the Presidencies.'

In a report dated the 12th May, 1818, the Committee referred to, after a very large and comprehensive discussion of the whole subject of the inland transit duty, embracing the consideration of a proposal to farm it out, instead of continuing the direct collection of it by public servants, state their opinion 'that it ought not to be retained under any mode of management.' This report was submitted to the Madras Government, and copies of it were at the same time sent to Bengal and Bombay.

The Court of Directors, in a despatch to the Madras Government, dated 10th Sept. 1823, expressed their inclination to support the views of the Committee; but rather than abandon this source of revenue without a full assurance that the evils attaching to it were irremediable, they consented to await the result of a trial of the farming system, which had by that time been commenced by Sir Thomas Munro, now Governor. That result proved unfavourable, as the Committee had anticipated.

In the year 1837 this subject was again under the consideration of the Court of Directors. A committee had sat at Calcutta. This committee, with the report of the Madras Committee officially before them, a fresh copy of it having been received by them from Madras, made a report in which they took no notice of it, but proposed that, so far as the Madras Presidency

dency was concerned, abolition of the transit duties should be confined to the maritime districts. The Court of Directors, in a despatch dated 7th June, 1837, recorded their dissent from 'such a system of partial relief' as that recommended by the Calcutta Committee. It is proper here to state that Mr. C. E. Trevelyan had, by order of the Governor-General, inquired into the subject of the transit duties of the North-west Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, and submitted a report, dated the 5th Oct. 1833, in which he at great length, in great detail, and in a very forcible manner, exposed the evils caused by the transit duties in those provinces. He was a member of the Committee which sat at Calcutta. The duties were abolished in the North-west Provinces in 1835 by Mr. Ross (then Governor of Agra), on his own responsibility, in Bengal in 1836, in Bombay in 1838. The abolition of them in Madras did not take place until the 1st April, 1844, twenty-six years after it was recommended by the Madras Customs Committee, and eight or nine years after it had been substantially opposed by the Calcutta Committee, of which Mr. C. E. Trevelyan was a member—the only occasion on which he ever had anything to do with the measure. Soon after the report of that Committee was made he returned to England.

With these dates before us, we are wholly at a loss to understand the meaning of a passage (Pamphlet, p. 35) of Sir C. Trevelyan's minute of the 11th July, 1859; in which he says, 'It was by acting upon the expenditure that the finances were restored in Lord Amherst's and Lord William Bentinck's time. There was a large remission of impolitic taxation by the abolition of the transit and town duties,' &c. Lord William Bentinck (who was the successor of Lord Amherst) had left India long before the 18th Dec. 1835, when Mr. Ross took the initiative in the work of abolition.

As to the inland duties of Madras, it clearly appears that, when Sir C. Trevelyan wrote the minute which we have cited, they had not been abolished for anything like a quarter of a century; and that, so far from the cause of abolition owing anything to him, the proposal had been negatived, without dissent on his part, by the Committee of which he was a member.

We now turn to the Legislative Council, the constitution and conduct of which have of late called forth much comment. Up to 1834, the power of legislation in Bengal was exercised by the Governor-General of Fort William, in Bengal, in Council; the power of legislation in Madras and Bombay by the Governors of those Presidencies in their respective Councils. In 1834 the Governor-General of Fort William was constituted Governor-General of India, with powers to legislate in his Council for the

whole of India, the power of legislation being withdrawn from the Governors and Councils of Madras and Bombay. The Council of Bengal became the Council of India, the separate office of Fourth ordinary Member of Council (an officer who was to be chosen from among persons not in the service of the East India Company) was created, and it was provided that he should have no vote except at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations.

In 1854 the Fourth ordinary Member of Council was empowered to sit and vote in all meetings and upon business of every kind: at the same time six members were added to the Council. It was enacted that they 'should be members of the said Council of India, in relation to the exercise of all such powers of making laws and regulations as aforesaid, and should be distinguished as Legislative Councillors thereof;' and it was provided that they 'should not be entitled to sit or vote in the said Council, except at meetings thereof for making laws and regulations.'

These six members were—1st, two of the Judges of Her Majesty's Supreme Court at Calcutta; 2nd, four persons in the service of the East India Company, nominated respectively by the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and Agra.

In setting in action the legislative machinery thus constituted, Lord Dalhousie, instead of treating the new members of Council as what they really were, members of the Council of India who were only entitled to sit and vote in it at its meetings for making laws and regulations, chose to proceed as if a new Council had been created, distinct and separate from the Council of India, though, indeed, numbering among its members the persons who were members of that body. Such a new Council accordingly he set up, transferred to it all the legislative powers of the Governor-General in Council, and gave it the name of 'The Legislative Council.' Thus the Council of India was reduced to be a mere Executive Council, and the Governor-General in Council became merely an Executive Government. The 'Legislative Councillors,' authorised by Parliament to be appointed by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, Lord Dalhousie treated as if they were, in the English sense, members for Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Agra respectively. Following up the same false analogy, he inaugurated the new Legislative Council with all the forms of the House of Commons; they debated with open doors, reports were regularly published, and it came to be thought that Parliament had sanctioned the introduction of the principle of representation into the Government of India, because it had enacted that four salaried officers, removable at pleasure, should be sent by

by Governors and Lieutenant-Governors to assist in the deliberations of the Council of India (or as it is now designated the Governor-General's Council) at its meetings for making laws and regulations.

The forms and modes of action, indeed, which Lord Dalhousie had prescribed to the Legislative Council set up by him, gave some of its members very high notions of its powers; and when they found that they were not considered to be members of an entirely independent legislature, nowise subject to control or direction by the Home authorities, they thought this inconsistent with the position which they had been invited to assume. The Government, at the same time, felt the necessity of retaining absolute power. The collision of authorities thus produced attracted much attention, and was made the subject of Mr. Macleod's pamphlet, which forms part of the heading of this article, and in which he argues against the admissibility of that independence which had been asserted on the part of the Indian Legislature.

Last year, the financial difficulties of India seeming to render it necessary that the measures of the Government should obtain as much support out of doors as possible, Mr. Wilson, as we have already mentioned, addressed himself to the Legislative Council, as a Chancellor of the Exchequer would to the House of Commons, and it was proclaimed that entire publicity and mutual confidence should mark the dealings of the Government with the Councillors by whom the proposed financial measures were to be enacted, and with the people, by whom the new taxes were to be borne.

But it very soon appeared that the new constitution was not adapted to times of difficulty.

The Madras Government disapproved of Mr. Wilson's financial proposals, and strongly deprecated the imposition of the new taxes, regarding them as uncalled for and likely to prove dangerous, and it forwarded to its own nominee in the Legislative Council certain minutes in which its sentiments were set forth, with instructions to make known its views to the Legislature in the usual manner.

The supreme local Government, however, considered it dangerous to the public service to permit such communication to take place, and only permitted the minutes to be confidentially shown to the members of the Legislative Council, thus preventing the subject from receiving that public discussion to which its importance entitled it, according to the professions of the Government and the avowed practice of the Legislature.

The events which followed will be in the recollection of every one.

one. Sir Charles Trevelyan adopted the unusual course of publishing the minutes in one of the newspapers of Madras, without the privity of his Councillors, and in open defiance of the express desire of the Government of India. For this he was removed from office.

In another case of recent occurrence, the supposed analogy between the British and the Indian legislative bodies has been acted on with a very striking result.

A circumstance had occurred which, in a free parliament, would certainly be considered to justify a demand for explanation, and regarding which, in fact, Sir Charles Wood has since given an explanation in the House of Commons. A native gentleman, a son of the late Tippoo Sahib, had returned to Calcutta from a visit to England, with the announcement that he had concluded an arrangement with the Secretary of State for India in Council, by which, as it appeared, a large permanent addition would be made to the public debt. The Legislative Council, as a body engaged in voting supplies, thought fit to call for papers connected with this matter; the motion for papers was resisted by the Government, but was carried by the casting vote of the Vice-President, who was also the mover, Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Supreme Court. The Governor-General in Council, on the other hand, thought it his duty to refuse the request of the Legislative Council that the papers should be produced. Thus is exhibited to all India the dangerous spectacle of a collision between the executive and the legislative power.

Experience has thus shown how utterly inapplicable the rules and practice of Parliament are to the body of salaried officers which has been constituted to serve as a Local Legislature for India. Indeed, it may be regarded as a fact, established by the concurrent evidence of sound theory and of experience, that no country in which the free public discussion of all the measures of the Government would not be compatible with the public interests, ought to have free public discussion for the established rule of its legislature.

The present system of local legislation in India being therefore condemned, the question arises what measures it is advisable to take with a view to improvement in this very important matter.

One course which is open, and perhaps is on the whole the best that could be taken, at least for the present, is to revise and correct what was done by Lord Dalhousie in setting up the Legislative Council, and to put the machinery provided by the Act of Parliament of 1854 into operation in the manner suggested by

by Mr. Macleod in a passage of his pamphlet, which we here transcribe :—

‘ It is undeniable that there are in India, and must be under any construction of the existing statutes, a local supreme executive government and a local legislature distinguishable from each other ; and it appears to me that a great error has been committed in drawing the line which divides between them the business of the State. The local Legislature, which, according to my view, is the Governor-General in Council at meetings which are held for making laws and regulations, and in which accordingly the Legislative Councillors are entitled to sit and vote, ought, I think, to be confined to the disposing of such drafts of laws as the executive government thinks fit to bring before such meetings. The consideration of questions as to the subjects on which new laws are required, and the preparation of drafts of laws, should be considered as belonging to the executive government. All communications from the Governments of Madras and Bombay, the Lieutenant-Governors, and other public boards or officers, or from private persons, relative to proposed laws, should be addressed to the Governor-General in Council or to a Secretary to Government, and should at least, in the first instance, be brought under the consideration of the executive government of India. It would by no means follow, under this arrangement, that those Legislative Councillors who, not holding other salaried offices, are paid as such, might not have full employment. Besides being members of the Council at its meetings for making laws and regulations, they ought to be considered as being in the place of the Indian Law Commissioners, who sat under the Charter Act of 1833, and ought to be employed in making inquiries and reports with a view to legislation ; in preparing drafts of laws, and generally in affording to the executive government all assistance which it may require from them in the performance of the duties that belong to it connected with legislation. In all countries in which there are both an executive government and a legislature, there are duties connected with legislation which appertain to the executive government. The whole business which ends in making laws, or in determining that laws which have been meditated shall not be made, is divided between the executive government and the legislature. In India this division ought to be so made as to give much more of the business to the executive government, and much less to the legislature than in this country. Just the reverse is what is actually done. It is true that the Houses of Parliament in this country have a much larger share in the whole business of government than the local legislature has in India. But this is because they participate largely in business unconnected with legislation, taking cognizance of and dealing with important affairs of State of all kinds. The executive government here does not throw upon Parliament the burden of the business which is preparatory to the making of laws, in a degree approaching to that in which this burden is in India thrown by the executive government on the local legislature. By far the greatest part

part of the work now done by that legislature, with the aid of its committees and officers, ought to be done by the executive government, with the aid of the paid Legislative Councillors working under its directions. Those Legislative Councillors who are Judges of the Supreme Court, or fill other important offices, for which they receive large salaries, ought not to be burdened with any legislative duties of great labour or demanding much of their time. They, and all other Legislative Councillors, as well as all the Councillors of the other descriptions, should of course be summoned to all meetings of the Council convened for making laws and regulations. But if the course now indicated were followed, neither would this duty require too much of their time and attention, nor would even those who are Judges of the Supreme Court, however sensitive as to independence, find that the subjection of the Governor-General of India in Council to the Court of Directors in legislative as well as in executive matters, supposing it to be established, practically so affected their position as Legislative Councillors as to make them feel it to be unsuitable to highminded men holding their position as judges. Nor would the means be wanting of obtaining their occasional counsel and aid, for the executive government, at earlier stages of the business, in matters with respect to which acts of legislation are contemplated, as can indeed be done even under the existing arrangements, and has to my knowledge, and as seems to me with great advantage, actually been done in a very recent instance, though perhaps rather with a view to legislation in England than to legislation in India. As to the members of Council who receive pay as such, that any one of them, and more particularly that any one of such of them as are entitled to sit and vote in Council at all its meetings, men confessedly bound to obey the Court of Directors in dealing with questions of peace or war, of the deposition of sovereign princes, of the annexation of kingdoms, of the levy, organization, maintenance and employment of armies, of the administration of vast systems of finance, and of all the other matters of high import that constitute the business of the executive government of India, should profess that he would think it beneath him to sit in the Council at meetings for making laws and regulations, unless it be then exempt from the general control and direction of that same superintending authority, seems to me peculiarly strange.'

It would, we think, be advisable to relieve the Judges altogether from the responsibility which was imposed on them by making them Legislative Members of Council. As to the other Legislative Councillors, it seems to us that, if they are to be retained, the provision of the Act of 1854 which gives the nomination of them to Governors and Lieutenant-Governors ought to be repealed, and they should be appointed by the Crown or by the Secretary of State for India; and although it may be expedient that in general one of them should be taken from each great division of British India, yet this ought not to be imperatively
required

required by law. It is a rule from which it may occasionally be advisable to deviate.

It appears to us, however, to be a question well worthy of consideration whether it would not be a better course to return to the system which existed prior to 1833, of three Local Legislatures for the three Presidencies, making the Governor-General of India in Council (the Council being composed just as in relation to its executive functions it now is) the Legislature for the Bengal Presidency, and making the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay the Legislatures of those Presidencies respectively. In addition to far greater advantages, this change would be attended with a considerable saving of expense. In considering this suggestion particular attention is due to the state of the law in India, which is very different from what it was in 1833. The penal code for all India, prepared by the Law Commission, over which Lord Macaulay presided, has at length become law, after being under the consideration of the Indian Legislature for upwards of twenty years. The code of civil procedure, prepared by a Law Commission in London, has also been enacted after undergoing many alterations at Calcutta. The code of criminal procedure, also prepared by the last-mentioned Law Commission, has been very fully considered by the Indian Legislature, and has passed or is on the point of passing into a law. The only great legislative work now needed is a code of Substantive Civil Law, the formation of which the London Law Commission, with good reason, recommended; for there is no country in which—as to the large class of questions for which law would in that way be provided—the judges are left so nearly without any rule of decision as in India. But this is a work which, for reasons into which we need not enter, can only be executed in England. Thus there is little prospect of anything to be done in India in the way of legislation beyond the occasional and the ordinary current business which must always be transacted.

We have heard of schemes of enlarged and open Legislative bodies. All of them appear to us to be entirely unsuitable to India. All involve more or less of an advance towards representative Government; and it is our firm conviction that, both as to the interests of the British Empire, and more particularly and in a far higher degree as to the well-being of the people of India, to take any step in that direction would be most impolitic.

We have hitherto noticed Sir Charles Trevelyan's conduct, in his struggle with the Calcutta Government, merely in its bearing upon the constitution and working of the Legislative Council. Looking at the opinions for which he legitimately
sought

sought expression, according to the forms of the constitution, as explained by Mr. Wilson and the Government of Calcutta, we cannot but think that those opinions deserved full and respectful consideration. That they did not receive such consideration must have been very mortifying to the Madras Government. It will be seen that in many of the subjects to which those opinions related we more nearly agree with Sir Charles Trevelyan than with Mr. Wilson.

There is a particular point in the controversy upon which the former appears to us to be clearly right. Sir C. Trevelyan says we ought to accept the Indian Debt as it stands, and not try to diminish it. Mr. Wilson upon this complains that his intentions are misrepresented, and indignantly disclaims having in view a reduction of the Debt, or any object but to make the two ends meet. His disclaimer was, no doubt, correct, so far as his scheme of taxation was concerned. But Sir Charles Trevelyan was justified in looking at the two schemes together, seeing how confidently Mr. Wilson reckoned upon a great practical reduction of the Debt through his currency measure.*

We give Sir Charles Trevelyan full credit for believing that the measures which he opposed were impolitic and dangerous. But still we must think that to assume, in the eyes of all India, at a time of great public embarrassment, an attitude of resistance to superior authority, was a proceeding very hard to justify. Nothing indeed, in our opinion, could amount to a moral justification of Sir Charles Trevelyan's conduct in this instance, short of a firm belief on his part that the measures which he opposed were radically of so exceedingly dangerous a nature that it was impossible by modification to make them fit for adoption, and that it was his duty to endeavour at any cost to raise an insuperable barrier against them. For that belief we willingly gave him full credit, and we still are inclined to do so. But we must own that it is not easy to reconcile the supposition of his having distinctly and strongly held it, with the language used by himself in his recent pamphlet, when he claims credit for having aimed at and, by causing delay in legislation, brought about such modification of the most important of all the measures which he opposed, as he acknowledges with pleasure and pronounces satisfactory.

The plan which has been determined upon for the amalgamation, as it is called, of the Indian armies with the general army of the Crown, has not been brought before the public with sufficient precision to enable us to enter into anything

* See p. 579, and paragraphs 32 and 46 of the Minute.

like an examination of its provisions. But enough is known to show that whatever its merits may be, it is diametrically opposed to the opinion of the Duke of Wellington. As the Duke's opinion, though referred to in Parliament, has apparently been misunderstood, we are tempted to place it before our readers, in the hope that in such of the arrangements as have not been finally made, the views of so great an authority may still be permitted to have some weight.

The Duke wrote as follows :—

‘ I will not miss this opportunity of stating to you my opinion—

‘ First, that the European army in the East Indies ought to be the King's.

‘ Secondly, that the three armies ought to continue separate and distinct.

‘ Thirdly, that the native army ought to be the Company's, if the Company should continue to be the sovereign of the territory. It would be impossible to separate this army from the sovereignty; and indeed the great difficulty of transferring the native army to the Crown, and that the Crown would find in keeping it officered, as it must be, by persons exclusively belonging to the native service, have always appeared to me the greatest in the way of the transfer of the sovereignty, or, more properly speaking, of the exercise of the sovereignty, to the Crown.

‘ Fourthly, it is my opinion that the Crown should name both the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief at all the settlements, and should have a very efficient control over the nomination of members of Council. If the Crown do not appoint the Governor, the Crown should not appoint the Commander-in-Chief. I have not time now to enter into a detail of all my reasons for entertaining this opinion. They are referable principally to the experience I acquired in witnessing, and sometimes being the mediator and reconciler of, disputes between the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. If the latter were appointed by the Crown and the former by the Company, the Commander-in-Chief would be too strong for the Governor.

‘ Fifthly, it is my opinion that all authority, civil and military, must be vested by the law in the Governor in Council. The law must recognise no other authority in the State. The Company may and ought to instruct the Governor in Council; 1st, to leave all matters of discipline solely and exclusively to the Commander-in-Chief, and to interfere in them in no manner, excepting when the safety of the State should require it. 2ndly, that all recommendations to military appointments, such as the staff officers of the army, to commissioners, promotion in the army of persons, civil or military, to fill the departments of the army, and the inferior commands, should be made by the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor in Council. The Governor in Council should be obliged to record his reasons for dissent. 3rdly, the recommendations to superior command, such as divisions of the army, should be with the Commander-in-Chief, when the holders of these

these commands exercise no civil authority or political function ; and that in the case of a nomination to a higher command being vested exclusively in the Governor in Council, without the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor should be directed to consult with the Commander-in-Chief in making the selection.

‘ It would be very desirable to leave a latitude by law to the Governor in Council, to promote officers for meritorious service, at the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, out of the usual regular routine, as well as to pass over officers guilty of misconduct. This might be done by giving the Governor in Council the power to promote such officers, by brevet, in the first instance, who should succeed to the first vacancies in the rank to which they should have been promoted in the regiment to which they should belong.’*

It is then clearly the Duke’s opinion that three distinct native armies ought to be maintained ; that they must be officered by persons belonging exclusively to the native service ; that all authority, civil and military, must be vested in the Governor in Council of each of the three Presidencies, to whom the Commander-in-Chief of each Presidency must be subordinate. Indeed, the Duke appears to have had in view the strict maintenance of the existing system, the spirit of which is strikingly shown by the fact that, while the European officers held commissions from the Crown also, all officers, whether European or native, in the Indian military service, held commissions from the Governor in Council of the Presidency to which they belonged. A complete reversal of all this is now intended.

Although in the present day uniformity is so favourite a principle that it is difficult for those who do not admit that it is the best thing under all circumstances to obtain a hearing, still we may venture to remark that the great evil in the state of things before the mutiny was, that so very large an amount of power had been committed to a single class of men, open to the same influences and sympathising warmly with each other ; and that it will be a repetition of this blunder if we shall adopt a similar uniformity of composition and organization in remodelling our native military forces. Would it not be wiser to imitate the latest improvements in material art, and to construct our army, as it were, in compartments, so that all shall not have precisely the same organization, the same hopes and fears, be disgusted by the same measures, and perverted by the same influences ?

We have heard of a new policy towards native princes, inaugurated by Lord Canning, which is to generate or to revive loyalty and attachment to us in their breasts. Until we know more fully and distinctly in what that policy consists, we cannot pro-

* Wellington Despatches, vol. viii. p. 614, ed. 1837.

nounce on it as a whole. Meanwhile, however, as to one part of it, we must express our surprise at the announcement that henceforth our Indian Government will not exercise the office—hitherto always appertaining to the paramount power in India, when such a power, whether Mogul or English, has existed—of recognizing, or refusing to recognize, the adopted son of a native prince as heir to his dominions. Such a prerogative, no doubt, is susceptible of abuse; but the moderate, honest, and beneficent exercise of it is also possible; and we have reason to apprehend that the native princes, generally, do not regard the abnegation of it as a boon generously conferred on them, but rather ascribe that unexpected proceeding to weakness and timidity, and look upon it as a downward step from the summit of that imperial greatness to which, by the will of the Almighty Disposer of empire, the British power in India has been raised.

Further, it is said, we do not know whether correctly or not, that the native princes are to be courted by withdrawing the friendly intervention and superintendence by which we endeavoured to correct, or at least mitigate, in the interests of justice and humanity, the evils which so commonly mark the rule of Eastern princes. While those princes retain their thrones by our support, the withdrawal of our guiding and restraining hand may deliver over a native community to much oppression and suffering, and foster in the princes a dangerous ambition. We take from the people all chance of righting themselves by insurrection, the natural corrective of Eastern tyranny, while we do not secure for them that mild and just government which makes insurrection unnecessary. We trust that it is not intended to pursue a course of recession. Prudence and enlightened benevolence alike forbid it. The British Government is, in fact, paramount in India. Throughout India that Government holds, and must continue to hold, the power of the sword; from which power, permanently possessed, empire is inseparable. Nor is empire without inseparable obligations. And it should never be forgotten, that among the duties of those who have supreme political authority, none is more imperative than to see that the people of no country within the range of that authority are without what may reasonably be deemed to be at least a tolerable administration of their affairs.

POSTSCRIPT—On Iron Manufacture.

THE returns of the iron manufacture for the past year have been completed ; and they present a result to which we earnestly desire to draw public attention.

In the year 1840 the iron manufactured in the United Kingdom was estimated at a little more than 1,396,000 tons, and of this the ' hot-blast ' amounted to 625,000 tons, the cold to more than 771,000. In 1860 the total ' make ' had reached the enormous sum of 4,156,858 tons.* But the distinction between hot and cold blast *has ceased to be noticed in the returns*, and it is from other sources we have ascertained that of this total the portion of cold-blast cannot exceed the odd 156,858 tons. For many purposes, it is true, the cheapest iron is good enough. In earlier days the best materials were squandered on the commonest uses. But there was no such waste of power in 1840. If twenty years ago the supply of 771,000 tons of cold-blast was not more than sufficient, how far can one-fifth of that amount go towards satisfying the wants of the present time, when iron has been applied to so many new uses? It is evident that inferior iron must be used for many purposes to which only the best should be applied.

We hear with satisfaction that a commission has been appointed by Government to investigate the merits of the different qualities of iron. The commissioners, we understand, are men whose names justly claim our confidence, and we look forward to their Report with much interest ; but they have no easy task before them ; for in a matter wherein the experience of different districts gives such various results, and the causes which bias the opinions of the witnesses are so numerous, the most conflicting evidence may be expected.

As an argument in favour of constructing iron vessels by private contract, Sir James Graham seems to rely (see ' Times,' March 25th) on the greater certainty which is attainable, in the case of iron as compared with wood, that proper materials have been used. We wish this were the case. As matters are now managed, we know of no security that the Government possesses against the possible fraud or ignorance of a contractor for iron-work. When work is projected, the contractor is reduced by competition to the lowest possible estimate. He, to secure the

* Blast Furnaces in Great Britain, January 1, 1861. Edwin Sparrow, Birmingham.

contract,

contract, fixes a price which excludes the use of the best materials. He can buy pig-iron at prices varying* from 45s. to 105s.; and his first consideration is how much bad iron and how little good he can safely employ. In all probability the matter is further complicated by the intervention of middle-men, whose profits are virtually so much subtracted from the quality of the material. The contractor calculates that intermixture of the inferior qualities of iron will do much towards correcting their respective defects. But too much reliance must not be placed on this resource. *It is certain that by no combination of the inferior qualities can a superior quality be produced.* Manipulation, indeed, brings out the quality of all kinds of iron. But the limit is soon reached beyond which the inferior sorts cease to be improved by it; and they would be rendered absolutely worthless by the processes which are required to bring the superior to perfection. There is also a point beyond which the best iron deteriorates with further working. The horseshoe, made originally of the toughest merchant bar, is brought to the smithy again and again, till at last it breaks in two beneath the horse's foot.

It was for this reason, among many others, that we objected to the employment of scrap-iron for armour plates. But we have lately heard that the term 'scrap-iron' has received a dangerous extension of meaning; that old rails have been included in the definition, and thus under a new name (such is the potency of words) a most unfit material has been introduced. No man who values his reputation would work up old rails (manufactured as they have been, for the most part, of *cinder-iron*) into merchant-bars; nor is there any process by which such a material can be fitted to resist the shock of an enemy's broadside.

The opinion which we ventured to express that 'rolling' armour-plates was preferable to the more laborious and expensive method of hammering them, has been confirmed by further inquiry. The 'pile' to form the rolled plate is heated by a single process, while the hammered plate is formed by the successive addition of slabs; and as at each addition the whole mass is replaced in the furnace, by these repeated heatings the quality of the earlier portion is damaged. Again, the rolled plate is subjected only to the equable and uniform pressure of the rolls; whereas, when the hammered plate is turned on its side and its edges are submitted to the action of the hammer, the force of the blows acting at a right angle to its previous direction has a tendency to disturb the welding, especially at the centre of the plate, which retains the heat longest. It is true that the greater solidity

* See Edwin Sparrow's Iron Trade Price Current. Birmingham. Published monthly.

of the hammered plate is more likely to resist penetration ; but by the repeated action of the fire and that of the hammer it is rendered more brittle. The question, however, can be settled only by experiment ; and we are glad to hear that some important firms have received orders for rolled armour-plates. Whether the plates be rolled or hammered, true economy would be consulted by employing only the best iron, and we believe the efficiency of the plates would be increased by diminishing their size. If a long plate is struck by a ball, the reaction at the extremities is increased by its length, and moreover the increased size of the pile increases the difficulty of welding, whereas the smaller plate is not only more cheaply made, but more readily repaired. The method of grooving the plates, which is tedious and expensive, also adds much to the difficulty of repairing them, and should be abandoned.

The railway accidents of the last winter had no small effect in attracting public attention to the importance of ' quality ' in iron. But as far as regards the frequent breakage of the axles, it is by no means certain to what extent the iron was in fault. At the point where the axle of a railway carriage is immovably fixed in the wheel (for in railway carriages the axle revolves with the wheel, and not the wheel on the axle), the vibration of the axle suddenly ceases, and, where vibration ceases, crystallization and brittleness begin. This effect cannot be prevented by any quality of the iron ; but it takes place much sooner when the quality is inferior. This is an obscure subject to which we beg earnestly to call the attention of scientific engineers, but thus much at least is certain : if it be desired to ascertain the original quality of the crystallized iron, the infallible test is to heat it red hot and allow it to cool naturally. If after this process it does not regain its toughness, we may safely pronounce it to have been bad from the first.

The great drawback on the payment of railway dividends is the necessity which presses on most of the companies of prematurely relaying their lines. And the question is now, Shall the mistakes of their predecessors be repeated ? or will the directors have the courage to propose and the shareholders the self-denial to sanction that which is required by the permanent interests of the company ? It will no doubt be a great sacrifice to avoid reworking the old rails of cinder-iron ; but cinder-iron is a material unfit for the construction of rails, whether the heads or wearing surface of the rails be of steel or not. Cold-blast iron, indeed, can be got only in quantities sufficient for a ' doctor ; ' but good ' hot-blast ' made of ' all mine ' (that is to say, ironstone, without any admixture of cinder) may be obtained in abundance, and will make an excellent rail-bar.

We

We hope that the subject of *cast-iron* ordnance will receive the special attention of the Commission. We are persuaded that cast-iron may be produced of much greater strength than has hitherto been attained; and till its maximum power has been ascertained it is unwise to proceed in the expensive and tedious manufacture of wrought-iron ordnance. When some of the guns taken in the Crimea were examined in this country, and were found to be of extraordinary toughness, it was asked why we had no such ordnance, and the reply was, 'that we had no such iron.' This is not, or at least need not be, the case. Let the Government resume the foundry operations at Woolwich which it prematurely abandoned, and take the place which it ought to hold as leader in all efforts for improving the national defences. Let it name the test it proposes, and invite the iron-masters to compete for the supply of the material. We are confident that a quality of iron will soon be attained which for ordnance purposes will equal the produce of Sweden or Russia. It is impossible to say to what extent our manufacturers—that portion of them, we mean, whose materials permit them to do so—can yet retrace their steps and return to the cold-blast. But it is the public that must give the first impulsion to this improvement. The iron-masters can only act in obedience to the laws which regulate all commercial transactions. When the public are sufficiently enlightened to discover that the only cheap iron is that which will answer its purpose, the remedy is in their own hands. Supply will follow demand.

ERRATUM IN PART OF FIRST EDITION.

Page 121, line 24 from top, for 'inferior' read 'superior.'

ADDENDUM to Note, p. 270.

Lat. 'Omnino comprobat.'

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